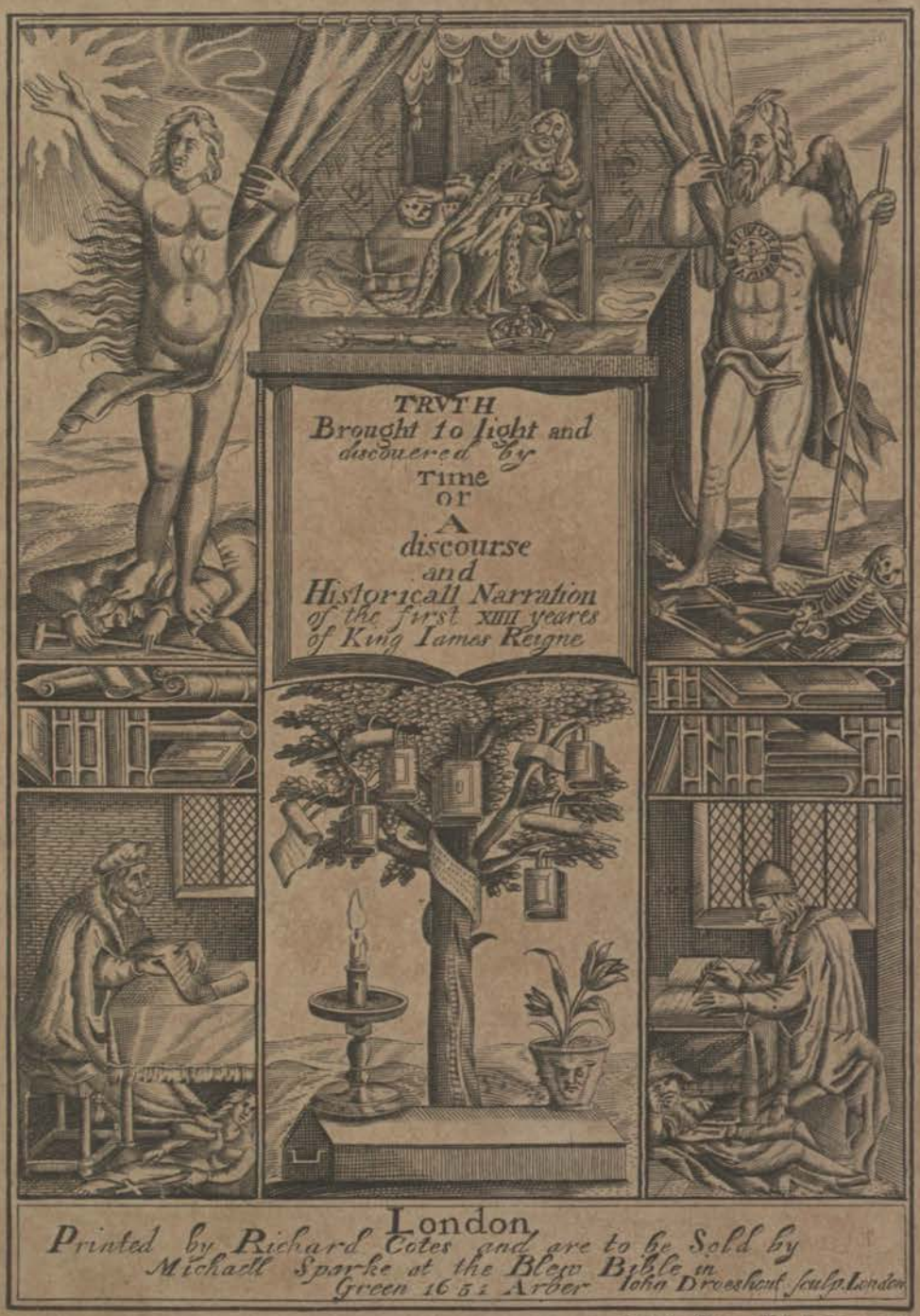
00093642

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018


TRVTH
Brought to light and
discouered by
Time
or
A
discourse
and
Historicall Narration
of the first XIIII yeares
of King Iames Reigne
London
Printed by Richard Cotes and are to be Sold by
Michaell Sparke at the Blew Bible in
Green 1651 Arber
John Droeshout sculp. London

A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE AND VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING SUBJECTS:

BUT CHIEFLY SUCH AS RELATE TO THE

HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION

OF

THESE KINGDOMS.

93642

SELECTED FROM AN INFINITE NUMBER IN PRINT AND MANUSCRIPT, IN THE ROYAL, COTTON, SION, AND OTHER PUBLIC, AS WELL AS PRIVATE, LIBRARIES;

PARTICULARLY

THAT OF THE LATE LORD SOMERS.

THE SECOND EDITION,

REVISED, AUGMFNTED, AND ARRANGED,

BY

WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

VOLUME SECOND.

The bent and genius of the age is best known in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers that come daily out, as the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation. PREFACE TO KENNET'S REGISTER.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, una parte audita tantum et inaudita altera, licet æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.
LD. COOK & JUST. INST.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND;
W. MILLER, ALBEMARLE-STREET;
R. H. EVANS, PALL-MALL; J. WHITE AND J. MURRAY, FLEET-STREET;
AND J. HARDING, ST JAMES'S-STREET.

1809.

00093642

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

[Those Tracts, marked with an asterisk, are now received into the Collection for the first time.]

Tracts during the Reign of King James I.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

PAGE.

Declaration of the general corruption of Religion, Scripture and all learning wrought by Dr Bilson. By Hugh Broughton 1604, - - - - - 3
Two little workes defensive of our Redemption. By the Same, 1604 - - 9
Sundry great wrongs, greevances, and oppression committed by the Clergy, - - 14
Declarations of the Reasons which moved Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, to depart from the Romish Religion, 1617. *Written by himself in Latin, and now translated,* 19
Relation of the processe, sentence and execution done upon the body, picture and books of the Archbishop of Spalatro, 1624, - - - - 30
* *Great Britain's Salomon, a Sermon preached at the funeral of King James. By John, Lord Bishop of Lincoln,* 1625, - - - - - 33
* *The Kings Declaration concerning lawful sports to be used,* 1618, - - 53

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

The Kings Speech delivered in the Upper-house of Parliament on the 19 *March,* 1603, 59
Relation of such things as were observed to happen in the journey of Charles Earl of Nottingham, his Majesty's ambassador to Spain, 1604. *By Robert Treswell, Esq. Somerset Herald. Printed* 1605, 70
The History of the Gun-powder Treason, 1678, - - - - 97
The Arraignment and Execution of the late Traitors. Printed 1606, - - 111
His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, 31 *March* 1607, - - 117
The Conference held the 25 *February* 1606, *between the Lord's Committees and the Commons, touching the naturalizing of the Scots,* - - - - 132
Advertisements of a loyal Subject to his gracious Sovereign, - - - 144
A Record of some worthy proceedings in the House of Commons, 1611. *Printed* 1641, - 148
Letter from the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere to the King, desiring to be discharged from his office, 169
Account of the Baptism of Prince Henry Frederick, Prince of Scotland, and now Prince of Wales, as it was solemnized 30 *August* 1594, - - - - 171
Order and solemnitie of the creation of Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, &c. Printed 1610, 183
Tethys Festival, or the Queenes Wake. Devised by Samuel Daniel, London 1610 - 191

PAGE.

A Politique Discourse about the happiest marriage for Prince Henry. By Sir Walter Raleigh, 1611, 199
An Original Letter from Prince Henry to King James, - - - 207
The Funerals of Prince Henry, Prince of Wales. London, 1613, - - 211
Discourse of the Most Illustrious Henry, late Prince of Wales. Written anno 1626, *by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knt. London* 1641, - - - - - 217
The Life and Death of Henry Prince of Wales, 1641. *By Sir Charles Cornwallis* 225
Four Patents concerning the honourable degree of Baronets, 1617, - - - 252
* *The Narrative History of King James for the first fourteen years,* 1651, - - 262
* *Part II. Truth brought to Light by Time. The Proceedings touching the Divorce of Lady Frances Howard and Robert Earl of Essex, and the Trials on account of Overbury's Murder,* 1652, - - - - - - - - - - 304
Part III. Abstract of the present State of his Majesties Revenue, 1651, - - 364
* *Part IV. Narration of the Burning of Bartholomew Legatt,* - - - 400
The Arraignment and Conviction of Sir Walter Raleigh, 17th November, 1603. *Printed* 1618, 408
His Majesties Reasons for his Proceedings against Sir W. Raleigh, 1618, - - 421
Proceedings against Sir W. Raleigh, Kt. 28 *Oct.* 1618. *Together with his Execution on the 29th of October, anno* 16 *Jacobi Regis,* - - - - 438
The Petition of Sir Lewes Stucley, Kt. touching his Behaviour in the Charge of bringing up Sir Walter Raleigh, 1618, - - - - 444
A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles, by Carew Raleigh, 1669, - 451
True Copy of the Latin Oration of George Ossolinski, Count Palatine of Tenizyn and Sendomyria to King James, 11 *March,* 1623, - - - - - 458
True Copies of the Letter of the Great Turke, for denouncing War against the King of Poland, and the Answere made by the King thereunto, 1621, - - - 462
Speech of King James in the Upper House, 26 *March,* 1621, - - - 465
Tom Tell-Troath, or a free Discourse touching the Manners of the Time, - - 469
Relation of the Marriages that should have been made between the Prince of England and the Infantas of Spain, by Sir C. Cornwallis, - - - - - - 492
The Lord Digby's Entertainment in Spain, - - - - - 501
* *Vox Populi, or News from Spain,* 1620, - - - - - - 508
* *True Relation and Journall of the Arrival and Entertainment of Prince Charles at Madrid,* 524
Relation of the Royal Festivities and Juego de Cannas made at Madrid, to honour the Espousall Treaties of the Prince of Wales and the Lady Infanta Maria. By Dr Juan Antonio de la Penna, 531
Relation of the Departure of the Prince of Wales from Madrid, 1623, - - - 540
* *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine. By John Taylor, the Water Poet,* - 550
* *Vox Cœli, or News from Heaven, of a Consultation there held by the Prince, King Henry* 8, *King Edward* 6, *Prince Henry, Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Anne. Written by S. R. N. T. Printed in Elisium,* 1624, - - - - - 555
* *Robert Earl of Essex his Ghost, sent from Elizian. Printed in Paradise,* 1624, - 596
* *A Postscript, or Second Part, of Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost,* - - 604

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

THE

SOMERS

COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

KING JAMES.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

Declaration of generall Corruption of Religion, Scripture, and all Learning; wrought by D. Bilson. While he breedeth a new opinion, That our Lord went from Paradise to Gehenna, to triumph over the Devils.

To the Most Reverend Father in God, John W. H. (John Whitgift) Doctor in Divinitie, and Metropolitan of England.

By Hugh Broughton, 1604.

The question, agitated in the two following Tracts, respects the just interpretation of the Greek word *Hades*, as applied to our Saviour's death. It was a doctrine of the ancient Roman church, that the words, "he descended into Hell," are to be understood literally, of our Saviour entering the infernal regions, to set at liberty the elect, who alone were to profit by his passion.

This doctrine, which was espoused by the learned Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Worcester, and sanctioned by the eminent authority of Archbishop Whitgift, gave great scandal to Hugh Broughton, whose skill in the scriptural languages far exceeded that of any other divine of his age. He wrote in opposition, "An explication of the Article of Christ's descent to Hell," and an "Oration to the Geneveans," in which he contends, that the just interpretation of *Hades* is, "the state of the dead, or the invisible world;" an explanation which has been, since his time, almost universally adopted by the reformed churches. The following Tracts refer to the same controversy, and are marked by the peculiarities of Broughton's manner, as characterized by Bishop Lightfoot: "His style of writing was curt, and something harsh and obscure; for he desired to speak much in little; and, besides his natural genius inclining to such a style, it is likely that his much conversing with Judaic learning did something mould and habituate him the more that way. His rehearsing the same things often over, was occasioned by his writing of his treatises in several places, and having his discourses with several persons, where the same things did always most inevitably fall in. It were to be wished, he had been more sparing of his own praises, and of bitterness and invectives against others. But if it be impartially considered, how he was trampled under foot by the bishops, and vilified by others upon their example; how he was by them kept from preferment, tossed up and down, troubled, disgraced, and endangered, you may very well

allow some grains of transportment and liberty for so great a scholar as he, so abused, to spe
out. Those that read his writings with desire to profit, will pass by such things without offen
and be satisfied with his own acknowledgment, that they were his infirmities, as he acknowledg
even upon his death-bed: and withal protested then, and had done so oft before, that they w
rather strained from him by provocation, than flowing from his own disposition."

This excellent scholar was born in 1549, and died in 1612. His mysticism, as well as the recond
learning of his writings, exposed him to the satire of Ben Jonson, who introduces, in the Alch
mist, a female character, supposed to have lost her senses by studying Broughton's works. A
more friendly muse has commemorated his learning in strains of no vulgar poetry, from wh
the following is an extract:

" Ye learned clerks, that covet Adam's tongue,
Long time preserved in Heber's holy line,
After th' emprize of that heav'n scaling throng,
Which sought above the dew-steep'd clouds to climb
(Such hateful pride was found in earthly slime,)
Do you lament this wondrous learned man,
Who, tuneful as the silver-pinioned swan,
Canaan's rich language in perfection sang!

He knew the Greek, plenteous in words and sense,
The Caldee wise, the Arabic profound,
The Latin pleasing with its eloquence,
The braving Spanish with its lofty sound,
The Tuscan grave, with many a laurel crown'd,
The lisping French, that fits a lady vain,
The German, like the people, rough and plain,
The English, full and rich, his native country's strain.

Ah! Scottish Ishmaels, do not offer wrong
Unto his quiet urn; do not defame
The silver sound of that harmonious tongue:
Peace, dirty mouths, be quieted for shame,
Nor vent your gall upon a dead man's name.
O wake, ye west-winds; come, ye south, and blow;
With your myrrh-breathing mouths sweet odours throw
Into the scented air round Broughton's tomb below."

Religion troubled.

DOCTOR Bilson,[1] inventing a new opinion, that our Lord descended from Paradise to Gehenna, to triumph over the devils, troubled all religion and learned writers. In religion thus hee missed. Wee beleeve that devils are yet in this world; and the scriptures assure us of that. Wherefore it were most ridiculous to feigne a journey to devils thether, where they were not. If some were, as carriers of souls, yet not as tormented, and dwellers there before the time.

[1] Dr Thomas Bilson, who is so roughly handled in this Tract, was, nevertheless, a learned and worthy divine. In 1596 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, and soon after translated to Winchester. His death took place in 1613. Sir John Harrington gives the following account of his controversy with Broughton:

" In the mean season, a crew of mutinous soldiers, a forlorn hope, undertook to surprize one of the twelve fortresses of our faith, I mean one of the twelve articles of our creed; and, ere men were aware, they had entered by a posterne, corrupted a watchman or two, thrown down a battlement, and set up their colours of white and black, (black and blue had been fitter for them,) publishing a book in print, that 'Christ descended not into Hell.' The alarm was taken by many faithful servants of the militant church; but many were not found fit for this enterprize; for it was whispered, nay, rather published, in the enemy's camp, that some cowardly soldiers of our side had made a motion to have this fort, or part thereof, razed, because there was thought to be peril in defending of it; for so Campion writes positively, that Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester, had affirmed to him, how it had been moved at a convocation at London, *quemadmodum sine tumultu penitus eximatur de symbolo*, 'how, without many words, it might be taken out of the creed *wholly*;' but I leave Erasmus' echo to answer

Againe, Gehenna were an holy place, if the altar which sanctifieth all that it toucheth went thither. But none may so thinke. And devils in this world knew Christ to be the Holy One of God, and tremble. And no neede know we why he should go to Gehenna for them, and God telleth all that we may know. Besides, soules in *Hades* holie and contrarie know all the others case, as men here that have but a great ditch betwixt them,[1] and they are much deceaved who think hell to be in this world, lowe in the earth. Before God's throne the wicked are tormented for ever and ever, so both sides knowe one the others case, that without comming to them, they see what is done. And our Lord would not have taught us, (Luc. 16.) that none can passe from one sort to the other, if he had bene to take that journey. The Bible taught no such dream: therefore it is but a dreame; and thus religion is disturbed. Scriptures D. Bilson brings three, as having no more; the 16 Psal. which is thus: "Thou wilt not leave my vitall soule to death, and," by a consequent, "neither my body in ayer," or grave; nor my soule among soules, till the bodie see corruption."

Scriptures marred. Psalm 16. in the right meaning by all Jewes.

So the generall consent of Ebrews take the wordes. Yet he would thus translate all: "Thou wilt not forsake my soul in hell." The nipper of others, as arrogant in Ebrewe studies, shalbee told that hee hath missed foure times in foure wordes. Hebrews shall judge; and for the 70. all Greekes, the rare fathers.

4. Faultes most grosse in D. Bilson in 4. words.

The second scripture that he durst adventure upon is this: Him God raysed up losing the sores of death. Saint Peter spake to Sadduces, that would not heare of soule, spirit, and hell. And that the sores that made the soule leave the body were by God's power disannulled, and it receaved the soule and life; and therin Christ brake for us the bandes of death. D. Bilson would have death the second death, and that our Lordes soule hath the second death. You know full well that his soule shall have the second death for ever and ever, unlesse he revoke this blasphemie; it is great pittie that D. Bilson consulteth not with others before such wordes fled through the hedge of his teeth.[2] Higher blasphemies never were uttered. The third and last text of all that he durst trust, is cleane contrarie to his purpose, shewing the plain effect of the ghospell. "Say not in thy harte who can go up to heaven, to bring Christ down? or who can go to the deep to bring Christ from the dead? but if thou beleeve that Jesus is Lord, and that God raysed him from death, thou shalt be saved."

Act. 2. perverted to blasphemie.

The third and last text most bright.

The incarnation and resurrection, both made plaine, are by St Paul the heads of doubt among Jewes. But D. Bilson dreameth of a hell here. Chrysostome and Œcumenius

A monstrous dreame.

it, *O lye*. True it is, there was a hot shot. One Mr Broughton, no canoneer, (for he loves no *canons*) but that could skill of such fire-works as might seem to put out hell-fire, this hot-brain, having with a petard or two, broken open some old door, took upon him, with like powder, out of some basiliske, as I think, to shoot Hades quite beyond sun and moon; such a powder-work against all divinity and philosophy as was never heard of, always excepted the powder treason.

"Then this learned bishop, (Dr Bilson) like a worthy leader (that I may proceed in this metaphor) with a resolute troop, not of loose shot, but *gravis armaturæ*, 'armed to proof,' out of Christ's armory, the Old and New Testament, fathers, doctors, schoolmen, linguists, encounters these Lancepezzadoes, casts down their colours, repairs up the ruins, beautifies the battlements, rams up the mines, and makes such ravelins and counter-scarfs about this fort, that now none of the twelve may seem more impregnable. Their great engineer before mentioned, upon grief of this repulse, is gone, as I hear, to teach the Jews Hebrew; God send him to scape Hades." *Nugæ antiquæ*, Park's Edit. Vol. II. p. 101.

[1] The author probably grounded this assertion on the parable of Lazarus and Dives, without recollecting that the very nature of a parable prevents its being rested upon as proof. But there is no need to penetrate into the mystery here touched upon, in order to prove the rational explanation of the word *Hades*.

[2] This odd phrase is introduced in Prior's Alma, and humorously apologized for:

—Sense like this in vocal breath
Broke from his twofold *hedge of teeth;*
Now if this phrase too harsh be thought,
Pope, tell the world 'tis not my fault;
Old Homer taught us thus to speak;
If 'tis not sense, at least 'tis Greek.

would have taught him better. And these most holy scriptures, the joy of our soules, hath he most grievously corrupted.

Moses made unperfect.

Endles be the faultes in this marring of scripture, and no time would serve to write them. Moses now, by him, hath not all religion; for he could not father upon him this doctrine of going from paradise to hell; so neither all the prophets volumes.

Danger feigned by D. Bilson after Triumph.

And David once only (and in a sence never known, till doctor Bilsons daies) teacheth, that our Lorde going a victour and triumpher over the powers of darknes from paradise, as unto greater danger by millions of degrees then before, doeth praise God that he did not forsake his soule in hell, but losed the sores of the second death before him: and to that deepe our mindes must descend, by D. Bilson, if wee will be saved.

Thus vile for wisdome he maketh the rocke of salvation. By D. Bilson our Lord having passed his danger here, where he praied unto him that could save him from danger, and being made perfect and gone through the veyle of his flesh into heaven, after all this was in greater danger then before, which needed a miracle of the Godhead to lose before him the sorrows of hell. Otherwise the humanity had not by it selfe gone through all, but had perished in the world invisible, saving that God did not forsake his soule in hell.

Most strange miracles told by D. Bilson to men that refused even plainest matters.

And of this danger David must speake to the prophane world before they beleeved the resurrection and scante the creation of visible things, and of spirits had heard little; and of soules immortalitie and paradise; and never heard where out of this world devils keepe. All these things being stepped over, a danger, after all was performed, must be houlden from David by words never so before understood; to make the scripture a nose of waxe, and all the old testament unperfect; but for one place drawen beyond all witt. Also the gospell must be unperfect omitting parte of beliefe. And all Saint Pauls foureteene epistles, but for one terme Abyssus taken in the devils sence, not in heathen or 70 sense. So all fall. The generall consent of Ebrewes in Baba Bathra was cited that they make this sence, Psal. 16. He dyeth not of whom that is so spoken in strict propriety, and Peter addeth but this, "to die he was, but not to tarrie in death to corruption.

All Ebrews rejected for their owne tongue.

The strict propriety of Psal. 16.

Bilsons rejection of all Hebrewes would be ruine to al stay of religion.

All Ebrews Doctor Bilson rejecteth for their grammar sence of Sheol.[1] None ever rejected all Latines for Latine, or French for the French; yet D. Bilson dareth rejecte all Hebrews for Hebrew; such an Hebrician is he. By the same doctrine he might teach never to hope for sound knowledge in any parte of the lawe, no not for one letter, whether it hath the forme that God wrought in the two tables, or a later invented. And for the very forme as Tau in Ezechiel mistaken, and Rempham, much coyle is kept. And in our daylie Hebrew Bibles, wordes 848. come in the margine by God's authority, and yet checke not the text; and the French of late translating the margin, Esai. 9. troubled some greatly, gathering a contradiction betwixt the old and new translation. For all this no D. with rabbins helpe can tell what wordes make the Bible.

Errour of 800 yeares for rabbins age.

A certyn helper of D. Bilson,[2] who can assiste him to marre all learning and religion, (one whom you leave though he be your chapleyne to answere for himselfe) he, as his learning and skill will at once shewe it selfe, maketh the eldest rabbines 300 yeares later then the apostles.

So the Massorites, observers of the letters and shorte writings, and little particles innumerable, often in one line, with millions of millions of notes, all they were nothing worth.

Without Massorites no Bible can ever be truly printed.

For we seeke how the Bible stood in Ezraes age, not how 800 yeres after, and all the Jewes hold that the Massorites began with Ezra. Neither could we otherwise say

[1] Bishop Bilson had maintained in his sermons, and in his "Survey of Christ's sufferings," that the word *sheol*, when used with reference to the soul after death, signifies *hell*.

[2] The Reverend Dr Barlow, then chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

we had the Bible. Without help and knowledge of the Massorites, no printer can ever print the right Bible.

Rob. St. in Ester tenth putting the margine in the text, for Xerxes, committed a great faulte; and Plantines Heyres will now print after the Massoreth, missing often hitherto. As in Daniel 8. all misse though the Massoreth els where warned of that place; Bombergiana the lesse mention in the margine a right reading, but not yet printed.

Of other rabbins age.

By the Massoreth all wordes be past corruption; who if they had not bene of Ezraes time, Bibles had infinitly disagreed, nowe they be sure, though copiers misse now and then. So 800 yeres in rabbins age are missed to disgrace all certainty of scripture. But wheras in the New Testament the Apostles still tell of Jewes matters, and all their speeches be in the Talmud (as men of one common weale must agree in the same chiefe heades;) this would never be by Jewes 300 yeres tossed from their own tongue and state, that Jerusalemy Talmud should be parcelled, by later men then the tongue 300 yeares; and that poore base men, voide of wealth, leisure, and liberty, should search all the lawe most curiously. Who would thinke so? they say, that from age to age their fathers left works; the chiefe sayings of all which the Jerusalemy Talmud, and the Babylonian and Midras Rabba, and such like, record in the same words.

Rabbins continued throughout all ages.

And Onkelos by all graunts is neare the apostles time; and Uziel of their time, but a complier of farre elder; and Targum Jerusalemy in Cyrillis age famous as auncient, called of him Samariticon, upon Genes. 4. And seeing many thousand Levites had learning in their charge and all Israell (saving hand-laborers) frequented divinity schooles to heare and speak twise a weeke; how should they omitt to write observations, such as we have now, full of unspeakable labour and long study? all that is in the New Testament is handled here and there in the Talmud, and much largely, where, in knowen things our Lord would be short; so D. Bilson missed much for rabbins, to the ruine of all religion, and to augment Sathans blindness.

That the scribes knew no terme in Moses for hell.

And other matter of singular use suffereth disgrace by D. Bilson. The Sadduces noted that Moses never named lyfe eternall, nor resurrection, nor place of joy or tormente, nor any prophets, but in visions. The scribes graunt this; yet bring matter from Moses for all this, and shew that the scoffing world was to be taught as beastes by the bellie openly, and closely to lyfe. But when prophets ceased and open prophecying, and iron-legged Macedones turned Judah much to be Sadduces, and schooles were but of few; then they enacted tearmes of better hope, as world of soules, judgment day, paradise, Gehenna, resurrection, feasting in heaven, and such. And this the Newe Testament alloweth.

By D. Bilson all this were vaine, or he himselfe. He can find in the law a proper name for hell. And how would he have vexed the Sadduces if hee had bene in their dayes? all the scribes had bene nothing to him.

Of Greekes in all sorte.

Now after Ebrews let us search Greek affaires. God advanced Greek with daylie increase, first when Judah went to Babell, then Pisistratus tyrant of Athens brought Homer into high use and glory.

The Septuagint.

And many poets for sentences, comedies, and tragedies, florish daylie. So phisicians, philosophers, orators, and Historiques for two hundred yeres paines, that the Greek tongue came to an unspeakable perfection of elegancie.

And the Jewes (taught by Daniell that soone Grecia should reigne) before hand studied Grecke. And God shewed the use of their labour. For when the iron-legged Macedonians† began to reigne, they required, and had the Ebrew holy bookes all turned into Greeke, wherein the translators shewed wit in applying most divinely heathen Greeke to divinity. And they shewed excellent skill in all Greeke kindes.

And when the Macedonians, by 300 yeres government, had carried Greeke from the

† So called, because Broughton had conceived the Macedonian empire to be typified in the iron-legs of Ne-

West over all, and Jewes with Greek Bible; then our Lord commeth and his apostles to shew Greekes in their owne language and meaning all the mysteries of salvation; and gather all brave termes from heathen plainely to Divine use, 4000 several wordes into one little booke, that the most parte of woords are used but once, which is not so in the Old Testament. The 70 did the like, who to one Ebrewe word gave eleven Greeke now and then, to shew heathen all eloquence in their kinde.

The apostles have al the jewells of Greeke elegancy.

To apply heathen Greeks to the prophets and apostles, the Greeke fathers laboured another 300 yeres, to shew how they had the same speeches still though in matter not well carried. Justine Martyr to heathen is much herein, and Clemens Alexandrinus hath contrived all heathen hither, being a store like Alexandrian library.

Eusebius also is not a little in this sorte, and infinite others specially for the maine, the eternall state in Hades; for good, as Abraham, Luk. 16. and Joseph, Gen. 37. and for wicked, as Dives, Luk. 16. And as heathen 300 yeres made Haden the lodge of all soules, and the philosophers helde it an happie thing to go soone thither; so in the creede heathen would say, that by *to katelthein eis hadou*, we meant a most happie passage from this world to God. And so all the fathers place the happie fathers in Hades, and meant no worse lodge. To dash all foure, thus ariseth Bilson.

The Greeke fathers compared heathen most narowly with apostolique Greeke.

Bilson leaveth heathen to their alleagers, and saith for Josephes Hades, that the Greeke fathers that placed his soule there as in paradise, understood not the 70, and that St Luke 16. teacheth to understande Haden for hell, because the rich man is in it, as though Abraham were not there also; and to conclude for heathen Greeke, the 70. the apostles, the fathers, he disannulleth all common agreement for their Greeke, as though he had made a vowe to roote out all learning with religion. Witt also cometh in question, our subscribing to Zuricke sayeth: *Per inferos intelligimus paradisum, &c.* most faithfully and learnedlie. Yet Doct. Bilson being told that Hades to the good is paradise, would needs prove that Christ went to hell because he went to Hades. Yet when all Greeke doctors place all the fathers in Hades, (and they place Christ no lower) he will not have them in hell. And thus with strange dealing, he hath by preaching, and great sale of his errors, sought the destruction of religion, of scripture, of Ebrew tongue and learning, of all kindes of Greeke elegancie, and all proceeding in disputing: by taking that for all his argument, that is truly affirmed to be cleane contrary.

D. Bilson teacheth Greeke to all Greekes.

To your G. by order, complaint was to be made, that you should with all your learning and might bring D. B. into the right way. It is a pitifull thing that bishops should be found infinitly fuller of error for the grounds of faith, and learned studies, then any other in all the kingdome.

A mind that loved the truth, and heard that the Greeke in the creede for 3000 yeares use, in our Lordes soules passage, is no more then to go hence to God, would make no more stirre, but wisely confesse, that by heathen Greeke the creede penned for heathen must be expounded. And that cleare plainnesse beseemeth a publike abridgment of faith, such as to all the simple folke ought to be expounded. Your heart and confession by Maister King at Frankfurt knoweth who hath cleared the trueth, and how can you suffer D. Bilson to deceave the people?

And D. Bilson being in high place, should seeme flexible unto the trueth, as his blame for stubburnes in heresie would be notorious, and if he would plainly and absolutely confesse that he hath bene deceyved, and that the Greeke in the creede teacheth most certainly that our Lordes soule ascended unto aradise from the crosse, and never de-

buchadnezzar's, visioned image. Thus, in the Alchemist, Dol Common, personating a lady who had run mad with studying Broughton's Genealogies, is introduced raving,

That, Perdiccas and Antigonus thus slain,
The two that stood, Seleuc' and Ptolomee,
Made up the two left legs, and the fourth beast,
That was Gog-North, and Egypt South, which after
Was called Gog-iron-leg, and South-iron-leg.

scended into hell; this humilitie would be his high commendation, and cut of an infinite companie of his errors.

As you are holy fathers and partakers of the heavenly callinge, kicke not against the spurre. But say; let him be *anathema maran atha* that loveth not the trueth of redemption. It is a most high injurie against God and the kinge, that the church is led amisse by bishops errors.

God give all us understanding in all thinges, and garde our hearts and mindes in the knowledge and love of our Lord and Saviour; that in all partes of holy doctrine, we may nourish peace and trueth.

Two little Workes defensive of our Redemption, That our Lord went through the Veile of his Flesh into Heaven, to appeare before God for us.

Which journey a Talmudist, as the Gospell, would terme a going up to Paradise; but Heathen Greeke, a going downe to Hades; and Latin, *Descendere ad Inferos.* Wherein the unlearned barbarous anger God and man, saying, That Jesus descended to Hell: and yeelde unto the blasphemous Jewes by sure consequence upon their words, That he should not be the Holy one of God.

By Hugh Broughton. 1604.

If any Man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be Anathema Maran Atha. 1 *Cor.* 16.

To the Reader,

By knowing that Hades, a terme used in the creede, is the place generall, where soules are before Gods throne, divided there, far enough, by heaven and hell, so that in speech of the holy Hades the generall, by difference of the person, is heaven, and in the wicked, hell, as we commonly terme hell; which place is on high, out of this world by Apo. 14. and all Jewes in Cether Malc. fol. 11. by knowing of this great light cometh to religion. First their opinion falleth, who thank God for sending his Sonne to redeeme the fathers from Hades to paradise; that is, from paradise to paradise. So *Limbus Patrum* and Purgatorie fall; when Hades hath onely two partes, heaven and hell. So our madnes falleth, who in the creede, put for that part of Hades, which holdeth the faithfull, and is heaven or paradise, the part which holdeth the wicked, and put for heaven, hell, to which they that goe, perish for ever. Here standeth the article; our Lord being in body crucified, dead and buried, had a soule immortall, as all men, which went hence to God; and being in Hades, holy, had not hell but heaven. This is all. When the gospel began, scant any held soules immortall. Pliny sheweth that. Therefore it was needfull the creed should have it. When the immortalitie was graunted, very many creedes did omit the article; because in speach of a man, to die and to go to Hades is all one. Of an horse, Grekes would say he is dead; of a man more, he is dead and gone to Hades. This matter unknown hath vexed the world by ignorance of one Greeke worde. And two bishops vexed their owne. Against whom two smal writings folow; besides much otherwise printed and written to them. The style is not of their gall, but it may gall in mildnes.

The Argument of the Admonition following.

Br. wrote unto Queene Elizabeth, that King Edward the Sixt and her Majest. swearing to the gospell, sware to this, that to goe to Hades in the creede, was to goe to paradise even by heathen Greeke; to whom Hades is the world of soules; in which the holy have paradise, and the godles Gehenna. Both be on high before Gods throne. And Br. commended the cause to Q. Elisabeths M. and the king of Scots Majestie.[1] Against that a libell was allowed to scoff the Scottish mist, penned by some Belial Bar Lo; and against salvation Bilson raged; as this short worke telleth.

A Lye resumed of D. Bilson.

Doctor Bilson in his sermon booke against Mastier Jacob,[2] folio 419, fumeth thus: First then tell your abettor, that all the realme will take him not onely for a rayler against all honestie, but a lier against all duty that voucheth so confidentlie: King Edward the Sixt and his subjectes helde that Christ his soule never went to Gehenna; and the realm knoweth the Qu. oath, and also the Q. adventureth her eternall state. These be no states to come within his uncleane mouth. He may doe well to remember who they be of whom it is written, they despise government, and speake ill of them that be in authoritie; as raging waves of the sea, foming out their owne shame. Thus the D. writeth. Marke now the Zurich confession, which K. Edw. and Queene Eliz. allowed. *Per inferos intelligimus non locum supplicii designatum impiis, sed defunctos fideles, quemadmodum per superos adhuc superstites in vitâ. Proinde anima Christi descendit ad inferos, id est, delata est in sinum Abrahæ: in quo collecti fuerunt omnes defuncti fideles. Ergo cum latroni secum crucifixo dixit, hodie mecum eris in paradiso, promisit ei consortium vitæ et beatorum spirituum. Licet enim dominus descendisse dicatur, fit tamen ex more loquendi. Confitemur in hoc articulo animas esse immortales, easque protinus à morte corporeâ transire ad vitam.* This is the Zurich confession, allowed by King Edward and Qu. Eliz.; so descending must be granted to be ascending, and hell[3] to be paradise. If our bishops misse in termes, they must blame themselves; and not rage with hereticall satanean madnes upon such as force them to faith. Now what grace the D. hath in his wordes, all may soone judge; considering what himselfe graunteth, and how in his escape afterwards he differeth from all the worlde. This was the question, Whether our Lords soul went hence to Gehenna, or hence to paradise? John Cant.,[4] and all vexed by him, know that, and for one of these two opinions the princes religion was to be esteemed. And if J. C. had invented a going from paradise to Gehenna, Geneveans would have renown-

[1] In this address to Queen Elizabeth, Broughton complained bitterly, that evil offices were done to him by Archbishop Whitgift, whom he ridicules for his mere commentary Latin. These sarcasms drew forth an answer, not from the primate himself, but from Dr Barlow, then his chaplain, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

[2] Henry Jacob, a learned divine, a zealous puritan, and said by Anthony a Wood to have been the first independent in England. Under his name was published the first answer to Bishop Bilson's sermons, entitled "Treatise of the sufferings and victory of Christ in the work of our redemption, &c. written against certain errors in these points publicly preached in London, 1597," 8vo. London, 1598. The Queen took such warm share in this theological controversy, as directly to command Bishop Bilson, "neither to desert the doctrine, nor to let the calling which he bore in the church of God be trampled under foot by such unquiet refusers of truth and authority." Preface to Bilson's *Survey of Christ's sufferings.*

[3] "Let no simple ever thinke that hell, as men commonly speak, is heaven. But if a foole put hell by his tongue where heaven is indeed, a foole cannot by unlearnedship turne heaven to hell. The barbarous translation of the Greek creede which deceived D. Bilson is blamed; not the true creede." Original Note.

[4] John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.

ed him over the world. Now marke how rightly the right reverend father and doctor taketh of himselfe the lye unto him selfe, fol. 219. "We have no warrant in the word of God so to fasten Christs soule unto hell for the time of his death, that it might not be in paradise before it descended into hell." Now John Cant. will graunt, that he damneth them both; and justifieth the adversary, as a Greeke epistle printed at Hannawe required Sir John Fortescue, once Queen Elizabeth's Greek reader, to determine, whether both bishops were not condemned most certeinly by their owne graunt. The ridiculous feigning of a new satanean fable, that our Lord went from paradise to Gehenna; and to Hades, as from Paulls to London, from Winchester to England, from England to Europe, from Europe to this world, from part to the whole; and againe, the fable that he went not to Hades, that is, in trueth, to the world of soules, till his body was buried; and again, his feigning thrise, at Paules, Hades in S. Matthew, cap. 5. twise, with 10. once, where Gehenna is the text, perverting the originall with wresting scriptures and fathers to an opinion that never came into holy mindes, this excuseth not his lye, but augmenteth his impiety; that befooleth all scriptures of God, and all divines that ever have bene in the world. Cursed be he that maketh the blinde wander out of the way, and let all the people say, Amen.

The Argument and Effect of the Epistle following.

J. C. was advised in a work dedicated to Queene Elizabeth and to the most noble, our king now, that he should not burne for Gehennaes honour, least he burned in Gehennaes flame for ever and ever; at the first he scoffed all trueth of God and the king; but being taught how he was caught in his owne syllogisme thus; the place which our Lordes soule went to hence telleth what Hades (his hell) meaneth in the creede; but paradise is the place which our Lord went to hence; therefore paradise is the hell of the creed, being taught how he was caught, he sent his chaplayne M. Geffrey King, obteyning the queenes hand for his leave, to agree with his adversarie; and he upon agreement returned presently, saying that he should be sent againe; but presently after he came home, hee would write. Conditions were not kept. The libell was still solde; and Machmadisme was in it; and a contumelious mockage of Christ and all Christians and Jewes; when he said Ruben the Jew his Ebrew epistle[1] was forged, whereby he hindered the defence of christianitie, and deserved rooting out. Besides that, after the king was ours, Paules sold the treason of the libel. For not standing to his covenant, three Greeke orations plaid upon him; and one dedicated to the king and Brettish nation in Queene Elizabets days; and after all, this epistle. At the first sight he laid the blame on Bar Lo, that usurped his auctoritie, as being guiltless; yet when at the court a duke shewed what he had done, he fell as dead, and soone died.[2] The party greeved

[1] A letter written by Rabbi Abraham Reuben, from Constantinople, to Broughton himself. When it arrived in England, the Hebrew endorsement puzzled not only the clerks of the post office, but all the orientalists in London. Mr Top, the pupil of Broughton, at length decyphered the address, and forwarded the letter to his old master. The epistle contained, according to bishop Lightfoot, "glorious things of God's goodness towards us."

[2] The author here speaks of archbishop Whitgift, who was struck with a palsy in the council chamber in February 1603-4. Broughton seems disposed to claim the credit of having given his death's wound, and Camden, perhaps as vainly, ascribes it to grief, because the king began to contend for some alterations in the liturgy. While Broughton is recounting this supposed judgment against one of his adversaries, it is wonderful that he omits an accident which happened while Bilson preached the very sermon that occasioned the controversy. "This Bishop," says Harrington, "preached at Paul's Cross upon this article of the creed, and there proving, by authority irrefragable, that hell is a place prepared for the devil and his angels, that it is beneath in *corde terræ*, and that Christ descended into it, Sathan, that knew all this to be true, and was sorry to remember it, and wished that none of the audi-

was much greeved at his death; because he had protested he never spake against him. Yet as Ely, so he by softness paid for others blame; while he repressed not bad soules. And his gentleman wished Bar Lo unborne; as more griefe to the archbishop then all that ever were his adversaries; not only for his libel against the Scottish mist, full of most deadly treason, and full of blasphemy and lying against God and man; but also for his satanean declamation at Paules against the best nobilitie, and the best bent for the good of the state; against whom the Iscariot railed and raged; whereby the nobilitie justly terme him, the vilest that is this day under the cope of heaven; as bent against God, the king, the nobilitie, and all humanitie. So Bar Lo will be his notation.

To the aged sir, John of Canterb. Archbishop, Grace and Truth.

Maister Francis Hall told that your G. deprived M. Pickard and him of their benefices, and gave both to Bar Lo (whom he described after his name, a babe most bad) for defending your Gehenna; which hæresie of yours was used for a barr, that you were not fit to confirme others, who so erred yourselfe, against all the Bible, all Greekes and Hebrewes. That the children which you would have confirmed and you together may be truly firmed herein, behold your own graunt in D. Bilson; to whom in Bar Lo his booke, your grace and wisdom referreth the unlearned for a learned defence of your minde; which held that the creede telleth whether our Lordes soul went hence. And this is your proposition and myne too; and you will adventure your eternall state upon it, and I myne. This it is; the place into which our Lordes soule went hence, is Hades or hell of the creede. This position is built upon a rocke; that no storme, windes, nor waves can shake it. And if we agree to what place our Lord his soule went hence, we agree what Hades or your hell is in the creede. Nowe to your proposition, this assumption D. Bilson layeth downe folio 219. paradise is the place to which our Lord went hence. Therefore by your own graunt, Hades or hell in the creede is paradise. Seeing then the whole tenour of Moses and the gospell cannot moove you; seeing the universall judgement of the Hebrewes for their own tongue, cannot moove you; seeing 3000 yeares heathen Greeke cannot moove you; and Eulogines Patriarcha 1200 yeres old, with all other christain Greekes which doe place Abraham in Hades, cannot moove you, and seeing the Zurick confession, which sayeth, *per inferos intelligimus non locum supplicii designatum impiis, sed defunctos fideles, et sinum Abrahæ*, cannot moove you, let your owne confession moove you; and publish it in print, that the simple deceaved by you may know how you led them to deny that our Lorde went through the vaile of his flesh into the most holy. Which they that will deny, may as well deny all religion and trueth of God. You have most highly injured the majestie of God; pretendinge that Sheol, Psal. 16. was the devils lodge, which no Ebrew ever thought, neither suffereth Moses to thinke; contemning the Gospell for the hand of God receiving the holy soule of our Lorde; pervertinge sorowes of death unto the second death, Act. 2. to befooll all christianitie, turning St Paul to Gehennean darknes; where he purposelie speaketh of

torie would believe it, raised a sudden and causeless fear by the fraud or folly of some one auditor. This fear so incredibly possessed not only the whole multitude, but the Lord Mayor and other lords present, that they verily believed Paul's Church was at that instant falling down, whereby such a tumult was raised as not only disturbed their devotions and attention, but did indeed put some of the gravest, wisest, and noblest of that assembly into evident hazard of their lives, as I have heard of some of their own mouths. The bishop, not so dismayed himself, as sympathising in pity, rather than in fear, of their causeless dismay, after the tumult was a little pacified, finished his sermon. Upon which accident some favourers of that opinion make themselves merry with this story, that at least that which they could not confute, they might seem to contemn." *Nugæ Antiquæ*, Vol. II. Park's edit.

the gospells brightnes; in these three injuries you staine all the Bible, while you make some jarr from all the rest, and befoole the most holy writers. This your sin is haynous. So your despising of Ebrew D D. For their owne tongue, will be holden of the Scottish mist and Brettish nation, and all nations a brutish parte, and no lesse the rejecting of Heathen Greeke, for the creede penned for heathen; and your restrayning of Greeke only to poets; and your teaching as generall that Hades in them is ugly, this your learning wil be holden babish. Also where D. Bilson rejecteth the world of soules, as checking all Jewes in their owne tongue his wrangling was senseless: that he knew no place where soules were togeather. Hath he ever seene in this world all bodies togeather; others saw them not, yet the speech this world is currant with all men. And for Hades, Macedones call it heaven. Portus dictionarie would have taught you so much, though you sought no deeper Grætians. And in Clemens Alexandrinus, Hades is Jupiter. To your blame for denying the lxx. in Psal. 110. a warrant for the New Test. Greeke, you say nothing, as damned. And D. Bilson saith; the Greeke fathers understood not Josephs Haden. Such owles you bring to Athens; and make your witgifte a scoph to all learned. Also you answer nothing to your blame for saying, that it were better the trueth of Daniel were hid, then antiquitie should be disgraced for missing. Others thought it a gracelesse speach. So when you condemn Saint Paul for cursing Ananias, which thing he was bound to doe, by expresse lawes, for stryking treacherouslie, and misleading the blind, you check Christ that promised a mouth that no adversarie could resist, and befoole Moses for making a defence for an open impudent judge. The blind the deafe, the officers may not lightly be cursed: but in open wilfulnes they be cursed, as Saul of David, and Sedechias of Ezechiel, and the Pharises, Mat. 23. Herein you stand at the mercy of God. Moreover touching Abraham Ruben the Jew, you have injuried Christ our Lord, and all christians most wickedly. If he had not bene answered, all christians had bene worse thought of. Now he and all the Jewes in the empire speak better of christianity. And some by that have bene baptized; and one D. told that he would be baptized and come to Englande; he is the man that prefaced to Aruc. So a rare learned Jew, to whom at Basil one gave Rubens epistle, and shewed the apostles Thalmudicall rare skill, he made request to the professours, when the party was gone, to desire him to returne to instruct him more fully; (but the party could not) and afore requested his teacher to translate into Ebrew, as he spake to him, the New Testament.—This deserved better then your language. You say the party feigned that whiche is written of his praise; and scoph his skill in Ebrew and Greeke; and terme him an asse, and offre all disgrace. For all, christians and Jewes should think you unworthy to have the benefit of christian policie. And as you know you have the Anathema maran atha given you. It returneth to the giver if you deserve it not. If your desert be doubtles, you are surely miserable; as in your perpetuall untruthes and misusing of the realmes authoritie to Satans slavery. So when you scophed the hope in the Scottish mist, and the Brittish nation, what meant you but to endevor to set millions to kill one another. Six yeres Beza noised a testament bent badly, and Geneva meant to kill one for leaning on the Scottish mist; as three Scottes there then tolde the party; and Beza wrote much alike to your old head.[1] Yet the party boldly printed the Scottish Mist then to be his king. And now with what face can you looke for any good subject, who knowes the

[1] In his Greek epistle to the Genevans on this same controversy, Broughton treated the celebrated Beza with great irreverence. He says, "that following his own dangerous conceits, he hath persuaded such as are credulous, that the text is corrupted in many places, and that there is no perfect copy to be found; and such passages as, most of all, declare the wisdom and providence of God, those Beza hath corrupted, whereby many men have been infected past recovery;" and in another place, he observes, that "many thousand words and phrases, which are extant in the writings of Jews skilful in the law, do adorn and enlighten the testament, whom if Beza had read and understood, he would not have contemned." *Biogr. Brit.* art. *Broughton.* Note.

blessing of the Scottish Mist turned to a shyning sunne ever to wish you well; after your so great endeavour to overthrow your owne nation; the British nation would, as David's 37 worthies, have layd their life in their hands for their lefull prince, then and now most deare king. And wisheth you, after pardon, to be an harty subject. Great cause you have.

To the Reader,

As Britanie conteyning England with Scotland, a Scott is not born in England because he is borne in Britanie; so Hades conteyning heaven and hel, our L. his holy soule going to Hades to his holy joy, can not be sayd to goe to hel, because his went to Hades. But the barbarous translation should be lothed of alwise, and such as would not descend to hel, to their eternal woe.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY.

(Which was destroyed by the Fire there.)

Cleopatra. F. II. 32. Fol. 197.

Sundry great Wrongs, Greevances, and Oppressions, of late Years committed and done by the Clergy, their Officers and Ministers, against the King's Liege People and Freemen of the Realme, contrarie to the good Lawes, Statutes, and Free Customs of the Realme; of all which the wise Men of the Realme, assembled by the King's Writt in Parliament, in the Name of all the Commons, most humbly pray Remedy of the King's Most Excellent Majestie.

The English Commons looked with great jealousy upon that branch of the prerogative, which the Crown had acquired by succeeding to the Pope, as head of the church. And in king James's first parliament, they desired a conference with the House of Peers touching the following ecclesiastical grievances: 1. The silencing of ministers; 2. The multiplicity of ecclesiastical commissions; 3. The manner of citations; 4. The point of excommunication. The following Tract contains a statement of the various wrongs which the people sustained under these different branches of church government. The Lords by no means showed the same zeal in this cause. They did not even admit the conference without such caution and delay, as called from the king an acknowledgment of their loving duty and zeal for his prerogative. The issue of the conference was a law restraining excommunication in ecclesiastical courts. But nothing was then done touching the other points of reformation desired by the Commons.

First, that the lords bishops and prelates, in the late convocation for the province of Canterburie in the late synode begun at London, 1603, did decree and publish sundry canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, in prejudice and impeachment of the high court of parliament, of books conscienced by authoritie of parliament, and of the laws, statutes, and

free customes of the realme. And therefore the commons most humblie praie the king, that the said canons and constitutions, by the lawes and statutes of the realme, being void canons, by the authority of this parliament, maie be commanded never hereafter to be put in execution, upon paine that the offenders incur the penalty appointed in the statute of provisors, 25 E. III.

II. *Item*, The said commons complaine, that the said synode hathe agreede upon, concluded, and published sundry canons and constitutions ecclesiasticall, in prejudice of the king, and of his prerogative roiall. And therefore the commons most humbly praie the king, that the same constitutions, by the lawes and statutes of the realme, being void, maie by authoritie of this present parliament be adjudged to be in disherison of the king and his crowne, and commanded never to be put in execution, upon the payne and penaltie aforesaid.

III. *Item*, The commons complayne, that the said synode hath made and promulged sundrie canons and constitutions, very much onorous and injurious to the kings liege people, by devisinge and imposinge certayne newe unaccustomed and needlesse fees, taxes, and charges, as well upon all the parishes in England as upon all those who shall hereafter become suiters to the Archbishop of Canterburie his courts, and as it is to be feared, to the utter undoing of a number of the kings pore subjects that shall have occasion to sue and be sued in thos courts. Wherefore the commons most humbly praie and beseech the king's most excellent majestie of remedie, and that thos canons, or any of them of what kind or nature theie be, maie never be put in execution within the realme, upon paine that the offenders be punished by the paine appointed in the statute of provisors, made in the twenty-fifth year of king Edward the Third.

IV. *Item*, The commons complayne, that the said synode, by force and vertue of their speciall power, hath devised and decreed certayne newe and needlesse oathes, bonds, and securities, to be made and taken by the laitie; which kind of oathes, bonds, and securities, if any such were in any case needfull, ought only to have been commanded and enacted by the king's temporall power, with the consent of his lords and commons in parliament. And therefore the commons moste humblie praie the king of remedie, and that such bonds, oathes, and securities, be never hereafter taken or acknowledged by any the king's subjects, in any the ecclesiasticall courts, unlesse the same be confirmed by parliament, upon pain that everie judge, officer, and minister ecclesiastical, who shall exact, require, or minister any such bond, securitie, or oathe, shall be punished with the paine appointed in the statute of provisors made in the twenty-fifth year of King Edward the Third.

V. *Item*, Wher, in divers parliaments complaints have been made against the abuse of excommunication by laie chancellors, commissaries, and officialls, for the redresse wherof at the petition of the commons, twenty-seven Eliz. our late sovereign ladie the queen of happie memorie, commanded the archbishop of Canterburie, that the same abuse should be remedied. And wher also it was ordained by the archbishops and bishops, in synode, holden 1571, that laie chancellors should not excommunicate in matters of correction. And wher afterwards again in the year 1584, and 1597, in a synode holden by the archbishop, bishops, and clergie, for the province of Canterburie, it was decreed, and in one of the said years, under the broad seal of England, ratified and confirmed, that everie vicar, generall officiall, or commissarie which hath not taken holy orders, shall call and associate unto himself some learned presbyter, which presbyter having sufficient authoritie from the bishop in his jurisdiction, whom the archdeacon, being a presbyter, in his jurisdiction, shall for contumacie denounce the sentence of excommunication. And lastlie, wher in the conference[1] at Hampton Court, the king's moste excellent majestie, in the prescence of the moste honourable lords of his privie

[1] *Barlow*. Sum of the Conference, page 94.

councell, committed certayne weightie causes to be consulted of by the lords; and *first*, for excommunication in causes of lesse moment, the name or censure to be altered. The commons complayne that the said synode, notwithstanding the former complaints, the commaundement of the queen, the redresse of their former synodes, and contrarie to the king's majesties direction, have decreed, and ordayned in manner and forme following, viz.[1] That when any minister is complayned of in any ecclesiastical court, belonging to any bishops of this province, for any crime, the chancellour, commissarie, officiall, or any other having ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, shall expedite the cause by processes and other proceedings against him; and upon contumacie for not appearing, shall first suspend him, and afterwards, his contumacie continuing, excommunicate him. Wherfore excommunication by this canon being thus permitted and commaunded to chancellours, commissaries, officialls, and others who be laie men, contrarie to the king's directions, contrarie to the decrees of their former synodes, contrarie to the queen's ratification under the broad seale, and contrarie to the complaints of the commons in manie parliaments, the commons most humblie praie the king of remedie agaynst this excommunication by laie-men. And that no chancellour, commissarie, officiall, or other ecclesiastical officer, who hath not taken the holie order of a presbyter, shall from hence forth denounce any sentence of excommunication upon paine of twenty pound for everie offence, and imprisonment at the king's pleasure.

VI. *Item*, Wher it pleased the king of his most noble and princelie grace and clemencie, as well by speech in the conference at Hampton-court, as by his highnes proclamation, of the 16th of July, 1604, to require all archbishops, bishops, and all other ecclesiasticall persons, not to inforce conformitie desired, with violence, or heighth of lawe, but to use their uttermoste indeavers, by fatherlie admonitions, conferences, arguments, persuasions, and by other waies of love, gentlenes, clemencie, and weight of reason, to reclayme all that be in the ministrie, to the obedience of our church lawes. The commons moste humblie praie the king, that such bishops and other ecclesiastical officers, as by violence, rigour of lawe, and colour of the king's absolute and supreme power alone, without fatherlie admonitions, conferences, arguments, persuasions, love, gentlenes, clemencie, and weight of reason, have proceeded against any ministers or people by processe, censures, or punishments, ecclesiastical, since the 16th of July, 1604, maie be put to aunsweare in this parliament to the complaynts of all such as have bin grieved contrarie to the king's pleasure. And if any contempt be found in any of the said bishops or other ecclesiasticall officers, that everie partie attaynted of such contempte in this parliament be for the same at the king's mercie for fine and ransome.

VII. *Item*, Wher by the letter of the statute, 1. Eliz. cap. 2. it is doubtfull, and hath bin much questioned, whether everie person, vicar, and other minister, be punishable before the king's justices, or by the ordinaries, with the severale paynes conteyned in the said act, for the not exact and precise use and observation of everie chapter, primer, section, rite, and ceremonie, in such order and forme, as is mentioned and sett forth in the said book of common praier, commaunded to be used by the said act: or whether anie minister be now otherwise punishable, by the king's justices, or by the ordinaries, unlesse wilfullie and obstinatelie standing in the same, he shall use some other rite, ceremonie, order, form, or manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book. The commons moste humblie praie the king, that the true intent and meaning of the said act, touching this point, by the king, the lords temporall, and commons and parliament, maie be interpreted and explained: that all sentences given by any ordinaries, since the begininge of the king's reign, not accordinge to the statute, to be so explained, shall by authoritie of this present parliament, be reversed, annulled, and made void, to all intents, constructions, and provisoes whatso-

[1] Can. 122.

ever. For the commons think it unreasonable, that the archbishops and bishops, beinge all secluded from the parliament in the first yeare of the queen's reigne, and so being ignorant of the true intent and meaning of that parliament, should by their glosses, extentions, restrictions, and interpretations, wrest or corrupt the meaning of the queen, the lords temporall, and commons; and that things ordeyned without them to one end, should by them be diverted to another.

VIII. *Item,* Wher by the said act of the first of Queen Elizabeth, it is established, that all and singular archbishops and bishops, and everie of their chancellours, commissaries, and archdeacons, shall have full power and authoritie to enquire in their constitutions, synodes, and elswher within their jurisdictions to tak in accusations and formations of all and everie the things don, committed, or perpetrated within the limits of their jurisdictions and authorities, against the act for the uniformitie of common praier and service in the church, and the administration of the sacraments; and to punishe the same by admonition, excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, and other censures and processe, in like form as heretofor hath bin used in like cases, by the queen's ecclesiasticall lawes. The commons most humblie praie the king, that suche archbishops, bishops, and other judges and officers ecclesiasticall, as have admonished, suspended, excommunicated, deprived, or by any other censures and processe of the church impeched any persons, vicars, ministers, or other the king's people, without any inquirie, in their visitations or synodes, and without any accusation or information, at any other tyme and place, maie be called to answer the parties grived in the parliament. And if upon complaint it be found true, that any archbishop, bishop, or other judges ecclesiasticall whatsoever, hath punished anie person, vicar, or other minister, with anie payne or censure ecclesiasticall mentioned in the said act, onelie upon his aunswer to certayne questions and interrogatories, propounded *ex mero officio,* for matters of fact, in tyme to come, to be left unsaid, or undon, touching the not use or observation of the book of common praier, or of the rites and ceremonies of the church, and not of any crimes, by inquisition, accusation or information, found done, permitted, or perpetrated against the tenour of the said act, that then everie processe, sentence, and judgement given by any archbishop, bishop, or other judge ecclesiasticall whatsoever, against any person, vicar, or other minister, convicted onlie upon aunswear, to interrogatories and questions of things to be left unsaid or undon, maie be revoked, adnulled, and made void by authoritie of this present parliament, as being a processe, sentence, and judgement, had, made, and given against all right, equitie, and true intendment of the said act, and as the commons believe, against all other the king's ecclesiastical lawes. Neverthelesse, if the archbishops and bishops shall pretend, that they have rightfullie proceeded by the king's ecclesiasticall lawes, upon questions and interrogatories of matters of fact not done, but of matters of fact onelie to be therafter unsaid or undone, then the commons humblie praie the king, that the archbishops and bishops maie declare unto the king and parliament wher, when, and by whom the said ecclesiasticall law was made, that if ther be anie such unreasonable ecclesiastical lawe, it maie be adnulled and made void forever by authoritie of this present parliament.

IX. *Item.* Wher at the submission of the clergie, by the statute of the realme, all forraine canon lawe made by the pope, without the realme, is utterlie adnulled and made void within the realme, the commons complayne, that the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, guardians of spiritualities, their chancellours, commisaries, and officials, do still practise, put in use and execution within the realme, the saide forraine canon law; wherefore the commons most humblie praie the kinge of remedie in this behalfe; and that it maie please his majestie to have it inacted by authoritie of this present parliament, that from henceforth no part of the said forraine canon lawe be executed within the realme, by anie judge ecclesiasticall whatsoever, upon paine that whosoever shall offend this act, shall incurr the penaltie appointed in the statute of provisors, made the 21st year of King Edw. III.

X. *Item.* Because the archbishops, bishops, and other judges ecclesiasticall, by their processes and sentences, do charge persons, vicars, ministers, and others the king's people, of schisms, sects, contempts, inobediences, irregularities, incorrigibilities, scandals, perjuries, and other enormities, and impeach and condempne them, without putting in certaine wherein or whereof, or by what [x] manner they have been schismaticall, sectuaries, perjured, incorrigible, scandalous, irregular, inobedient, contemptuous, or otherwise enormous; the commons most humblie beseech the king, that no archbishop, bishop, or other judges or officers ecclesiastical, shall from henceforth, by any processe, payne, or censure, call or punish, or otherwise molest, impeach, or condempe anie of the clergy or laitie, because of general imputations of schismes, sects, contempts, inobediences, irregularities, incorrigibilities, scandales, perjuries, or other enormities, unless the said archbishops, bishops, and other officers ecclesiastical, saie and put in certayne in what thing, and of what, and in what manner the said persons, vicars, ministers, and other the king's subjects have don, committed, and perpetrated such contempts, disobediences, &c.

XI. *Item.* Because of the liberties and franchise heretofore granted by the king's progenitors to the archbishops, bishops, and clergie, no archbishop or bills maie be impeached before the king's justices, [y] because of crime, unles the king especiallie do command the same, till another remedie be thereof ordenyed; the commons moste humblie praie the king that other remedie by this parliament maie be ordenyed; and that from henceforth it may be lawful for anie of the king's subjects, wronged or oppressed by any archbishop or bishop, in or about any cause or matter ecclesiastical, without speciall commission from the king, to complayne agaynst the said archbishop or bishop for the said crime, wronge, oppression, grievance, or extortion, ecclesiastical, before the lords of the king's councell, judges and justices authorised to sit in the highe courte of Starre-Chamber, and that the said courte maie inflict such condign punishment upon the delinquent for the crime committed, as to the said curate shall seem needful, meet, and convenient.

XII. *Item.* Wher of late years certayne billes of complainte agaynst ecclesiasticall officers have bin put up into the Starre-Chamber for ministring unlawfull oaths unto our late queen's subjects, for extortion, confederacie, combination, and bringinge men into the spirituall courtes for gayne, upon false and untrue suggestions, which complaints, because they concerned, as was alledged, matters, the cognisance whereof belong onelie to the church, and not to the queen's courts, have not bin suffered to be presented in the saide courts of Starre-Chamber, wherbie, ther being no remedie to be had by the ecclesiastical judges in their ecclesiastical courts for the same misdemeanors, not onlie the parties wronged have been remedilesse, but also the oathes, oppressions, and exactions of the ecclesiasticall officers, being thereby esteemed unpunishable, have growne and daily do growe to more untruth and excesse than ever theie did before: Maie it therfore please the king's majestie, at the humble petition of the commons, to have it directed, that all chancellours, commissaries, officials, registers, and other ecclesiastical officers, for any crime committed, or perpetrated in, for, about, or concerning any matter or cause, the cognisance wherof apperteyneth to holie church, maie by the partie grieved, upon the king's writt out of the chancerie, be convented into the highe court of Starre Chamber, there to aunsweare such matters as shall be objected against him; and that it maie be lawful to the same courts to inflict such condigne punishment upon everie the offenders, as accordinge to the qualitie of the crime hath bin heretofore inflicted by the same court in like cases, anie law, custome, libertie, privilege, or franchise granted by the king's progenitors into holie church, to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding.

[x] The effect of this petition was granted the clergy against the king's justices, *Edw.* III. *cap.* 9.
[y] *Edw.* III. *cap.* 3.

A Declaration of the Reasons which moved Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato or Salonas, Primate of Dalmatia and Croatia, to depart from the Romish Religion and his Countrey (1617). *Written by himself in Latine, and now for the populare use translated.*

Marco Antonio de Dominis was of the family of Theobald of Placentia, who filled the papal chair by the title of Gregory X. The talents and erudition which he displayed in the seminary of the Jesuits, recommended him early to high rank in the Catholic hierarchy. He became bishop first of Segni, and afterwards of Spalatro, in Dalmatia. But the progress of his theological studies, and perhaps the natural fickleness of his disposition, induced him to support doctrines inconsistent with the Roman creed. Finding himself on bad terms with Paul V., the reigning pope, and fearful of the consequences of an accusation of heresy, the bishop of Spalatro took, as he is pleased to say, the wings of a dove, and fled to England, where he publicly embraced the Protestant faith. He entered into the English church, was received with the honour due to so distinguished a convert, and became dean of Windsor and master of the Savoy. The following Tract contains his own apology for his conduct, and appears to have been published while on his passage to England through Germany. It was well received by the Protestant states, and generally circulated. The ex-bishop wrote several other treatises against the Catholic doctrine, particularly one dedicated to the States-General of Holland, from whom he received a valuable present of plate. But neither honours nor promotion could fix his versatile disposition; for, at the solicitation of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who held out to him the promise of a cardinal's hat, he returned to Rome in 1622, and publicly abjured the Protestant religion. Disease had reduced the prelate to the brink of the grave when he took this disgraceful step, from which it was naturally inferred, that his former conversion was the fruit of ambition, at least of mutability, certainly not of conviction. Neither did his reception at the court of Rome answer his hopes; for, falling under the power of the Inquisition, he was imprisoned in the castle of Saint Angelo, where he died, at the age of sixty-four, in the month of December 1625. His body was publicly burned after death, in consequence of heretical writings being found in his possession.

To Antonio de Dominis the world owe the preservation of Paolo Sarpi's celebrated History of the Council of Trent, which was transmitted in parcels from Italy, and put by him into the hands of Archbishop Abbot, by whom it was published. He is also remarkable as being the first person who used in his controversial writings the word *puritan*, as denoting an Anti-Arminian of the English church.

The Translater imparteth his Observations to the Reader.

Receive, Christian reader, a proofe of the force of trueth, and a presage of the ende of that worke God is about to doe in these last ages: A man brought up in the learning of Ægypt, and inchaunted with the sorceries of Babel; without the helpe or counsell of any protestant, by occasion of popish tyrannie, searching the trueth, findeth out their errour in doctrine, and abuses in discipline; and convinced of both, first in his minde forsaketh their opinions, and now in his body fleeth from their society. This is not like to the change of Apollinaris and Arrius of olde, or of Carier in our time, whose miscontented humour, for hopes disappointed, made them alter their opinion; but more like to that of Paulus Vergerius, bishop of Justinople, whom unjust suspitions at the first burdened with a secret favour of Lutheranisme; for purging whereof he intended a refutation of Luther's doctrine: But while he wrangled with the trueth, to overcome it, he was taken captive of it; and leaving his place and dignities, rendered himselfe at Tubinge to our profession.

The ground of our presage is God's trueth in times accomplishment, wherein Providence goes on with remarkeable degrees of persons and places, not without some respect to the periods of time. Hee raysed Wickleff from their schooles, John Husse from their pulpits, Martin Luther from their cloysters, and nowe Mark Antonie from their archepiscopall chaire. The places have the like gradation: Great Britaine seemeth too farre from Rome to waken them by Wickleff's crye; therefore it sounded nearer in Germanie. And nowe Dalmatia looking over the Venetian Gulffe, assureth Italie that her next advertiser shall be within her bowels. It was more than a poeticall licence to applye Sybillas oracles of Christ* to Salonius the sonne of Pollio, for keeping in memore his victorie in taking in Salonas: But this our Salonius maketh large restitution, and applyeth the oracles of God to the owne purpose. As the clergie hath gone before, so princes doe follow: The king of Great Britaine, with most of the princes of Germanei, stand out alreadie against Rome; the ambiguity of France will resolve in ende in an open departure; and the temporizing of Venice importeth more the want of occasion, than of will and resolution. The Roman empire did stretch out itself by degrees, proceeding from the middes to the extremities, as circles goe out from the center: and at the extremities againe their ruine began, and went back to the heart. The fall of their spiritual monarchie shall keepe the same course.

The periods of time have their own observation. The Jewish solemnitie of jubilee, not brought in the church till the thirteenth age, was then tyed to the centenarie number; and that their joye hath since proved to be like the song of the marmaide before a storme; for soon after, Wickleff beganne to trouble their mirthe; and in the end of that age John Husse made them some more business; till in the yeere 1415, the holy fathers at Constance, by a punicke faith, brought him to the fire. An hundreth yeeres after him Luther renewed his song with greater boldnesse, and in the 1517 yeere gave out his propositions against the pope; from which time they have persuaded themselves, and even to this day assure their followers, that Luther's doctrine can stand no longer than an hundreth yeeres. This present yeere closeth that period; and while they looke for an evanishing of that doctrine, beholde, even from themselves it receiveth againe a newe light, a newe testimonie. We holde with Plato the fatalitie of periods, but Pythagoras numbers are too weake a grounde for such a necessitie: or if we shall take anie numbers, it must be these of sinne; and in sinne, more the degrees than the numbers. The Amorites sinnes must come to the height, and the Jewes must fill their cuppe before their punishment. The Pharisees of our time doe mightily to fill out their measure. The pryde and filthinesse of Sodome, the whoredomes of Babell, are now multiplyed exceedingly, and the greatest sinne, even that to death, is become an epidemick disease among their clergie. Pope John XXII. can denye the trueth, Leo X. can scoffe at it, Gardinerus can confesse it at his death, but with this addition, that it must rather still be impugned, than the state of Rome decay; all their wittes runne upon this one point, but all their meanes turne upon them; the cruelty of their inquisition, the tyranny of their prohibitions, their impudency in falsifying wordes and writts, give them but a moment's advantage: but even from these shall come their ruine. A lye hath no more strength than for the time it is spoken, and credulously embraced; but the eternall force of trueth hath more than a momentarie prevailing. What then resteth for them, but that they give place to the fatality of their estate, since they will not give place to the trueth. And for us, while Rome is renting in itselfe, take heede that we be not divided. Whosoever now casteth in the apple of strife in the reformed church, proveth an enemy to God, and an improfitable friend to antichrist. Let us stande still, and beholde the worke of the Lord, and bee sure while wee imagine wee have left Babel, that wee have first forsaken Egypt.

W. S.

* The translator alludes to the fourth Eclogue of Virgil.

Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalata, expoundeth the Purpose and Reasons of his Departing.

Lest this my departing, suddaine and unexpected of all others, but to myselfe, by a long and more than ten yeeres advising resolved upon, and by exquisite deliberation brought to ripenesse, should cause wondring among these of our profession, and should produce some badde effectes, through my default, in these who are ignorant of the proceeding; I thought it necessarie, by a timous præoccupation, to expound the reasons of this my not-hastie, but well-advised departing.

For surely I doe foresee, there shall not be lacking many traducers, who according to the custome will take occasion of this my departing, to revile and burden me with calumnies; which thing I confess before God, doeth not much trouble mee; for with the Apostle Paul I count little to be judged of men; let me bee a foole for Christ's cause; let me bee vyle, buffetted, rayled upon, persecuted, blasphemed, and counted the off scouring of the world; yea, and accursed, so that I may satisfie the Lord Jesus Christ, and profit my brethren in the ministerie of Christ, I should contemne all these thinges. For our glorie is the testimonie of a good conscience, that in simplicitie of heart, and sinceritie of God, and not in fleshly wisedom; but by the grace of God I have changed my place. It is my parte indeed as the minister of God, to shewe myselfe in much patience, in tribulation, in necessities, in straites, in laboures, through glorie and shame, through infamie and good fame; for I seek not myselfe, nor mine owne, but those things which are Jesus Christs. That rather doth grieve me, if I doe not obviate calumnies, it may easily come to passe, that in the mindes of the godly a great fruite of edification shall bee stayed, which they might take of my counsell, and that many ignorant of the reasons of my departing, in place of edification shall unwittingly offende at me, by unjust calumnies which they will heare. To these I will open the reasons of my departing, and make them manifest to all men, that I may profite them.

That this my change of place is of God, and not of man, neither may I, neither ought I to call in question; I knowe wee should not easily trust every spirit, but should trye them, if they bee of God, as we are well admonish'd by John, the beloved disciple of Christ. Therefore in these trials, beside the often accesse to the Father of lightes, which I learned of Christ, in these ten yeeres before named; it is most certaine (as God and my conscience beareth me recorde) that no man's persuasion of whatsoever sort came to my ears; in this purpose I had none to stirre me up, none to perswade me: I had use of no man's counsell, nor did communicate it to any creature; neither yet let any suspect, that I did drawe my reasons out of the bookes (of Protestants) which are contrary to the doctrine of Rome; for God is my witnesse, I did vehemently abhorre those bookes discharged by Romane inquisition; which indeed if any prelate addicted to the court of Rome did detest, I did it out of measure, being possessed from my childhood with foolish feares; and since now I am not a childe, but neare unto threescore yeeres of age, let any, who listeth, assay whereinto he can perswade me, without weightie reasons, I did ever sway the inclinations and thoughts of my heart after the rules which the holie spirit in sacred scripture did prescribe to the whole church; and by whose direction the holie and reverend fathers, ever much esteemed by the Catholike church, did instruct the faithfull; which holie fathers also, beside the inward motions of the holie spirit, were the only and chiefe authors of this my purpose. Why then should I suspect this worke to bee of an evill spirit? from which suspicion that also maketh me free, that before God, who tryeth the heart and reynes, I know that in my deliberation I did never direct my mind to humane or worldlie respectes: not unto

ecclesiasticall dignities, which might beseeme mine estate, for I was alreadie a bishop and that not of the basest sort, but the chiefest in my native province, to wit, the Archbishop of Spalato, the primate of two kingdomes, Dalmatia and Croatia, of as great estimation in our churches and provinces (I am not ashamed to confesse the trueth) as anie other. And if the dignities of Rome had beene pleasant to me, I had ever an easie accesse to them. But the manners of the court of Rome, which I ever disliked, made me ever to abhorre it; yet not the lesse, in great and publicke affaires, the see of Rome did use my labours to the emperour and archdukes, as is manifest by the pope's brieves, and the letters of the emperor and archdukes, which I yet keepe. My well-deserving also at the hand of the state of Venice, my native soveraigne, did procure unto me their great favour; whereby I might both hope for, and expect the benefite of better fortune, if the desire of greater grandour had possessed me. I looked not to worldlie commodities, which I had in that aboundance as miglit more than suffice a moderate spirit, such as I ever had, which I doe ascribe to the grace of God. In this change of my place I doe gladlie embrace the losse of all my dignities and riches, because (as I have said) I seeke not mine, but the thinges of Jesus Christs; therefore neither the councels of men, nor the undaunted affection, nor worldlie necessatie, nor event; neither anie miserable accident, which useth to ranverse men, and their estate, moved me to depart; but whence it was, I will ingeniously declare, without faining or dissimulation.

For the most part, from my childhood, I was brought up among the Jesuits, in holy study, according to the common doctrine of the schoole-men, and the received opinions of the church of Rome; for which opinions, proper to Rome imprinted and fixed in my mind, more by authority than by reason; with the miserable captiving of my understanding, I was, for a long space, most resolved to die; for I counted it execrable about these opinions to admit the smallest doubt or ambiguitie of mind or thought, let be of speaches; and being bound up in this common reverence of them, if at any time any thought had crept in against them, or my studies had suggested any doubt, I resolved to use violence against mine owne reason (as the custome is in matters of faith) and to turne my minde and thoughts another way, rather than I should admit the least doubt against these articles of faith, which I tooke for certain, and were set out to us by our teachers, to be moste certaine. I confesse I did feele continually some sparks of the inward spirit, which neverthelesse I resisted, yet I could never freely acquiesce, neither free myselfe of a great suspicion, which held me in perplexitie, after I had made some progresse in the studies of divinitie; which suspicion was greatly augmented in me by so exact, so rigorous, and intestine business of Rome; whereby I perceived they did moste narrowly take heede, that no booke, written against our doctrine, should bee helde or read by any of us; for I supposed, that these bookes were justly discharged the common sort, lest the people, who are destitute of judgement and discretion, should be exposed by reading of them, to the danger of drinking in of heresy. But in that they were altogether discharged students, and men of great learning, and well affected to the catholike religion, I did ever judge, (as reason will teach every man) that matter was greatly to bee suspected; especially seeing the court of Rome suffered us not to have any use of these bookes: even after wee had compleet our course in the studie of divinitie, and taken degrees therein; yea, and after our promotion to bishoprickes. This suspicion did yet more increase, where I sawe our masters and professors in their publicke handling of the controversies, by word or write, claime this authoritie to themselves, to bee trusted in all that they sayde: that those words and sentences which they did repeat, were the words and sentences of the adversaries; and in the mean time, the hearers were discharged, under the fearfull paine of excommunication, to reade the writings of the adversaries; in ryding, suppressing, and destroying whereof, they make so great businesse, as justlie it is to bee expected, some thing lurketh in them which our doctrine is not able to confute.

From the first yeeres wherein I rendered myselfe to be a clergieman, I fostered an in borne desire to see the union of all the churches of Christ; and could never patiently thinke upon the division of the Westerne and Easterne churches, the south and north, in matters of faith.[1] I desired earnestly to know the causes of so many and so great schismes; and to search, if possibly any way could be found out to bind up again all the churches of Christ in the true and ancient union. I was also tormented with heavy dolour, which I conceived at the dissentions of professors of Christian religion, and the coate of Christ so miserably rent asunder; which dolour and too great heavinesse did wonderfully afflict mee, and yet more and more vexeth me daylie.

Thereafter, now some twenty yeares ago, I was promoved to the governement of the church, and made bishop of Segna; which thing my fathers, the Jesuites, tooke heavily, because they knew by experience that I was not ydle nor improfitable for their societie (but that their account I doe not much regarde, for I contemne all humane estimation, unlesse it make some furtherance in divine obedience) they had found me (I say) profitable for them; for in the time of my tryall, when I was but young, they preferred mee to a publicke profession of humanitie in the colleges of Verona. And before I was a priest, they placed me in the publicke chaire, for the profession of the mathematickes at Padua, with great concourse of hearers. They made me professor of rhetoricke first, and then of the logicke and philosophie, in the publicke shooles of Brescia, and often on the festuall dayes would needes have mee making sermon in their churches: They enjoyned mee the dispatch both of private and weightie affaires; and in all the services of their society they found my diligence: Why then should they not have taken heavily my promoving to a bishoprick? which was unto me the first occasion to come downe to the earth, from the subtill and airie, or improfitable disputations of the schoolmen, and to turne my contemplation in wholsome practice of the cure of soules, and of the church. And because I did acknowledge the proper taske of a bishop was to preach the word, I set myselfe to reade sermons, and such bookes as are appointed for Lent; which did soone beget in me a loathing and detestation; for I saw in them, and that easilie, a filthie abuse of scripture, while it is throwne to vaine, unprofitable, impertinent, yea, and a pernicious sense: I saw examples and miracles propounded, either false and fained, or at least ridiculous, and not worthie of credite; I saw the people miserablie deceived, and the inventions of avarice and ambition superstitiouslie forced upon them, under colour of articles of faith. These thinges I was astonished to consider; and therefore I resolved to leave these troubled streames, and to take myself to the fountaines of the fathers: in reading of whose works I beganne to delyte, for sermons and holy canons and church government.

From this course now and then some beames of new light did shine unto me, as yet unwilling and repining: for on the one part I did observe the sayinges of the fathers in verie manie thinges, contrarie to the common doctrine which I had learned in the schooles: and I did perceive, that they were either passed by in silence by my masters, or not faithfully alledged, or not sufficientlie, or which is worse, sinistrously expounded: On the other part, I did see, and that not without great wondring, that the rule of church discipline, and spirituall governement, of our time, was exceeding farre different from the ancient practise, whereby my forenamed suspicions were greatly augmented: and I perceived afarre off that we did not faithfully handle the doctrine and affaires of Christ and his church, but stuffed our theologie rather with the quick inventions of humane speculations and philosophie, than with the wholsome wordes

[1] While in the Protestant church, De Dominis must be allowed the praise of having laboured to heal schism and reconcile differences. In a letter to the states of Holland written in 1618, he deprecates the violent discussions which then agitated the synod of Dort, and prayed that evangelical charity might dispose the contending parties to an amicable settlement of the points contested.

of holy scripture, exactly considered and expounded, whereof there is a grosse ignorance amongst us.

From a bishoprick I was advanced to an archbishoprick, wherby a new and more urgent occasion grew unto me, to renew my studies, and to labour in them more earnestly: For whereas the troubles of the suffragane bishops of my province, but much more the excessive power of the court of Rome, encroaching upon my metropolitan jurisdiction, began to injure me, I proponed to myself to search out, and throughly to know the root and fountaine of church degrees, jurisdictions, callings, offices, and dignities, and chiefely of the papall greatnesse. A little after the state of Venice was by the Pope put under interdiction: and scoffing pamphlets, sent dayly from Rome, ceased not to oppresse, vexe, and slander all of us, who were bishops of the seignorie of Venice, as beastes, dolts, ignorantes, and men of evil conscience.[1] Whereof, for the better instructing our lawfull defences, and for the better knowledge of the question debated betwixt the Venetians and the Pope, new occasions were given to mee of a new and more earnest studie. The holy ancient canons, the orthodox councels, the discipline of the fathers, and the ancient customes of the church, were often and againe turned over by me. Whereto shall I say more? I found aboundantly in these only all that I sought, and a greate deale more than I sought. Then it was easie with opened eyes to observe, that the doctrine of these reformed churches, which in great numbers Rome maketh enemies to herself, and which are bitterly reproved and impugned by our Theologs, did in little, or nothing at all, differ from the true and ancient doctrine of the pure church. I did also perceive, that their doctrine, both at Rome and among us, is abhorred and repelled, rather than lawfully impugned; not for that it is indeed heretical and false, but only because it is contrary to the corrupt sense and manners of the court of Rome, and to her fleshly plottes and inventions, which is now turned into a temporall estate. I saw also, and perceived most clearly, that at Rome, without any lawfull ground, yea, by extreme violence, innumerable new articles of faith were daily coined, and forced upon us; and that in such things as not only appertaine nothing to divine faith, but also containe in themselves manifest falsehood; which articles that corrupt court will neither suffer to be discussed by any, nor be brought in a due consultation of the church; but pursueth even to the death all those who dare whisper against them. They have now for a long time smoothered the sacred councels, and so have put out the eyes of the church of Christ, that now unhappie shee, as another Sampson, made blinde, and deprived of her own strength, captived and made vyle, is able only to groan. It was sometimes an article of faith, that the universall church, dispersed throughout the whole worlde, is that catholicke church of Christ, whereunto Christ himselfe doeth promise his perpetuall assistance, which Paul calleth the pillar and ground of veritie. But now our Romanistes have drawne this article of faith in lesser bounds, That the catholic church is now to be taken for none other than the court of Rome: And it is propounded to be beleeved by a firme faith, that in it only, yea, and in the pope alone, the whole spirit of Christ maketh residence: and whatsoever of old time hath bene said for the honour of the universall church of Christ, with great injury to the church, is wholly applyed to the court of Rome: And many things are reduced to the articles of faith, whereof we never had any institution of Christ; whereby the soules of the faithfull are miserably deceived; and so the blinde with their blinde leaders rush headlongs in the gulfe of perdition. These things, among many other, have grieved me exceedingly, and doe yet stirre up in my spirit an incredible dolour.

But I will cease now particularly to recount the innumerable novelties of the court of Rome, and these moste pernicious erroures whereby a boucherie of soules is wrought; the vigour of church discipline is broken; the propagation and purging of religion is

[1] To the credit of the author it must be remembered, that he was a coadjutor of Father Paolo Sarpi in his celebrated defence of the liberties of Venice against papal usurpation.

hindered, and innumerable offences are brought in the church: The civil peace of Christians is troubled, and bloody warres stirred up amongst them, kingdoms are overthrown, and horrible schismes are made in the churches, and most grievous calamities do arise (which all I have exactly observed,) I will cease now (I say) to recount them, because I have fully treated of all these matters in my large worke, of the Ecclesiasticke Republicke, which I have in rediness, and shall give to bee printed in Germanie, as first commodiously occurreth to me in this my journey:[1] All that worke of the Ecclesiasticke Republicke, I comprehende in ten bookes: In the first whereof I search out the forme of this republicke; and doe determine, that the church under Christ appertaineth to a most perfect monarchie; and that not the lesse the ministers of Christ on earth, by Christ's own institution, are most farre from an earthly monarchie, and do governe the church with an aristocratie or choise government; not without some mixture of a democratie or popular government; and consequently I shew that the primacie of Peter is contrary to the evangel and institution of Christ. In the second booke I consider the governers and ministers of the Ecclesiasticke Republicke, who they are, and what succession can be given to the holy apostles; what is the institution of bishops; wherein they differ from presbyters; who are the inferiour ministers, and what force holie have order in this republicke. In the thirde I doe expound what is the hierarchie to be found among the bishops and governoures of this republicke; and I do teach, that there is no preheminence nor subjection among bishops, by divine right, but that degrees of places among them are distinguished by the constitutions of the church only. And consequently I do treat of the election, confirmation, consecration, or ordination, of bishops, and of the power of metropolitanes, primates, and patriarches. In the fourth I examine the priviledges of the church of Rome; and doe prove, that neither in herself, nor in her bishop nor clergie, shee hath anie preheminence given her of Christ above other churches; but if any shee hath had, or nowe hath, shee hath taken it from the helpes and furtherances of men. In the fifth I doe undertake to search out the proper power of the church; and do prove that it is meerelie spirituall; and so I remoove, farre from the church, all (earthlie) jurisdiction; and then consequently I dispute of the force and operation of sacramentes, and of ecclesiasticall censures. In the sixth I compare the power of the laitie, and of the church; that the difference betwixt the ecclesiastical and temporall republicke may appeare; and I doe shewe that Christian temporall princes may doe many thinges in the church; but the church in temporall thinges, and especially towards kings, may doe nothing at all. I treat also of the temporall kingdome of Christ, of the power of the laitie, whence it is, and of how large extent; of the immunities of the church and churchmen; of investitures, of the monarchie of Sicill, and such like. In the seventh I consider the inward direction of the ecclesiasticke republicke, which is by faith; and I enquire for the true rule of faith; and so I dispute of the word of God, of the authoritie of the church, and of the pope over it: of counsells, of heresie, of schisme, and such like. In the eighth I consider the externall government of the church, by laws, canons, and judicatories. Thereafter I discusse howe farre canons doe oblish: of dispensations, of commandes, enjoyning, fasting, prayer, and such like. In the ninth I come to the temporall goods of the church, and I expound at length how sparing the sustentation of the ministers should bee; whence it should bee taken; and howe church goods should be guided; I treat also of tithes, of benefices, of dominion over church-goods; of the use and abuse of church rents; of pensions, of comendas, and testaments of the clergie. In the tenth and last I undertake to expound the libertie

[1] This great work, entitled, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, was printed in England in two volumes folio in 1617 and 1622. There is also a German edition in 1658. Many of the propositions which it contains were censured by the Sorbonne in 1618.

of the church, that wee may see what way this republicke is free. And consequently I treat of priviledges and persons priviledged; of the abuse of priviledges; of exemptions, and persons exempted; of the subjection of moncks, and such like. This was the fruit of my painfull studies; for while upon the occasions before named, I did griedily read holy scripture, the orthodox fathers, the holy canons, and volumes of councels, mine eyes being opened, and I enflamed with a zeale to explain the trueth to others, and to myselfe, I could not but write those thinges I observed, and this my much writing hath begotten this worke, the summe whereof I have rehearsed. I saw therefore plainly, and did perceive, that in our churches wee had gone farre astray from the right path, both in doctrine and discipline.

What then should I doe more in the mids of a wicked and froward nation? If (as reason craveth) I would have governed mine own church according to the ancient discipline of the catholick church, and propone true and catholick doctrine, I should by that means hasten upon mine head great stormes and horrible tempests from Rome: for even already at Rome great hatred was hatched and fostered against me, because they had under-smelled my labours in writing against their opinions; for which I was often admonished and rebuked by the pope's nuncio, lying at Venice: It was therefore much better to take the wings of a dove, and to withdraw myselfe, and fly away to the wilderness, where I might wait upon him who will deliver me from the weakness of spirit, and from the tempest; rather than remaining among the blind, willingly blinding myselfe, I should leade the blind to perdition. What are the bishops under the Romane popedome? In temporall things indeed, where the benefices are fat, they shine in worldly dignitie, they are great and conspicuous, and princes, but bishops they are not, but by equivocation; all their bishoply administration is perished: for the government of all churches is drawn to Rome, and the bishops themselves are scarsely vicars and servants to the lord pope; they are vile, contemptible, oppressed, and troden under foot miserably; subjected not to the pope only, but to cardinals, and to so many congregations as are institute at Rome against them; legates from his holiness side, apostolick nunces, inquisitors, visitors, and in end to innumerable orders of regulars and their brethren, who nowe by their apostolicke priviledges are not onely equalled to bishops, but also overmatcheth them, and stayeth their proceedings in their government, swallowing up their power. The church under the bishop of Rome is no more a church, but a certaine humane commonwealth, all of it under the pope's temporal monarchie: it is a vineyard only to make Noe drunk; it is a flock, which the shepheards doe sheare and clipe even to the blood; yea, to excoriate and slaye them. Why then should I not flee, lest I should see these evils any longer, and lest I should be a fellow-worker of such thinges, and a partaker with them. Christ hath set me as a dogge among his flocke; I should not bee dumbe anie longer, as nowe all the other bishops under the Romane pope are dumbe dogs; who on the one part allured with large hopes, and on the other terrified with great feare, are altogether silent, and choose by base flattery to hasten to perdition with their chiftane. And because (according to the proverbe) "flattery begetteth friends, and trueth begetteth hatred;" seeing I neither could, nor ought to desert the trueth, I behoved of necessitie to flee noisome hatred, and poyson, and daggers, the ordinary effects of hatred among us; for in these our times, matters are come to this poinct, that at Rome, or elsewhere by commission from Rome, the defence of controversies of religion is not committed to theologs, or councels, but to torturers, burrios, cut throates, and bloodie murtherers.

And albeit all these thinges did ever and earnestly perswade me to flee, yet I doe confesse I found the handmaid Agar, with her child Ismael, for a long time troublesom to me: I mean I heard my flesh rebelling against my spirit, and reasoning after this manner; and whither, I pray thee, wilt thou goe? Thou art come to great dignities, and wealth, under the bishop of Rome, with hope also to attain further. These

things thou doest possesse; these are certain, but thou knowest not what shall befall thee in other places. Shall it bee even so, that thou wilt leave thy countrey, and consignes, and alliance, and friends, never any more to see them againe? Wherfore makest thou thyself wiser than innumerable other bishops, who comporteth with all things, tolerateth and excuseth them; why wilt not thou in like manner comport with, tolerate, and excuse them; art thou only the wise man among such an innumerable multitude; are all the rest foolish; doest thou not know, that immediately after thy departing, first at Rome, and then everywhere, thou shalt bee burdened with great reproaches, and noted with the infamous name of an hereticke? These and more such like speaches my fleshly Agar did often whisper in mine eares; not without a great combate betwixt her and mine inward spirit, and my conscience now already overcome with trueth: but that Divine Spirit, with a more vehement force, suffered me not any longer to make delayes, but with an effectuall voyce he called me to himselfe, as he did Abraham, saying, "Come out of thy countrey, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, and come unto the land which I will shew unto thee." And he forced mee to put in execution that notable saying of the wise men, "Follow God;" even as blessed Abraham indeed obeyed it, according to the consideration of holie Ambrose *(de Abraham, lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.) which fact of the holy patriarch after a wonderful sort, augmented both my courage and strength, while I perceived, that God did first reward his ready obedience, by keeping disgrace and infamy farre from him; for he preserved the chastity of his beautiful wife Sara, when it was in hazard by a licentious tyrant. Ambrose also did much comfort mee in this case, while he saith, because Abraham contemned all things for God's calling, therefore he receiveth all things again abundantly multiplied; and first of all he gave him the safety of Sara's chastity, which hee knew was deare to the husband. That same holy father added moreover, whosoever followeth the Lord is ever in surety; and therefore (saith he) we should not bee called back from the obedience of heavenlie commandements, neither for respect to our country, or parents, or children, or wife, because God giveth all these gifts to us, and is able to preserve them all. These things give me full assurance, that for this my following of his calling, though it bee somewhat too late, God will give me this remuneration, even the preservation of my fame and estimation; that of whatsoever account it be, it shall suffer no disgrace amongst barbarians, but shall be kept sound and undefiled, for the edification of some, and avoyding of offences. Beeing therefore encouraged with this confidence, and moved with this holy calling, and admonished by these dangers, I have most chearfully undertaken this my flight.

But yet the love of Christ constraineth me, for I might be counted of a vile and base spirit, if laying aside all lawful striving, I should rot in sluggish idlenesse in some corner, and so flee for mine owne ease. The cause of Christ is in hand, which calleth me to itselfe, and I heare that voyce continually thundering in mine eares [crye] and admonishing mee to goe up to some high mountaine, to the ende that my voyce, joyned with their voyce who have not bowed their knee to Baal, may be better heard in preaching the gospel to Sion. That voyce now I follow, and I goe into some mountain, where the catholic church hath lifted up her head in a free profession, from whence, according to the oblishment of my calling, so farre as in me lieth, I may proclaime the trueth to the worlde; and may open and shew the wayes for taking away all divisions, and binding up again of peace in the church. The church shall shortly heare my cries, and I will speake to the heart of Hierusalem, and call unto her; for I cannot in any case bee lacking to my calling, because I am a bishop in the church of Christ; and to every bishop his own particular church is so committed, that he must in the meane time understand, where there is any necessity of his helpe, the universall church is recommended to him by Jesus Christ. To all of us who are bishops the apostle Paul hath said, "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flocke over which the Spirit of God hath

made you overseers, to rule the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." These words also are given out in the name of Eleutherius, an ancient bishop of Rome, writing unto other bishops, "For this cause Christ hath committed unto you the universall church, that ye labour for all men; and neglect not to helpe all, according to necessity." Cyprian also affirmeth (Epist. 13. lib. 3.), that, jointly with Stephanus, bishop of Rome, he did hold the levell of governing the church. And then he addeth, "The body of the priesthood is exceeding large, and is coupled together with the glew of mutuall concord, and the band of unity: therefore, if any of our fellowship shall presume to forge an heresie, or to rent and destroy the church of Christ, let all the rest make convenient helpe." And that same Cyprian in very deede often helped troubled churches, even such as were without the bounds of Africke; yea, and the church of Rome itselfe. So Polycarpus, Irenæus, Osius of Corduba, Athanasius, Basilius, the two Eusebii, one of Samosata, and the other of Vercels, Lucifer of Calarie, Hilarie of Poitiers, Theophylus and Cyrillis of Alexandria, Aurelius of Carthage, and many other bishops, did painfully labour, by vertue of their episcopall office, to helpe the necessities of the universall church; and leaving, for a space, their own churches well appointed, recommending them to the oversight of others, they went unto other afflicted and troubled churches. Therefore it is most proper to my calling, and not without the compasse of it, with all my might, as Cyprian exhorteth, to helpe the court of Rome, which factionously maketh a sect, and deviding itselfe from the church, renteth and destroyeth the church of Christ: and yet mine helpe must not be by approaching to it, because that is not sure; but by a bodily departing from it. I would indeed most gladly have retained mine own church of Spalato, as Osius, Basilius, the two Eusebii, Hilarius, and others above named, retained their own churches, and returned unto them after they had ended the publicke businesse of the universall church. But because that my church, with many others, groaneth under the tyrannie of the Pope, who hateth and abhorreth reformation; and by all his power, and the forces of his adherent princes, maketh impediment to it; and having power of life and death over these who suit and urge reformation, suffereth none of them alive. Therefore, I could not choose, but leave my church, that I myselfe, having cast off these bands, and set at liberty, might be the more ready to proclaime the trueth, and with greater safety might deplore the desolation of the holy church, which she suffereth of the court of Rome.

True it is, the majesty of an earthly king is dreadfull "because" (as Tertullian saith) "he is next unto God, and lesser than God only;" "above whom" (as Optatus Milevitanus saith) "there is none save God alone." Therefore, when King David was to be reproved for his adultery and murther, neither the high priest, nor any other of the priesthood, nor any Levite, or friend or familiar, durst presume to take that charge upon him; but God used his own proper and peculiar messenger, and appointed the prophet Nathan to rebuke him. But there is not now such necessity; neither need we expect, that God will raise up extraordinary prophets, and appoint peculiar messengers to deal with the bishop of Rome, who is now troubling, scandalizing, spoyling, and oppressing the whole church. The majesty of our Romish pope is not so great as to affray us, that his temporall and haughty majesty is fained, usurped, and is none at all, he is but our brother and collegue, and a bishop with us, and a fellow-servant in the work; and a brother who is holpen of a brother, is as a fenced city, as Salomon saith in the Proverbs. Wherefore then do we snort? wherefore do we sleep? a brother perisheth, and draweth the churches away with him to perdition, and we his brethren neglect the danger, and doe not occur. Let all be silent, let all be quiet, and contemn as they will, yet I the least whelpe among them all, with such barking as I can, shall waken those great mastives who are asleep, and made drowsie by a wonderful policy of the Pope-

dome ; that according to their charge they may hold back the wolves, and save the flock of Jesus Christ. I shall not use mine own voyce, but the voyce of God, in wakening the good dogs; and I shall double upon them the cry of the holy fathers, and councels, and holy catholike church. As for these ten bookes, of the Ecclesiasticke Republicke, which I am shortly to put to light, I shall specially endeavour, that the errours of the church of Rome may be detected, the trueth and wholsomnesse of the Catholike doctrine and discipline may be opened, and these many (reformed) churches, which by our Romane church are proudly casten off and divorced, may be retained in a catholike sense, and that the way of union of all the churches, if not clearly demonstrat, may be at least pointed out; if by any means we can be brought to that estate, all of us to thinke one thing, and to say one thing; that schismes may be remedied, and all occasions taken away from Christian princes, of plotting the overthrow one of another, and of troubling the common peace of Christian people, with untimous and ungodly warres, and that under the pretence of faith and religion: but rather that all their forces may be so directed, as the Catholike church of Christ, groaning under the tyrannie of those who are infidels indeed, may be restored to her ancient libertie.

This my departing from my countrey, or rather my going out and flight from Babel, I will that it want all suspicion of schisme; for I flee from errours, I flee from abuses, and that lest I be partaker of Babel's sinnes, and receive of her plagues; yet will I never sever myselfe from the love which I owe to the holy Catholike church, and to all and every one who communicate with her; but, so far as in me lieth, I shall ever be ready to communicate with them all, so long as wee agree in the essentiall articles of our faith, and the creedes of the ancient church of Christ, if in the meane time we detest and abhorre all new articles of faith which are contrary to Holy Scripture, or repugnant to the forenamed creedes; and that we admit not, in anie case, articles indifferent in themselves, as articles of faith, which have never bene sufficiently discussed, established, and determined by the church, except first they be fully determined, or be showne to have bene determined of before; neither yet that we condemne those articles as heretical, unlesse we have sufficient notice that they have bene condemned by the church. In things therefore indifferent, let liberty of opinion and action be permitted to every church; and let every of them abound in their own judgement, untill the church itselfe, instructed and governed by the spirit of Christ, shall put an ende to controversies, and sever the chaffe from the true corne.

In the mean time, let us remember that notable saying of worthie Cyprian, which hee used in the councill of Carthage, "We judge no man," saith hee, "neither debar we any man from the communion, albeit he have an opinion diverse from us: for none of us all hath made himselfe bishop of bishops, or compelleth his collegues, by a tyrannicall force, to the necessitie of obedience: because every bishop, according to liberty and power, hath his own arbitriment; as though hee might not bee judged by others, neither hee himselfe may judge another; but let us all await upon the judgement of our Lord Jesus Christ, who one, and alone, hath power to prefer us to the government of his church, and to take an account of all our proceedings." At that time Cyprian disassented from the church of Rome, and almost from the universall church, about the baptisme of heretickes: and being confirmed in his own opinion, he judged Stephanus, bishop of Rome, who mightily resisted him therein, and all other, to bee in a manifest errour; yet hee never suffered the band of union and ecclesiastick charity betwixt them to be broken, lest a schisme, the most noysome pest of the church, should arise among them. And in this Cyprian, to his great commendation, did overcome the not all-wise discreete zeale of Stephanus: for while as Stephanus, by his excommunications, did rush headlong to the inconvenience of a schisme; Cyprian, by his patience and charity, and excellent wisdome, eschewed a seperation. Therefore St Augustine did often commend Cyprian, and propounded his actions as a rule and examplar of imitation to all the churches.

And among other thinges which Augustine considereth of this proceeding and strife betwixt Cyprian and Stephanus, hee saith (in his fifth booke against the Donatists, chap.

25.) "Yet the peace of Christ did so prevail in their hearts, that in such a question no schisme did arise betwixt them;" for Cyprian had surely concluded with himselfe, that Stephanus did grosly erre, while he received penitent hereticks, returning to the church, without rebaptizing; yet hee choosed not only to communicate with Stephanus himselfe, who thought and did contrary to him; but also with those whom he judged to be altogether uncleane; and that only because Stephanus had received them to the communion, rather than to rent the church with a schisme. And this Augustine propoundeth to the Donatists, and us all, to be followed.

Therefore, most holy father, and your fathers and brethren, and holy collegues, let us imitate Cyprian, and follow the counsell of Augustine, that above all things, schismes be removed: for, as Augustine observeth, Cyprian replenished, with the bowels of charity estimed, that even they who have diverse opinions, should abide in unitie. Let us also among us have diverse opinions of things, not as yet determined, till they be fully determined; and in the mean time let us abide in unity; for albeit that you thinke otherwise, yet (as the apostle admonisheth) God will reveale that to you. Make not greater divisions than are already. Take heed also, that with Stephanus ye break not the band of charity by untimous excommunications, lest by such contentions, that great ill of division arise, which Augustine did fore-eschew; restore peace and charity to all the churches of Christ, who, according to the tenor of the ancient creedes, doe professe Jesus Christ, and bee assured of this, that schisme in the church is a farre more grievous evil than heresie. Have your communion ready for all without prejudice of the liberty of opinions; removing in the meane time all falsehoods in doctrine. Leave the examinations of the trueth to those lawfull and accustomed formes of the holy church; for so I hope, through the assisting grace of Christ, who useth not to denie himselfe to them who seeke him sincerely, that full peace and concord, and a necessary union of the holy churches shall follow, that we all think one thing, and abide all in one rule. Let us not stirre up amongst us the fire of hatred and secret grudges, but of religion and catholicke instruction. Let the word of God bee a lanterne to our feete, and let us followe the footsteps of our holy ancestors, who have beene excellent lightes in the church of Christ. Let us breake asunder, without pertinacie, the darknesse of errour and falsehood by the light of the trueth of the gospel; and let us depart farre from novelties, which have almost quite extinguished the doctrine and discipline of the holie church; that the church of Christ on earth may bee one coupled together with the glew of concorde; whereinto let us all with one spirit and one mouth prayse our God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Given at Venice, the xv of September, Anno 1616.

A Relation sent from Rome of the Processe, Sentence, and Execution done upon the Body, Picture, and Bookes of Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, after his Death. (1624)

A Relation of the Proceedings at Rome against the late Archbishop of Spalato, and the Burning of his dead Body, &c.

THE late archbishop of Spalato, being dead, his body was put into a well pitched coffin, and that into another greater than it, and so was it carried to be kept in the convent of the Holy Apostles, and there committed to the charge of the reverend fathers of that place, until such time as the cause of the said archbishop (still depending) should be determined by the sacred congregation, that, according to their sentence, whatsoever justice did require might be done upon him.

The sentence being framed, and ready to bee put in execution, the said body was first recognized, according to the forme of law, and was taken, the twentieth of this present moneth of December, forth from the convent, where it was kept, and carried to the church of Minerva, and there laid upon a table in an eminent place, together with his picture, and a little sacke full of bookes, which he had printed, where it stood all the night.

The next morning, at the time appointed, the most illustrious and most reverend lords, cardinalls, supreme inquisitors, with many others, (to the number of sixteene, or thereabout) being met together, after they had delivered over a certaine Millanoise, who, under the feigned name and habit of a Greeke, notwithstanding he had never been made priest, had presumed to celebrate masse, both in the holy house of Loretto and other where, unto the secular powers the 23 of this present moneth aforesaid, to be first hanged, and then afterwards burnt, was the sentence of the said archbishop read to this effect.

First of all, the manner of his escape and going into England was recompted; and what he had there done in preaching and in printing; and how that, upon better advice and bethinking of himselfe, he preferred a supplication unto our lord the pope, shewing, that hee would willingly returne againe into the bosome of the holy church, if hee might be secured of his pardon; and also, that he would abjure all and every heresie, which he had heretofore maintained. He came to Rome, he did all accordingly, he obtained grace and pardon of his holinesse, and so continued there for a long time.

But, because his conversion was not sincere, and from his heart but feigned only, he began at length, in his familiar discourses, to break forth into most heinous heresies, and would needs maintaine, that what hee had said before was true.

Thereupon hee was put into the holy inquisition, and in the processe, which was framed against him, we find, that he held the heresies here under written:

1. That the councell of Trent had declared many things to be *de fide*, which were not.

2. That all the sects of heretickes might be reduced unto one church, if the church of Rome would remit some of those things, which in processe of time she had determined to be *de fide*, instancing in particular in the article of transubstantiation.

3. That there might be made an union between the Church of Rome and the Protestant heretickes, they both agreeing in *articulis fundamentalibus*.

4. That it may well be questioned, of some articles, and of many things defined in the councell of Trent to be *de fide*, whether they were sufficiently discussed and defined, yea or no.

5. That he, who holdeth and believeth the fundamental articles, although he doth not hold the rest, is not therefore separated from the church, but is united to it in the faith; because that only the fundamentall and essential articles are necessary to salvation, the rest are matters of controversie.

6. That what the councell of Trent hath defined to be *de fide* in matter of justification, of predestination, of grace, and of the sacraments, that they conferr grace *ex opere operato*, belongeth not to the faith.

7. That he was ready to maintaine, even with the losse of his life, that all men might abound in their own sense in other matters, so that they did agree in *essentialibus fidei*.

8. That the primacie of the pope of Rome is not *de jure divino*, or at least it may be disputed whether it be or be not, until such time as the question may be decided.

9 That the anathematismes of the councell of Trent are no definitions of articles of faith.

10. That the hereticks were not condemned in the councell of Trent for any heresies that they taught; but only because they taxed the Church of Rome of heresie.

11. That to deny transubstantiation, purgatory, and worshipping of images and saints, s not to deny matters that belong to the substance of faith; that therefore the Protestants have the true faith and the true church.

12. That the church of Rome and the church of England are one and the same church, both the one and the other catholike and orthodox.

13. That it is not *de fide*, that a general councell, together with the pope, is the judge of controversies of the faith.

14. That the bond of matrimony solemnized and consummated may be dissolved by the adultery of either partie.

15. That the bond of matrimony may be dissolved as well for other causes as for adulterie.

16. That the secular prince, upon a reasonable cause, may ordaine, that the bond of matrimony, solemnized and consummated, may be dissolved.

There were some other articles besides, but they fall within the compasse of these.

After these false and hereticall propositions were read, it was related, how they that were of the kindred of the said archbishop, or whosoever else would pretend to bee willing to undertake the defence of his cause, were cited, and some of them made their appearance at the time appointed them. But when they saw the processe, together with the archbishop's owne confessions, they renounced him, and would do nothing in his behalfe. Whereupon the most illustrious and most reverend lords proceeded unto a definitive sentence; " which was, to declare him unworthy of the favour of the holy see apostolike; to deprive him of all his honour, benefit, or dignity; to confiscate his goods; and to give him over to the secular powers, as *de facto*." They then gave him over, that he and his picture, together with the bookes he had written, should be burned.

This sentence being read, the said coffin there present, the picture, and the bookes, were delivered over to my lord the governor of Rome, who desired, that the corps might be reviewed and recognized anew, which was done accordingly. And presently the said governor gave order, that the corps, together with the other things, should bee carried into Campo di Fiori, to be there burned.

But because they found no man that was willing of himselfe to carry him to the said place, therefore the serjeants tooke up certaine porters, whom they bound and constrained to goe along with them, and to take up the said corps, picture, and bookes, which being carried into Campo di Fiori, were there instantly burned.

And because the said archbishop, towards the end of his life, made shew, as if he had been penitent for the heresies which hee had held *de novo*, after his former abjuration; and, asking pardon for them, he had the favour done him to be made partaker of the most holy sacraments. But, notwithstanding, because he had relapsed, he was given over to the secular power, which was all that occurred in this action.

Inscriptio.

MARCUS ANTONIUS de DOMINIS,
late
Archbishop of Spalato,
Most impiously bent his Stile against the Church of God, which had extraordinarily well deserved of him.
Having wounded and stabbed her through, he so left her without Cure, and wretchedly betooke himself to the English Altars.

That thence the Swine might the more securely gruntle against the Pope and Catholickes.
Returning home again, but no Convert, his Apostolike Spirit he forsooke not.
He died
(And the Voice of a Penitent Man I would he had not uttered)
Impenitent.

Great Britains Salomon. A Sermon Preached at the Magnificent Funerall, of the most high and mighty King James, the late King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. At the Collegiat Church of Saint Peter at Westminster, the seventh of May 1625. *By the Right Honorable, and Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Lincolne, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England, &c. London, Printed by John Bill, Printer to the King's most excellent Majestie,* 1625.

And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his wisedome, are they not written in the booke of the Acts of Salomon?
And the time that Salomon raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel, was forty yeeres.
And Salomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the citie of David his father.
1 Kings xi. 41, 42, and part of the 43d verse.

This Sermon, now for the first time inserted in the Collection, merits preservation, both as a curious specimen of the eloquence of the times, and of the talents of an eminent statesman, divine, patriot, and loyalist.

Dr John Williams was descended from a Welch family, who boasted to derive their pedigree from the ancient kings of North Wales. His learning and talents recommended him to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, to whom he was chaplain. On Lord Ellesmere's death, he was promoted, by the special favour of King James, to several church preferments, and finally to the keeping of the great seal when it was taken from Lord Chancellor Bacon. Dr Williams was then made Bishop of Lincoln, and, from the high office he held, was naturally chosen to preach the funeral sermon of James I. Charles I. was so well satisfied with his discourse, that he gave him orders to prepare the sermon for his own coronation. But this was prevented by the jealousy of Buckingham, who had been irritated by the bishop declaring, on some point of difference between them, that "he would stand on his own legs." "See then you stand firm on them," retorted the favourite; a threat of which the chancellor felt the import soon afterwards, being disgraced at court, and deprived of the seals. After this change of fortune, the bishop shewed, that though he could compose an adulatory funeral sermon on a prince, he was not inimical to the cause of the people. He withstood the charge of ship-money, and other encroachments upon the liberties of the subject. But these services in the common cause, and the fines and imprisonments to which they gave rise, did not save him from the common ruin of his order. In 1641, he was advanced to the see of York, and was then among the most firm in maintaining the right of the bishops to sit in the House of Lords; for which purpose, he made a protest in the names of himself and brethren, when they were excluded from the House by force.

When the civil wars broke out, he retired to Conway Castle, which he fortified for the king's service; and in attending the king at Oxford, he was the first to point out the dangerous character of Cromwell in these expressive words; "Every beast hath some evil properties, but Cromwell hath the properties of all evil beasts" After the king's death, he doubled his ascetic observation of religious duties, and died, between broken health and a broken heart, 25th May, 1650.

Archbishop Williams could not so often change his principles and party, without giving grounds to charge him with casuistry, and versatility. Yet he was a man of a generous temper, and a high mind, of great learning and ready eloquence, although the last was deeply tinged with the conceit and pedantry of his time.

Most high and mighty, most honorable, worshipfull, and well beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; it is not I, but this woful accident that chuseth this text. You know best, that no booke will serve this turne, but the booke of the Kings, no king, but one of the best kings, none of the best kings, but one that raigned over all Israel, which must be either Saul, (as[1] yet good,) or David, or Salomon; no king of all Israel, but one of the wisest kings, which cannot be[2] Saul, but either David or Salomon; none of the wisest kings neither, unlesse hee be a king of peace, which cannot be David, [3] a man of war, but onely Salomon; no king of peace neither (the more is our griefe) alive, and in his throne, and therfore it must of necessity be the funerals and obitts of king Salomon, which we have in these words: "And the rest of the words of Salomon," &c.

I must no otherwise paint Salomon this day, then as Apelles was wont to doe king Antigonus, which was[4] *imagine lusca*, halfe face't, and of one side onely, to conceale the want of an eye, which hee had on the other. For if I should set him out in the full proportion, and leave not so much as a wart, or a mole undescribed, he would prove but a foile, and a shadow, and not (as I desire he should) a lively image, and representation to decke, and adorn these present funerals. His vices can bee no blemish to that king, that resembled him onely in his choicest vertues. The rule in scripture doth differ much from that in the painter's shop. For here coppies doe many times exceede the originals. Salomon was a type of Christ himselfe, and by consequence a pattern for any Christian. I doe therefore in these three verses observe three parts; the happy life, the happy raigne, and the happy end of this great king Salomon. For the first part, his life was happy in foure respects. First, for his sayings, "the rest of the words;" secondly for his doings, "and all that he did;" thirdly, for his wisedom, "and his wisedome;" and fourthly, for the eternitie, and preservation of all these in a booke of annals of the acts of Salomon, "and the rest of the words of Salomon," &c. For the second part, his raigne was happy for three circumstances. First, for a great capitall citie, wherein he resided, which was Hierusalem; "he raigned in Hierusalem." Secondly, for a great circuit of ground in which he commanded, which was all Israel; "over all Israel." Thirdly, and lastly, for a great space of time wherein he flourished, which was forty yeeres; "and the time which Salomon raigned in Jerusalem over all Israel, was forty yeeres." For the third part, his end was happy in a threefold circumstance. First, in regard of his death, which was not a sudden and violent dying, but an affected, and premeditated kinde of sleeping, "and Salomon slept." Secondly, in regard of his soule at the time of his death, the which (how ever wanton and unruly wits have made their disputes) went to no other place, then the receptacle of his fathers; "and Salomon slept with his fathers." Thirdly, and lastly, in regard of his body after his death, which was no way despised or neglected, but solemnly interred in the sepulchers of the kings, in the Tower of Sion, and the citie of David his father; "and Salomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the citie of David his father."

Nor doth this text hang together like a rope of sands, but the parts thereof are chained, and linked very fast, in a mutuall cohærence one with another. For first, [6] *Nullus magnam potentiam sine Eloquentia est consecutus*, saith Tacitus, no glorious king, but was a[7] kinde of speaker, and therefore here are words; *Reliquum verborum*, as saint Hierom reads it, "the rest of the words." Secondly, because they are not words, but[8] actions, that

[1] 1 Sam. 13. 1. *Filius unius anni erat* Saul. *Simplex et innocens tanquam puer unius anni.* Cald. paraph. Hieron. P. Damian. *l.* 2. *ad* Albericum. Cardin.

[2] 1 Sam. 13. 13. *Stulté egisti, nec custodisti mandata Domini Dei tui.*

[3] Sam. 32. 35. [4] Plutarchus in Eumene. [5] *Vid.* Io. Monthol. *in Prompt. Iuris. verbo* Salomon.

[6] *Annal.* 13.

[7] For as Alexander tels his father Philip. Such exquisitenesse in this kinde, as hee his father expressed, is not required in every king. Ἐπὶ μὲν ὧν ποιεῖν, ὦ πατὲρ, ἡ λόγες πεζὸς συγγράφειν, ὁποίας σὺ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ἀφ' ὧν σφόδρα σὲ φασὶν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ὲ παντὸς ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. Dion. Chrys. orat. 2. περὶ βασιλείας.

[8] Τεκμαίρει χρῆμ' ἕκαστον. Pyndar. olymp. od. 6. Ἀνδρίαντα μὲν τὸ σχῆμα, ανδρὰ δὲ ὑπεράξες κοσμεῖ. Nazianz. orat. 30.

æternize a king, here are actions likewise; *Quæ fecit*, "all that hee did." Thirdly, because actions from without are of small continuance, without a well from within for a new supply, here is a pond to feed them from time to time; *Sapientia eius*, "his understanding," and wisdome; "and his wisdome." Fourthly, because this wisdome would be soone forgotten ([1] as M. Aurelius was wont to complaine) without a historie provided of the acts of Salomon; "the booke of the acts of Salomon." Fifthly, because a historie written in an obscure place, of a little countrey, and but a short time, is of no esteeme, and reputation, here are all things fitted for fame, and æternitie, a great citie, to wit, Hierusalem; "he raigned in Hierusalem." A great empire, the twelve tribes of Israel; "over all Israel." A great, and a long raigne, for the space of forty yeeres "the time that hee raigned over all Israel was forty yeeres." Sixthly, because such a long, and glorious life would be crown'd ([2] as Augustus was wont to say) with a faire, and an easie death, here is a dying compar'd to a sleeping; *Dormiuitq; Salomon*, "and Salomon slept." Seventhly, because the soule, which cannot sleepe, must be provided for, as well as the body, it is disposed of to his hearts desire in the societie of David and the rest of his fathers; *Cum Patribus suis*, "with his fathers." Lastly, though this bee enough for a private man, yet somewhat more would bee wished in a king. That body, [3] which so repræsented God himselfe, when it was alive, must not be neglected now it is dead. And therefore he is buried in the sepulchre of the kings, and the citie of David; in *ciuitate David Patris sui*, "in the citie of David his father. And the rest of the words of Salomon," &c.

But you will say all these parts refer to King Salomon, and that King James is forgotten in the division. Most high, and mightie, right honourable, and right dearly beloved; our late soveraigne shall be remembered in due time, and much to the honour of King Salomon. King Salomon in his funeralls had a glorious tombe indeed, as Josephus describes it, but he had no statue at all carried before him. That was peradventure scarce tolerable amongst the Jewes. A tombe he provided for himselfe, and so prophetically, as that (if we may beleeve Pineda, [5] and others) there were just as many cells therein, as there were to be kings of Juda, that is, twenty-one. A statue God Almightie hath this day provided for him. Many of these twentie one cells being never filled, because the unworthy [6] kings were buried elsewhere, Salomon shall lend King James a tombe, and King James shall lend unto him a statue: the tombe you may observe in the exposition, and the statue in the application of this peece of scripture. King James shall first die in Salomons text, and Salomon shal then arise in King James his vertues. For as Herodotus [7] reports of the Ægyptians, that by wrapping their dead in glasse, they præsent them alive to all posteritie; so by that time I have plated over the parts of this text with the particulars of the application, you that heare mee this day, shall have that happinesse [8] of the queene of the South, which is not only to have read in a booke, but withall to have seene with your eies, and to have heard with your eares all the rarities and perfections of the wise King Salomon. You shall then perfectly remember these sayings, these doings, this wisdome, this history, this great citie, this united empire, this long life, this happy death, this rest with his fathers, and these solemne funeralls, which are the minutes of this text. "And the rest of the words of Salomon," &c.

I begin with that part, whereof I finde in myselfe the greatest want, to wit, eloquence, pointed at in the entrance of my text. *Reliquum verborum*, "the rest of his words." For that man had need of Salomons words, that will speake of this first, or second Salomon.

[1] Iul. capitol. in Antonino Philosopho et Anton. de Guevara. in Horol. princ.

[2] Sueton. in eius vita Sibi et suis ἀθανασίαν precabatur. cap. 99.

[3] Εἰκὼν θεΐκὴ, Anton. Monach. ἐν τῇ μελίσσ βιβ. β..κεφ. α. Datur hoc illustrium virorum posteritati, ut exequiis a promiscua sepultura separentur, &c. Tacit. Annal. 16.

[4] Antiq *l.* 7. *c.* 12. [5] De reb. Salom. *l.* 8. *c.* 3. &c. Serilus. de Architect. *l.* 3.

[6] 4 Reg. 21. 28. 2 Chron. 21. 20. 2 Chron. 24. 25. [7] Lib. 3. [8] Matth. 12. 42.

Eloquence in some reasonable proportion is so necesarie in a king, that a [1] philosopher calls it Βασιλικὸν εἰ τι ἀλλὸ, one of the chiefest of the royall vertues. Surely the want of this made [2] Moses in a manner refuse all government, though offered unto him by God himselfe. And Homer that is Solon, [3] (for hee is supposed the author of the poem) is by [4] Plutarch made to say, that a ready sword will not doe the worke, if it bee not attended with this readinesse of speech. Surely Pyrrhus, though a mighty vaunter of all his actions, would often [5] confesse more cities conquered by Cyneas his tongue, then there were by his owne speare. And although an Aaron may sometimes supply a Moses, and eloquence be borrowed from the tongue of a minister, yet surely no great monarchie was ever rais'd, but where the king himselfe was a [6] competent speaker. In the Romane empire it is observ'd by [7] Tacitus, that the princes of the first line, Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, yea and Caius himselfe (as blunt as hee was) never borrowed a tongue to speake to the people. Nero is noted to be the first Cæsar, *Qui alienæ facundiæ eguit*, that ever usurpt another mans language. And therefore no marvell, if in Salomon a great monarch, and the second of his line, the historie gave a touch of his oratorie, and eloquence, *Et reliquum verborum Salomonis.* "And the rest of the words of Salomon." Now when I looke upon this world of matter I am to runne thorow in a minute of time, the best eloquence, that I can use in setting forth the eloquence of Salomon, is to say nothing, and to turne you over to his admirable writings, the [8] Proverbs, the [9] booke of Wisdome, and [10] Ecclesiasticus, which were dictated; together with Ecclesiastes, the Canticles, and many of the Psalmes, which were penned to a syllable by King Salomon. And so I proceed from his words unto his actions, the second part of his life; *Omnia quæ fecit*, "all that hee did." "And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did."

He did. Kings are anointed (as [11] Cassanæus observes) upon the armes, as well as upon the head, and the armes are the instruments of action, and doing. That phrase of scripture so applied to kings, that they must [12] goe in and out before the people, requires somewhat more then elocution. In the genealogie of our Saviour, exprest by St. Matthew, though many more be written downe, yet none is call'd a king but David; *Davidem Regem*, David the King, Matth. 1. 6. verse, because (as interpreters expound the place) David was, as a king should be, a man of warre, and a man of action. Nero could tune his instruments well, and yet, as [13] Apollonius said to Vespasian, hee was a meane prince, because hee knew not how to tune a people. And on the other side, Themistocles could never play on the harpe, but yet is famous in all histories, [14] because hee could make a citie greater. Plutarque, in his Πολιτικὰ παραγγέλματα, speakes of two men, that were hir'd at Athens for some publique worke, whereof the one was full of tongue, but slow at hand, but the other blunt in speech, yet an excellent work-man; being call'd upon by the magistrates to expresse themselves, and to declare at large how they would proceed; when the first had made a long harangue, and described it from point to point, the other seconded him with this short speech, Ἀνδρὲς Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ὗτος εἴρηκεν, ἐγὼ ποιήσω, yee men of Athens, what this man hath said in words, that will I make good in true performance. And as he was adjudged the better artisan, so is the man of action the better king: unlesse they

[1] Musonius apud Stob. serm. 46. [2] Exod. 4. 10. [3] Octavianus Ferrarius. *lib. de Sermonibus Exotericis.*

[4] Πολιτικὰ παραγγ. [5] Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

[6] For Alexander thought it unnecessary in a king to bee exact in this kinde of learning ἐὸ' ἂν φιλοσοφίαι ἅπτεσθει πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον Dion. Chrys. orat. 2. περὶ βασιλειας. And Tacitus requires in a prince, *difficiltimum illum ex sapientia modum. De vita* Agricol. And Leo the emperor made use of Majorianus his eloquence, *Cujus dignatur ab ore* Cæsar *in orbe loqui.* Sidon. Apollin. *in* Panegyr.

[7] *Annal.* 15. [8] Prov. 25. 1.

[9] *In eo libro sermo est ex persona* Salomonis. Aquinas 2. *q.* 113. *art.* 3. *ad* 2.

[10] *Prior pars* Ecclesiastici Pined. *de reb.* Salo. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. [11] *Catal. glor. Mundi. part* 7. [12] Numb. 27. 17.

[13] Κιθάραν μὲν ἴσως ἠδει ἁρμόττισθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἠχιιεν ἀιεσει ἢ ἐπιτασει. Philostrat. *de vita* Apoll. *lib.* 5. *c.* 10.

[14] Plut. in Themistocle.

come joyntly, as they doe in this text *verba et facta*, words and deeds, "and the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did." Now if you desire to know all that he did, I must turne you over to this booke of the Kings, which notwithstanding is but a Florus to that Livie, or rather a Photion to that Demosthenes, that first describ'd them. Some of them I shall touch upon, when I come to the second Salomon, and doe now hasten to the third part of his life, which is his wisdome; "and the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his wisdome."

His wisdome. For indeed brave actions are but the fruit, wisdome is the tree that beares them. Actions are but rivers, wisdome is the head that feeds them. And where this is wanting, they are like land floods, violent for the time, but gone in an instant. Here therefore you have the fruit together with the tree, that brought them; here you see the rivers, together with the spring that sent them; here you reade of Salomons deeds joyn'd with that wisdome that first contriv'd them. "And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his wisdome." His wisdome. How necessarie in a King, Salomons choice hath taught all kings. For being præsented by God himselfe with a pandora of royall graces, although brave actions call'd in that [1] place the life of his enemies was in the boxe, yet tooke he out nothing but wisdome to governe his people, 1 Kings 3. 9. verse. He tooke out nothing, but wisdome, said I? nay, rather in taking out wisdome (as God tells him in the next verse) hee left nothing behinde. *Omnia assunt bona, quem penes est virtus.* How can he want these golden apples of princely actions, that hath his garden of the Hesperides, wherein they grow? for although kings (as I said before) be anointed on the armes, the instruments of actions, yet are they crown'd onely on the head, the seat of wisdome. For as in the naturall, so in the civill bodie, the spie and discoverie of all the members is plac't aloft in the watch-tower of the head. Here are the eyes, that see for all; here are ears, that listen for all; here are the nostrils, that smell out for all; here are the braines, that sweat for all; and here is the wisdome, that provides for all. And therefore what can a tongue or an arme doe a man good, if they be not guided by somewhat in the head? sayings, and doings are of little worth, if [2] wisdome follow not, as it doth in this place: "and the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his wisdome." Wisdome. Whether this wisdome of Salomons was universall, and embrac't all sciences, as [3] Pineda, or a prudence reaching to the practique only (because of those words, "to governe my people") as [4] Pererius thought the Latine translation *Sapientia* being for the first, the Greeke φρόνησις for the second, the Hebrew חכמה for both the opinions; also whether Salomon did surmount as [5] Tostatus, or fall short of Adam in the pitch of his wisdome, as [6] Gregorie de Valentia thinkes, are such doughtie frayes, as I have no leasure to part at this time, being now in the fourth place to speake of that booke, which (if extant) would peradventure end part of the quarrell; the booke of the acts of Salomon. "And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his wisdome, are they not written in the booke of the acts of Salomon?"

The booke of the acts of Salomon. Alexander upon the conquest of Persia in a deepe contemplation of his late victories, being told of one, that brought him some newes, replied hastily thereupon, What newes can any man bring unto mee, unlesse it bee that Homer is alive againe? as who should say, all these actions of mine will vanish into ayre, if there be not a scholler to write, and record them. And surely little had now remained of the sayings, the doings, and the wisdome of Salomon, if they had not beene of record [8] in this booke. The booke of the acts of Salomon. For although God suffered

[1] 1 Reg. 8. 11. [2] Λεῖ χὰρ τὴν φρόνησιν παρεῖναι, μάλλον δὲ προεῖναι. Synes. *de regno.*
[3] *Nullis circumscriptam terminis sapientiam adeptus est.* de reb. Sal. *l.* 3. *c.* 9,
[4] *Libr.* 5. in Genes. *q.* 4. *vt* et Abulens. 3. reg. 3, *q.* 10. [5] In 3 reg. 3. *q.* 11.
[6] Tom. 1. disp. 7. *q.* 2. *puncto.* 1. [7] Curtius, *lib.* 5.
[8] *Studia præstant ut etiam prateritis sæculis vixisse videamur. Quintil. instit. orat. l.* 12. *c.* 4

this booke to be burnt by Nebuzaradan [1] and ordered not Esdras to renue the same, because it was but a journall of Salomons actions, of a civil rather then a religious use, and fitter for a closet, then for a temple, yet was so much thereof placet in the canon, [2] as might be useful for Gods church, being called out of this journall either by Hieremie, [3] or Esay, or Esdras, or Ezechias, or (as I thinke) the Servants of that king, who without quæstion collected his proverbs, Proverbs 25. 1 verse. And therefore as this text is but an epitome of the 11 first chapters of the first booke of the Kings; so are these chapters but an epitome of this Εφημερις or journall of Salomon. "The booke of the Acts of Salomon." And surely *Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori*, as there was never any king, that deserved; so was there never a king in scripture that hath obtained more writers of his Acts, then this king Salomon For whereas Saul had never a one, David in his long raign had no more then two, [4] besides what Salomon in his Ecclesiastes hath written of himselfe (as many of the Cæsars, [5] Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, and Adrian, are noted to have done) three great prophets, famous in their times, Nathan, [6] Ahias, and Addo had their severeall pens in these Acts of Salomon; 'the booke of the Acts of Salomon." And indeed bookes, especially such as these, written by prophets, and honest men, are most necessary both for the applauding [7] of the good, and the terrifying of ill-deserving princes. *Non potest humile, aut abjectum quid cogitare, qui scit de se semper loquendum*, saith Mamertinus in his Panegerique. Hee had need be carefull of all his actions, that is to be the subject of future histories. For although I allow not a private man to feed upon glorie, and have preach't against it (with all my heart) not many weekes sithence: yet was I ever of Panormitans opinion in the life of Alphonsus, that it is *Cibus Regum*, a very fit dish for the repast of a king, and due unto him from the after ages. [8] *Multi jamam, pauci verentur conscientiam.* Some few peradventure referre it to God, but most kings desire, as Augustus did, to bee applauded by men. Then for the bad kings, a historie is the true Aretine of the world, *Flagellum Principum*, the lash, and scourge of all wicked princes. They have no schoolemaster (on this side hell) unlesse it be this one, to keepe them in awe. And in very truth, if hee comes but [8] one day after their raigne, as Tacitus did to the Cæsars, hee laies about him, like an Orbilio, or as that usher in [9] Theon, ἐν τοῖς μίκροις ὑπερβαλόντως κολάζων fetching bloud at every stroake, for very small, and petty offences. And yet as humorous as they are, what historie did ever commend Nero, or discommend the emperor Trajan? I except Cardan the phantastique, who writing a booke *De Morte Gulielmi*, of the death of Will his foot-boy, thought good to joyne it with another peece, which hee was pleased to stile the encomium of Nero. To conclude this point, it is called Ισορία in the Greeke, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱστᾶθσαι, which signifies to fixe, and settle. All these sayings, and doings, and wisedome of kings, would scatter away, like quicke mercury, if they were not fixed in such a booke as this; "the book of the acts of Salomon." And so much of the first part of my text, which I called Salomon's life, comprehending the words, the deeds, the wisdome, and the journalls of Salomon. "And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did," &c.

Now to come to the second part of this text, which is Salomons raigne, and to begin with the first circumstance thereof, his capitall citie, it is true what [10] Euripides said of

[1] *Libri Paralip. in origine vocantur verba dierum, quia ex Diariis regum excerpti sunt. Illa autem solummodo in sacrum canone cesserunt, quæ ad remunerationem bonorum, aut flagellationem reproborum pertinerent. Sanctius in* 1 reg. *prolog* 1. [2] *Sanctius ibidem. Vide etiam Martyrem.* Abulens. et Fr. Jun. in locum.

[3] Chron. 29. 29. [4] Sueton et Spartianus in Adriano.

[5] 2 Chron. 9. 29. [6] *Ut pravis dictis, factisque ex posteritate, et infamia metus sit.* Tacit. Annal. 3.

[8] Plinius secundus lib. 3. ep. 20. *Nam quotocuique eadem honestatis cura secreto quæ palam? Multi famam, &c.*

[7] *Fama liberrima principum Iudex.* Senec. *Detestantur malos principes etiam qui malos faciunt.* Plin. Panegyr.

[9] Octavian. Ferrar. *lib. de sermon. Exoter.*

[10] Ἐιθ ἑτερος τις ἦν. Plutarch. *in vita* Demost. *Beatè victuro ante alia convenit patriam esse gloriosam.* Ammianus Marcell. lib. 14. *et tamen ὰ τᾶτο σκοπειν, ἀλλ' ὅτις μεγάλης πατριδος ἄξιος ἐστιν.* Arist. *apud* Laertium. *lib.* 5.

old, Χρῆναι τῷ εὐδαίμονι πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι τὴν πολὶν εὐδοκιμὶν, it is requisite for a man that would be glorious to have his abode in a famous citie. This booke of the acts of Salomon had scarce been worth the taking up, if his words, his actions, and his wisdome had not beene præsented on this great theatre, the citie of Hierusalem; "and the time that Salomon raigned in Hierusalem." A citie is an abstract of a whole state. For as Cain being guiltie of the murther of his brother, built the first citie we reade of in the world, Gen. iv. vers. 17. Εἰς ταῦτο συνέλθειν τὺς οἰκείυς, as [1] Josephus speakes, to make himselfe strong with his people about him: So most of the monarchs to this very day, guiltie of oppressing, or being oppressed by their neighbour princes, *Orbem in urbem contrahunt*, doe contract their people to this short epitome, which we call a citie, as the twelve tribes are said to be fetcht to Hierusalem, Psal. 122. "And the time that Salomon raigned in Hierusalem." Now Hierusalem was not only a citie by itself (as it is in that Psalme) but a type and figure of all other cities. For as Hierusalem was an union of two cities, [2] Jebus, and Salem, and an union of [3] two tribes, Juda, and Benjamin, and an union of all Israel, as it followeth in my text; so are other capitall cities in their proportion. So that as a citie seated "upon [4] a hill" cannot be hidden; no more can a king seated in such a citie. All his words, his actions, and his wisdome are still upon record. God Almightie therefore being thus resolved to make Salomon glorious, as a type of our Saviour farre more glorious, placed all his sayings, his doings, and his wisdome, *Longè pulcherrima urbium Orientis*, as [5] Plinie calls it, on the goodliest theatre of all the East, the eye of the world, and the queene of the nations, the citie of Hierusalem. "And Salomon raigned in Hierusalem." And so much for the first circumstance of Salomons raigne, which is his capitall citie Hierusalem. "Hee raigned in Hierusalem."

The second circumstance of his raigne is his empire, or dominion, which is very large, and with a reference, and a difference withall from the [6] beginning of his fathers, and from the [7] middle of his sonnes raigne, said here to be over all Israel. "Hee raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel." "Over all." For as [8] Tully saith, that the Romans held no true cities, but these three, Carthage, Corinth, and Capua, which they call'd τρια κάπηλα κάκιστα, the three cities that troubled their common-wealth, because these three only had territories, and dominions belonging unto them; so Hierusalem, confined to her walles, might peradventure put forth a maior, but was no seat for a glorious king, without the annexation of this great empire of all Israel. He raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel. [9] *In multitudine populi dignitas Regis*, "In the multitude of the people is the kings glorie," Proverbs 14. 28. verse. And behold a people not to be numbred for multitude, 1 Kings 3. 8. verse. As the sand of the sea, 1 Kings 4. 20. As the dust of the earth, 2 Chron. 1. 9. Even the kingdomes from the river unto the lands of the Philistins, and unto the border of Ægypt, 1 Kings 4. 21. For these were the bounds of all Israel. He raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel. I will not sinne with David in numbring this people, which Vilalpanda in his second [10] tome upon Ezechiel labours to doe, and makes up a totall of 6624 millions. Neither will I compare Salomon either with Arphaxad, a king of many nations, Judith 1. 1. verse, or with Assuerus a king of twentie seven provinces, Esther 1. 1. verse, or with Nabuchadnasor a king of all the earth, Judith 2. 3. verse, or with Alexander, that would have beene king of more; I must leave [11] Tostatus, and [12] Pineda, two Spaniards, in a hot skirmish about this ques-

[1] *Antiq. lib.* 1. *c.* 3. [2] Masius *in* Jos. *lib.* 15. *n.* 63.
[3] Arias Montan. *in* Jos. 18. 20. Rupertus *lib.* 2. *in* Deut. *c.* 18. Vilalp. Tom. 3. *in* Ezech. *p.* 1. *lib.* 1. *c.* 15.
[4] Matth. 5. 14. [5] Plin. *Hist. Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 14. [6] 1 Reg. 2. 11. [7] 1 Reg. 12. 16.
[8] *Orat. de lege* Agrar. *contra* Rullum. [9] Ἐν πλήθει λῷ μεγέθει τὸ καλὸν. Aristot. *Polit.* 7. *c.* 8.
[10] *Part.* 2. *lib.* 5. *disp.* 3. *c.* 52.
[11] *Imperii amplitudine, longo intervallo superabatur ab aliis* Imperatoribus *tum prioribus, tum posterioribus.* Tostat. *in* 2 Cron. 1. *q.* 21. Dionys. Carthus. *in* 3. *Reg. c.* 3.
[12] *Ego vero sic censeo, ut divitiis, ita gloria, atque aliis gloriæ ornamentis, populique multitudine,* Salomonem *superasse alios omnes sive priores sive posteriores orbis dominatores.* Pineda *de reb.* Salomonis. *lib.* 6. *c.* 2.

tion: It sufficeth mee, that God gave Salomon as many people, as he tooke to himselfe in those daies, to wit all Israel. He raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel; and so much of the second circumstance of his raigne, the largenesse of his empire and dominion.

I come now to the third circumstance, the continuance of the same, which was a faire, and a large scope of time, æqualled onely by one, or two, but exceeded by none of the kings of Juda, to wit, forty yeares. "His raigne in Hierusalem over all Israel was forty yeares." Forty yeares. For Salomon was not brought upon the stage, as Cato stole into the theatre, *ut exiret*, to take a turne, and goe out againe, *Ostentatus, raptusque simul Solstitialis velut herba, solet*, as the poet speakes of Minervius: but that his sayings, his doings, and his great wisdome, *irent in sæcula*, might make an impression upon the ages to come; God gave him a long, and a stirring part in this scene of glory, which was a raigne of fortie yeares. Hee raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel for forty yeares. Forty yeares. For although we commend not a musitian for playing long, but for playing well upon the lute; yet *occultæ musicæ nullum encomium*, without competent triall hee is not at all commended. This life, saith [1] Nazianzen, is a faire, or a mart, wherein good men may bee furnisht with vertues. Although hee that buyeth most in this faire is a better chapman, then he that staieth most, yet common reason must allow a time for a man to make his market. Shall [2] Hippocrates with his *Ars longa, vita brevis*, complaine for a time to study Hearbes? and [3] Theophrastus fall out with nature for a further respite to studie trees? and [4] Aristotle vexe himselfe for a longer life to studie motions? And may not kings expect more favour in this kinde, to studie out those Ægyptian Hieroglyphiques of the hearts of men? and to perfect that art of [5] *Vesticius Spurinna, Sola ex senectute prudentiâ*, a wisdome taught onely by multitude of yeeres? Surely God is very carefull herein. That life, saith [6] Saint Gregorie, which is commended in scripture, doth commonly end with a plenitude of dayes. When God lends these extraordinary [7] talents to any man in place, *Post multum temporis*, it is a long time after that hee reckoneth with them, Matth. 25. 19. verse. And therefore Salomon trusted with all this stocke of sayings, and doings, and wisedome, and a citie, and an empire over all Israel, had a raigne of forty yeeres to employ the same. "And Salomon raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel forty yeeres." And so much of the second generall part of my text, the most happy raigne of King Salomon.

I was now concluding with that 2 Chron. 1. 12. that "there was no king before or after to be compar'd for happinesse with our King Salomon." His sayings, his doings, his wisedome, his fame in histories, his citie, his empire, and his long raigne, far surmounting all kings in scripture; when loe a [8] philosopher (who must also bee heard when he speakes the truth) puls me by the sleeve with an *Ante obitum Nemo supremaque funera*, that before I presume to commend a king, I consider well his death, and his funerall. Verily I have done so both now, and heretofore, and that with more then ordinarie diligence. I have read all that Peraldus, Cognatus, Vilalpanda, Pineda, Delrio,

[1] *In* Sententiis Iambicis *quaternis versibus comprehensis.*

[2] *Initio* Aphorism. *Inde illa* maximi *medicorum exclamatio est, vitam brevem esse, longam artem.* Senec. *de* Brevitate vitæ. c. 1.

[3] *Moriens accusasse naturam dicitur, &c. querebatur se tum, cum ista videre cœpisset, extingui.* Cicer. Tuscul. quæst. l. 3. ἡμεῖς νδὲ ὁποτ' ἠρχόμεθά ζῆν τότ' ἀποθνήσκομεν. Diogen. Laertius *lib.* 5.

[4] *Inde* Aristoteli, *cum rerum natura exigenti, minimè conveniens viro Sapienti, lis est, illam animalibus tantum indulsisse, &c.* Senec. *de* Brevitate vitæ. c. 1.

[5] Plin. Secund. *lib.* 3. *epist.* 1. *ad* Calvisium *et Annorum multitudo docet sapientiam.* Job 32. 7. *Crescit in senibus.* Hieron. *ep.* 2. *ad Nepotian.*

[6] *Non facile in scriptura plenus dierum ponitur, nisi is, cujus per eandem scripturam vita laudatur.* Gregor. Magnus in Job ult. *Nemini dedit Deus spacium peccandi.* Ecclesiasticus 15. 22.

[7] *Qui paucis annis multa talenta lucri fecit bene viuendo.* Chrys. in locum. *Quæris quid sit amplissimum vitæ spacium? usq. ad Sapientiam vivere.* Sene.

[8] Κατὰ Σολωνα δὲ χρεὼν τέλος ὁρᾶν. Aristot. *Ethic. l.* 1. *c.* 11.

Suarez, and some others have said of this theme. I know that [1] Saint Basil saith in one place, he died not so well, and [2] Prosper plainly, that he died ill. No doubt but he sinned against his God, for he was not Christ, but his type onely. Yet I know, on the other side, the whole armie of the fathers, schoole-men, and commenters upon the scripture, doe bring him with faith and repentance to his grave, mooved principally with the end of my text, that his soule departed (as the soule of the saints are said to doe) by a sweet sleeping, that then it rested in the society of his fathers, and that his body was buried with the better kings in the citie of David his devout father. " And Salomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the citie," &c.

The first happinesse of Salomon's end is this, that his death is resembled to slumbring and sleeping. " And Salomon slept." It is observed by one, [3] *Quod Hebræi, Homines in statu perditionis mortuos, Sanctos autem dormientes vocent*, that the Hebrues say of wicked men, that they dye; but of the saints, that they fall asleepe. I cannot tell, whether the rule be generall; but [4] Chrysostome saith directly, that without Christ, ὁ θάνατος θάνατός ἐστι, καὶ ἅδης, death is still death, and hell in the bargaine, and they are onely said to sleepe, that dye in him. Surely it is the godly dying, that most resembles slumbring, and sleeping. For first as we prepare our selves unto the one before it comes, by setting aside the traffique of the world; so are the godly disposed to the other. Looke upon Salomon at his deaths bed, (for then saith [5] Hierome, this booke was penned,) " Two things have I prayed of thee, deny mee not before I dye, take away from mee vanitie, and lyes," Proverbs 30. 7. verse. Secondly, as wee willingly yeeld to nature in the one, so doe the [6] saints to the God of nature, when he cals upon them, in the other. Listen to Salomon in his Ecclesiastes, written not long before his death; " The righteous and his workes are in the hand of God," Eccles. 9. 1. vers. Lastly, as men lay by their cloathes with an expectation to use them againe in the one; so doe the saints their bodies, with an expectation of judgment in the other. So ends the sermon of this royall preacher. " God shall bring every worke unto judgement," Eccles. 12. and the last verse. And therefore this præparing, and composing of our selves over-night, with a full resolution to awake in the morning, is no bitter dying, but a gentle sleeping. *Dormiuitque* Salomon. " And Salomon slept." And so much of this first happinesse.

The second happinesse is in regard of his soule, which is said here to remaine with his fathers, *Dormiuitque Salomon cum Patribus suis*, " And Salomon slept with his fathers." His fathers, *Non otiosè scriptum est hoc, sed perpensè et examinatè*, saith Saint Ambrose in his first booke of Caine and Abel. This is no phrase light on by chance, but to be well weighed, and considered. It cannot be expounded of his dead body; for none of the kindred were entombed with Salomon, but David onely. *Unde claret, non ad sepulturam corporis, sed ad consortium vitæ relatum*, as hee saith of Isaac; and therefore, we must conclude, that Salomons sleeping in this place, was not to rot with his fathers in the grave, but to live with them in the kingdome of heaven. And so Salomon slept with his fathers. *Idem est apponi ad populum suum, ac apponi ad Patres*, saith Burgensis. To sleepe with his people, Gen. 25. 8. is the same thing as to sleepe with his fathers. And to sleepe with his people is expounded by [7] S. Augustin, to rest in the society of the angels, with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and David, who præceded Salomon in this faith, and repentance, as spirituall fathers. " And Salomon slept with his fathers." And so much likewise of his second happinesse.

The last happinesse at his end, or rather after his end, was this, to be solemnly interred as a great prince in the citie of David his father. " And was buried in the city of

[1] Basil. *in Ps. Finem viæ accepit non gloriosum.* [2] Parte. 2. de prædict. c. 27.
[3] Lorinus *in Leviticum.* [4] In 1 Corinth. 6. c. 15. [5] *In* 1. *cap. Ecclesiastæ. et lib.* 2. *contra* Iovinianum.
[6] *Deus quod suum est a te repetit, quod ad tempus tibi datum. Nihil interest utrum alijures depositum, an doleas restitutum. In utroque fidei ambiguum periculum est.* Polanus. Syntag. *l.* 6. *c.* 30.
[7] *Sup. Genes.* 26. 8.

David his father." After his end I say. For I will not strain this note, as some have done. [1] Bachiarius, a writer as auncient as Saint Augustin, makes it an argument of his very salvation, that he was buried *inter Reges justos*, in the sepulchers of the better kings, in the citie of David. It is true indeede, that those wicked princes, [2] Amon, [3] Joram, and [4] Joas, were not: and it is as true, that [5] Rhehoboam, [6] Amasias, and [7] Abiam, as wicked as they, were all buried in the same place. Leaving therefore his soul in blisse with his fathers, these funerals shall serve for a double use; first, for an honor to this body already dead; and secondly, for a comfort to all bodies as yet alive. For the first, the bodies of saints must bee respected, as Phidias his images were wont to be; not for the stuffe, but for the makers sake. [8] *Non contemnenda sunt spiritus sancti organa*, saith Saint Augustin. This body of his, so glorified by God while hee was alive, must bee glorified in some proportion, although hee bee dead. Amongst other magnificencies of his owne, hee [9] built this sepulchre of David his father, and therefore was rightly interred in the sepulchre of his father. " In the citie of David his father." And as funerals doe honor the bodies that be dead, so doe they comfort the bodies that are alive. *Sepultura spiritualiter prodest viventibus, in quantum per hanc astruitur resurrectionis fides*, saith [10] Aquinas writing upon the fourth of the sentences. The buriall of the dead is a [11] lesson to the living, to put them in minde of the resurrection. Indeed if I were of Heraclitus his faith, I should bee just of his opinion, as Origen quotes it in his fift booke against Celsus, that dead bodies are to bee neglected, as dissolved for ever to dust and ashes. But wee Christians must bee more carefull, where wee lay these cloathes, being to weare them againe in the resurrection. I beseech you remember in [12] Herodian, and Xiphiline, what costly beds the emperors lay in, when in their Αποθεώσεις they were to bee burnt, and changed to gods. With what cost doth the phœnix consume herselfe, because shee knowes shee shall bee revived? Had not Salomon beene to rise with David; hee had never provided in this sort to bee buried with David, *In Civitate David Patris ejus*, " In the citie of David his father." And so I have done with the parts of my text, the obit, and the funerals performed of old; I come now to what I promised to adde to the same, which is a lively statue of King Salomon.

As [13] Spartianus therefore reports of Trajan, that after his death, he triumphed openly in the citie of Rome, *In Imagine*, in a lively statue, or repræsentation invented by Adrian for that purpose; so shall this Salomon of Israel doe at this time in the statue, and repræsentation of our Brittish Salomon. Truly mee thinkes

(Si nunquam fallit imago)

the resemblance is very lively.

Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.

All the circumstances doe suit very well. And therefore, as a late [14] commenter upon Philostratus tels us, that in Greece the statuaries began with the making of their mould, and then proceeded to the polishing of their parts: So will I compare these two kings, first as it were in one generall lumpe, or mould, that you may see by the odnesse of their proportion, how they differ from all kings beside: and then with a particular examina-

[1] Tom. 1. *Bibliothecæ patrum.* [2] 1 Reg. 21. 26. [3] 2 Chron. 21. 20. [4] 2 Chron. 24. 25.
[5] 3 Reg. 14. 31. [6] 2 Chron. 25. 28. [7] 3 Reg. 15. 8.
[8] *Nec ideo tamen contemnenda, et abjicienda sunt corpora defunctorum, maximeque justorum, atque fidelium, quibus tanquam organis et vasis ad omnia bona opera Sanctus usus est spiritus.* August. de Civitate Dei. l. 1. c. 13.
[9] Ἔθαψε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Σαλομὼν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπρεπῶς. Josephus *Antiq. l.* 7. *c.* 12.
[10] Thom. *in* 4. Sent. *dist.* 45. *q.* 2. *art.* 3. *ad* 3.
[11] *Magis est vivorum consolatio quam defunctorum utilitas.* August. *de Civit. lib.* 1. *c.* 5.
[12] *Herodi. l.* 4. *Xiphilin.* in *Augusto.* and see *Savils* notes upon *Tacitus, Hist. l.* 1. *c.* 2.
[13] *Imaginem* Trajani *curru triumphali vexit, ut optimus imperator ne post mortem quidem triumphi amitteret dignitatem.* Spart. *in* Adrian.
[14] Blaise *de* Viegenere *sur le premier liure des tableaux de plat-peinture de* Philost.

tion of the parts of my text, that you may observe by the severall members, how well they resemble the one the other.

For the bulke, or the mould, I dare præsume to say, you never read in your lives, of two kings more fully parallelled amongst themselves, and better distinguished from all other kings besides themselves. King Salomon is said to be *Unigenitus coram Matre sua*, the onely sonne of his mother, Proverbs 4. 3. so was King James. Salomon was of complexion white, and ruddie, Canticles 5. 10. verse. so was King James. Salomon was an infant king, *Puer parvulus*, a little childe, 1 Chron. 22. 5. verse, so was King James a king at the age of thirteene moneths. Salomon began his raigne in the life of his prædecessor, 1 Kings 1. 32. So, by the [1] force, and compulsion of that state, did our late soveraigne King James. Salomon was twice crowned, and anoynted a king, 1 Chron. 29. 22. So was King James. Salomons minority was rough through the quarrels of the former soveraigne; so was that of King James. Salomon was learned above all the princes of the East, 1 Kings 4. 30. So was King James above all princes in the universall world. Salomon was a writer in prose, and verse, 1 Kings 4. 32. So in a very pure and exquisite manner was our sweet soveraigne King James. Salomon was the greatest patron we ever read of to church and churchmen; and yet no greater (let the house of Aaron now confesse) then King James. Salomon was honoured with embassadors from all the kings of the earth, 1 Kings 4. last verse; and so you know, was King James. Salomon was a maine improver of his home commodities, as you may see in his trading with Hiram, 1 Kings 5. 9. verse; and, God knowes, it was the daily study of King James. Salomon was a great maintainer of shipping, and navigation, 1 Kings 10. 14. A most proper attribute to King James. Salomon beautified very much his capitall citie with buildings, and water-workes, 1 Kings 9. 15. So did King James. Every man lived in peace under his vine, and his figge-tree in the daies of Salomon, 1 Kings 4. 25. And so they did in the blessed daies of King James. And yet towards his end, K. Salomon had secret enemies, Razan, Hadad, and Jeroboam, and prepared for a warre upon his going to his grave, as you may see in the verse before my text. So had, and so did King James. Lastly, before any hostile act we reade of in the history, King Salomon died in peace, when he had lived about 60 yeares, as Lyra and Tostatus are of opinion. And so you know did King James. You see therefore a mould fitted for another Salomon in the bulke, and generall: I come now, according to the method in my text, to polish, and refine the members of this statue in their division, and particular.

To begin with his *Reliquum verborum*, his words, and eloquence; you know it well enough, it was rare, and excellent in the highest degree. Salomon, speaking of his owne facultie in this kind, divides it into two severall heads, a readie invention, and an easie discharge, and expression of the same. "God hath granted me to speake, as I would, and to conceive, as is meet, for the things spoken of." Wisdome, 7. 15. vers. and this was eminent in our late soveraigne. His invention was as quicke as his first thoughts, and his words as readie as his invention. God had given him to conceive. The Greeke word in that place is ἐνθυμηθῆναι, that is, to make an enthymem, or a short syllogisme; and that was his manner. He would first winde up the whole substance of his discourse into one solid, and massie conception; and then spread it, and dilate it to what compasse he pleased, *profluenti, et quæ Principem deceret eloquentia* (as [2] he said of Augustus) in a flowing, and a princely kinde of elocution. Those speeches of his in the parliament, starre-chamber, councell table, and other publique audiences of the state (of which, as of Tullies orations, [3] *Ea semper optima, quæ maxima*, the longest still was held the best) doe prove him to be the most powerfull speaker, that ever swayed the scepter of this

[1] For his late Majestie never approved of the president, as is toucht in some place, by Cambden, and Thuanus.
[2] Tacitus *Annal. lib.* 13. Plin. *Secund. lib.* 1. *ep.* 20.

kingdome. In his style you may observe the Ecclesiastes, in his figures the Canticles, in his sentences the Proverbs, and in his whole discourse, *Reliquum Verborum Salomonis*, all the rest that was admirable in the eloquence of Salomon. For, beside his prose, *Iter ad carmen noverat*, hee made a verse also when hee pleased, and that (as became Buchanans best scholler) *Sanissimi coloris*, of a most dainty, and elaborate composition. An everlasting honour to the Muses. [1] For as Alexander, some what shie at the first, was content afterward to be burgesse of Corinth, because Hercules had formerly accepted of the place: Even so the greatest potentate of all the earth, may now without blushing stoope to a verse, being the usuall recreation of King [2] David, together with this first, and second Salomon. For the king our master never used it, but as David did, for the praise of God, and his owne comfort. Hee was in hand (when God called him to sing psalmes with the angels) with the translation of our church psalmes, which hee intended to have finished, and dedicated withall to the onely saint of his devotion, the Church of Great Britaine, and that of Ireland. This worke was staied in the one and thirty Psalme. "Blessed is he whose unrighteousnesse is forgiven, and whose sinne is covered." The very best meditation of all (as saint [3] Austin thinkes) in the church militant, to prepare a soule for the church triumphant. Thus therefore in prose, and verse, in his Proverbs, and in his Canticles, he was nothing short of the eloquence of Salomon, pointed at in this first circumstance. *Reliquum verborum Salamonis*, "The rest of the words of Salomon."

From his sayings, I am come to his doings. *Quæ fecerit*, "All that he did." Ἴδαν εἰς πολύδενδρον, (as [4] Theocritus speakes) a vast wood, and world of matter, fitter for the annals, and historie of the time, then for a fragment of a funerall sermon. Every action of his sacred majestie was a vertue and a miracle to exempt him from any parallel, amongst the moderne kings, and princes. Not a particular of his life, but was a mysterie of the divine providence, to keepe, and præserve those admirable parts, for the setling, and uniting of some great empire. Why was the queen his [5] mother barren in France then growne a greater, and yet fruitfull in Scotland, a lesser kingdome then this of ours? Why was [6] the father killed in his bed, and yet the sonne at the same time spared in his cradle? Why was hee put (like another [7] Hercules) to strangle serpents in his swadling clouts, and to fight, before he could lift up his arme, with the husband of his mother, for a just revenge of the death of his father? Why were those worthy guardians of his sacred person so swept away, [9] Murray, [10] Lenox, and [11] Morton, killed, and [12] Marre tormented, and vexed to death, and yet this infant, without his protectors, from time to time miraculously protected? How was his youth freed from the faction of [13] France, and his riper yeares from that of [14] Spaine? the which two, like Sampson's foxes, tied by the tailes, agreed in nothing but their end, which was to poison his religion, and succession. Why did [15] Gowrie's man, prepar'd to kill him, tremble in his præsence, and begin to adore him? Lastly, (for no præservation can be nam'd after this) when the match, and the powder, not farre from this place, was so fitted, and præpared, Why was this king so divinely præserved? Surely for no other

[1] Plutarch. *in* Alexand. [2] *Plus saltantem stupeo, quam pugnantem.* St. Ambrose *of* David.
[3] August. *in loc.* [4] Idyllio. 17.
[5] *Una fœminarum in omni ævo Lampido Lacedæmonia reperitur, quæ regis filia, regis uxor, regis mater fuit.* Plin. Histor. nat. l. 7. c. 41.
[6] *Atroci, & horrendo scelere, quod boni omnes sunt detestati.* Cambd. Eliz. p. 110.
[7] *Postquam conspexit angueis ille alter puer, cit. è cunis exilit, facit rectâ in angueis impetum, &c.* Plautus in Amphitruone, Act. 5. Scen. 1. [8] Cambden Eliz. p. 121. [9] Cambden Eliz. p. 172.
[10] Idem. ibid. p. 203.
[11] *Mortonius Anglis addictissimus ab Arranio læsæ Majestatis accusatis, in carcerem conjicitur.* Cambd. Eliz. p. 314. *Ex delatorum invidia.* p. 315. *Obtruncatus.* p. 317.
[12] *Præ mœrore, postquam tredecim menses præfuisset, fatis concessit.* Cambd. Eliz. p. 204.
[13] Cambd. Eliz. p. 316.
[14] *Summa consilii erat, ut rege intercepto, externas copias ad religionem Romanam restaurandam, & Angliam invadendam admitterent.* Cambd. Eliz. part. 2. p. 500. MS. [15] Gowrie's Conspiracie, fol. 6.

end then this, that as [1] Perez was wont to call himselfe *Monstrum Fortunæ*, the Monster of Fortune; so this prince might appeare in the world, *monstrum providentiæ*, a monster, as it were, of the divine providence; (taking the word, as Scaliger applies it to [2] Virgil, *monstrum sine labe*, a monster for want of imperfections,) and be esteem'd for his *quæ fecerit*, what he should do, in time to come, a miracle of kings, and a king of miracles. I leave the multitude of his actions to fill up Chronicles, and will instance only in those foure vertues, which it seemes doe now adorne his hearse, and speake the same unto your eyes, which I would doe unto your eares; that is, the actions of his religion, his justice, his warre, and his peace, foure principall members in this statue of Salomon.

First, for the actions of religion, it is true what St [3] Gregory saith, that God doth therefore give princes their kingdomes, to fit and præpare men for his kingdome. Hence our churches come to be builded, and our church-men to be thus maintained. Now as Salomon of all the kings of Israel: so our late soveraigne of all Christian kings, that ever I read of, was the most constant [4] patron of churches and church-men. This patronage extended to three severall braunches, to the doctrine, to the discipline, and to the maintenance of God's church. And of his affection to these three he gave a full demonstration, by that hee had spent three moneths in this kingdome. To the doctrine, by the [5] translation of the Bible, against the papists. To the discipline, by the conference at [6] Hampton Court, against the Novellists. And to the maintenance, by remitting all *sede-vacantes*, and disabling [7] church-men to make leases to the crowne, against the courtiers, and statists of those worser times. Yee house of Levi praise yee the Lord, *quoniam misericordia ejus in sæculum*, for this mercie of his endureth for ever. But this [8] beginning amongst us was but a mappe of his whole life, as many times a little ring receiveth the image of a great Colossus; because, from the very cradle wherein hee was crown'd, all his life was a continued patronage of the doctrine, the discipline, and the maintenance of the church.

For the first, I will speake it boldly, *et dicam universa audiente Græcia*, in the præsence here of God, and men, that I beleeve in my soule and conscience, there never lived a more constant, resolute, and setled protestant in point of doctrine, then our late soveraigne. The first letter that ever he wrote to Queene Elizabeth of famous memory, upon his taking of the government to his owne managing, was for assistance against those men,[9] *qui veræ religioni adversabantur*, that were opposers of this true religion; and this was in the year 1578. In the same blessed minde he still remained, when he made that profession to Secretary [10] Walsingham; *se religionem receptam constantissimè defensurum*, that he would most constantly defend his received religion, in the yeare 1583. In the same resolution he continued, when hee put it to [11] Queen Elizabeth to choose him a lady, who recommended unto him at the first [12] Madam Margarite, aunt to our now queene, (whom God long blesse and præserve) and afterward our late Queene [13] Anne, a most blessed ladie in many respects, and yet in none more then this, that she was the mother of our præsent soveraigne. In the same faith he persever'd, when hee made his rodes (as they call it) to the [14] north of Scotland against

[1] Cambd. Eliz. part 2. p. 566. M. S. [2] *In poetice.*
[3] *Ut terrestre regnum cælesti regno famuletur.* Greg. ep. 62. ad Mauritium.
[4] *Ingens Cæsar, & par gloria tua, sive fecerint istud posteà principes, sive non fecerint.* Plin. in Paneg.
[5] Now read in our churches.
[6] Printed by command 14th January 1603, and now reprinted by King James his new command immediatly before his death, 1625. [7] The act of Parliam. 1. Jac.
[8] *Ipsa initia plantare debent principis nominis famam.* Theodoricus.
[9] *Per Dunfermilinium.* Cambd. Eliz. p. 277. [10] *Edinburgi.* Cambd. Eliz. p. 341.
[11] *Cumque rex subinde Elizabetham de uxore deligenda consuluisset, &c.* Cambd. Eliz. part 2. p. 513. M. S.
[12] *Jamdudum percupierat Margaritam sororem regis Navarri regi Scotorum in matrimonio collocare.* Cambd. Eliz. part 2. p. 513. M. S. [13] *Quam præ cæteris commendavit.* Idem. ibid.
[14] Cambd. Eliz. part 2. p. 561. M. S.

the papists, in the yeare 1594, or there abouts. Hee grew in this faith from strength to strength, when he wrote his [1] *Basilicon Doron*, which made the Romanists despaire of him, and set on [2]parsons to forge titles, [3]Clemens Octavus to publish Bulls, and the whole conclave to oppose his succession, as we may now reade at large in the letters of [4]Cardinall D'Ossat. And upon his happie arrivall to this crowne, a protestant hee was deem'd by [5] Watson the Prologue, and that without any hope of change, by Faux the Epilogue of the powder treason. To conclude, he defended this doctrine of ours with his penne, his lawes, and his sword, the whole progresse of his life; and seal'd it with the blessed sacrament at the time of his death.

[1]*Sic illi visum est vivere, sicque mori.* I am bound in conscience out of zeale to the truth, and my dutie to my dead master, to adde a word more, ere I close this point. This blessed king, in all the time I served him, did never out of deepe and just reason of state, and the bitter necessities of Christendome in these latter times, give way to any the least connivence in the world, towards the person of a papist (for to his doctrine he never did, he never would doe, nor was there any [6] consideration under heaven could have forc't him thereunto) but hee strictly guided himselfe in the same, by some notable præsident of Queene Elizabeth, (the load-starre of all his greatest actions) and that in the very point; and bath'd his favours with showers of teares (I speake it in the præsence of Almightie God) least these intendments of his for the apparant good of the state, might scandalize for all that, (in an oblique line) his weake, but well meaning subjects in their religion, and doctrine. And so much for the first point.

For the second, as hee patronized the doctrine, so did he also the discipline of this church, I meane the hierarchie of the bishops, and the use of chapters, and cathedrall churches, as a government received from Christ, and his Apostles, and the [7] only discipline that ever agreed with the fundamentall lawes of any christian monarchie. For as that musitian in [8] Philostratus sent his young scholler to a sort of bunglers, where he might learne, μὴ αὐλεῖν, how hee should not pipe; so God Almighty was pleas'd that this great [9] king should be bred for a while in that new discipline, that hee might learne in times to come how he should not discipline the church of Christ. In that discipline he learn't this doctrine, that [10] one king may be lawfully surprised by three earles, 1583. That [11] ministers are not subject to either king, or councell, 1584. That they may [12] deny the king to pray for his mother, 1586. That they may call synods without the king, and make lawes too; [13] *Ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*, that there be nothing done to the præjudice of the state, 1593. For these aberrations therefore in the discipline of that church (though hee honoured those preachers to his dying day for the truth of their doctrine in all other points) hee first brought in [14] the jurisdiction; secondly, the name; thirdly, the cathedrals; and lastly, the consistories, and revenews of my lords

[1] *Sed his aliis libris longé præcelluit liber Basilicon Doron, &c. Incredibile est, quot hominum animos & studia inde sibi conciliârit. &c.* Id. in Eliz. part 2. p. 659. M. S. [2] Id. ibid. p. 562. M. S.

[3] Speedes Chro. p. 911.

[4] *Liure septiesme* 131. *Au roy. & Liure* 8. 162. *A Monsieur de Villeroy. & Liure* 7. 132. *A Mons. de Villeroy.*

[5] Speedes Chro. p. 912.

[6] For they themselves will needs (as the Romans said of the Jewes) make themselves as remote from us as the Indians. οἷς μήτε κοινὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τράπεζα, μήτε σπονδαὶ, μήτε ἐυχαὶ, μήτε θυσίαι. Philostrat. *in vita* Apollon. *l.* 5. *c.* 10.

[7] Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον. lib. 2. and his word was, No bishop, no king. Confer. at Hampt. Court, pag. 36.

[8] Αὐλητὴς τῶν πάνυ σοφῶν, τὸς ἑαυτῦ μαθητὰς παρὰ τὸς φαυλοτερος τῶν αὐλη τῶν ἔπεμπε, μαθησαμένυς πῶς δεῖ μὴ αὐλεῖν. Philostrat. *in vita* Apol. *l.* 5. *c.* 11.

[9] However he lived amongst Puritanes, and was kept as a ward under them, yet since he was ten yeares old, hee ever despised their opinions. Confer. at Hampt. Court, pag. 20.

[10] Cambd. Eliz. pag. 342. [11] Cambd Eliz. pag. 361. [12] Cambd. Eliz. pag. 444.

[13] Cambd, Eliz, part. 2. pag. 550. *Nec expectata Regis authoritate*, barones, *et* burgenses, *Convocarunt* (ministri) *ad consultandum ne quid detrimenti relligio, aut respub. caperet.* M. S. [14] Cambd. Eliz. pag. 362.

their bishops: such a patron hee was of this most reverend, most auncient, and most apostolicall discipline.

Lastly, he was as great a patron of the maintenance of the church, as ever I read of in any historie. For beside his refusal of *sede vacantes*, and that law he enacted at his first entrance for the preservation of the revenew of our churches in England, he might wel say with David for his other kingdomes; [1] *Zelus Domus tuæ devoravit me*, that the endowing of bishopricques, the erecting of colledges, the buying out of impropriations, the assigning of glebes, the repairing of the old, and the founding of new churches, hath consumed, and taken up all, or the farre greater part of his revenews in Scotland and Ireland. I have no time to dwell upon particulars, but in the generall, thinke you of whom you please, of Constantine of Rome, of Charlemaine of France, of Alphonso of Spaine, or to come home to our owne island, a soile more fertill in prodigious founders, of Lucius, of Offa, of Alfred, of saint Edward, of any king before or since the Conquest, and I will say of my deare master (as he said of Trajan) *Tu melior pejori ævo*, though the times be farre worse, yet was he farre the greater founder. And therefore to conclude this point, imagine discipline to be the wals, maintenance the roofe and cover, true doctrine the sweet perfume and incense of the temple, and you have Salomons first act before your eyes, the building of Gods house, and his *Quid fecerit*, what he did by actions of religion.

For the actions of justice in this king, they were so ordinary, that being repeated they would prove as tædious for the præsent, as in the ages to come they will be admired. For, as [2] Synesius saith of that glorious planet, that it is nothing for the sunne to shine ἐν ὑσίᾳ τὸ λαμπρον ἔχοντι, it being of his essence to glister and shine: so were it *frigidissima laudatio*, very poore oratory, to commend our king for being just, there having beene made over all Europe, for the space of forty yeeres, no more quæstion of his being just, then of his being king. If wee looke at home in his owne dominions, never were the benches so gravely furnished, never the courts so willingly frequented, never poore and rich so æqually righted, never the ballance so evenly poized, as in the raigne of our late soveraigne, I could tell you that, that will never be beleev'd in future times, of a lord that died for a vile varlet, [3] of a peere condemned for a sorry gentleman, nay of a deare sonne unrelieved for a time against a stranger, for fear of swarving the bredth of a haire from the line of justice. If we look abroad into forraign countries, *Quæ tam seposita est, quæ gens tam barbara?* Those very princes, that have done him none, have beene forc't to confesse his uprightnesse and justice. I leave you therefore to resolve with yourselves, of the which of these Salomons, that text is most true; the wisdome of God was in him, *ad faciendum judicium*, to doe justice. 1 Kings 3. last verse. And so much of the actions of his justice.

The third sort of actions, which are those of warre, are also observable in the peaceable raigne of our late Salomon. For although it be a fashion amongst men, *ut nolint eundem pluribus rebus excellere* ([4] as the orator speakes) that they cannot endure that one man should bee thought eminent in many qualities, as the same prince in the managing of peace, and warre: yet surely nothing, but the malice of some people, that would place their wheeles in princes, as [5] Dædalus did in his statues, to pull them to combustions at their owne pleasure, can denie this laurell to our late soveraigne. For besides that occasioned in Scotland, to make his roades into the north, after the defeat of the Earle of Arguile, hee shewed himselfe in person, not onely ἕτοιμον, resolute enough, but, if wee may beleeve the [6] story (as Plutarque said of Tiberius Gracchus) ἰταμὸν, somewhat too

[1] Psal. 68. 10. [2] Οὐ γὰρ πόνος αὐτῷ κατιάλαμπειν ἐν ὑσίᾳ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἔχοντι. Synesius *de regno*.
[3] Lord Sanquhar, executed for causing one Turner, a fencer, to be shot. *Edit.* 4 Cicero in Bruto.
[5] Aristot. *Politic. l.* 1. *c.* 1.
[6] *Rex ipse* difficillimi *itineris molestiis conflictat, per asperrimos montes in illa parte contendit, &c.* Camb. Eliz. part 2. p. 561. M. S.

forward in those unapproachable places, scattering his enemies as much with his example, as he did with his forces;

——[1] *dum magnos tolerare labores*
Ipsa Ducis virtus cogit——

I say, beside these adventures of his person, he was unto his people, to the houre of his death, another cherubin with a flaming sword, to keepe out enemies from this paradise of ours; wherein, above al neighbouring nations, grew in abundance those apples of peace, which now I am to gather in the last place.

And surely actions of peace (whatever debauched people say to the[2] contrarie) set out a prince in more orient colours then those of war, and great combustions. *In turbas, et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis: Pax, et quies bonis Artibus indigent,* saith[3] Tacitus: any Phaethon will serve to fire the world, but none beside the God of wisedome can keepe it in order. And this is most evident in the booke of God. When Israel is to be chastized with warre, and desolation, any furious Jehu will serve the turne; but for the managing of a long, and a continued peace, no lesse is required than the wisedome of Salomon. Now of these actions of king James his peace, though many others have made whole bookes, yet will I make but a short index. You may finde in those volumes, the Scottish feudes quite abolished, the schools of the prophets newly adorned, al kind of learning highly improved, manufactures at home daily invented, trading abroad exceedingly multiplied, the Borders of Scotland peaceably governed, the north of Ireland religiously planted, the navy royall magnificently furnished; Virginia, New-found-land, and New-England peopled, the East India well traded, Persia, China, and the Mogor visited, lastly, all the ports of Europe, Afrique, Asia, and America, to our red crosses freed and opened. And they are all the actions, and true-borne children of king James his peace. And so much, or rather (for want of time) so little of the *Quæ fecerit,* and what he did; " the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did."

The third member of this statue, is his wisedome, fitly resembled to that of Salomons. For if the patterne seeme to excell in the intellectuals, I am sure the statue exceeds in the morals. If we take this wisedome for an *Universalitie,* clasping in her armes all arts and sciences; shee cannot be denied in that large sense, to have built her a house in that sacred bosome. For, as[4] Budæus being ask't by Francis the First, if all the bookes in the world were to bee burn't, what one hee would save, to preserve learning, made answer, that he would save the workes of Plutarque, because they had impressions of all the sciences: so say I, and appeale herein to any scholler in the world, that if all bookes were to be burnt, and Plutarque also to beare them company; yet could a man finde some footing, and impressions of all arts, and sciences, of all kindes of[5] divinitie, moralitie, and humanitie whatsoever, within the workes of our late soveraigne. But if we take wisdome for that deepe reach required in a king, for the governing of his people, which[6] Synesius calls Πασῶν Βασιλικῶν Βασιλικώτεραν, the prince of all the princely vertues; I will without blushing say of him, as Pliny did of another, and appeale herein to my noble lords of his Privie Counsell, *Nihil est omnium quod discere velis, quod ille docere non potuit,* there was nothing in that kinde that a man would learne, but was fully taught by our great master. But (alas) I dare not launch into this vast deepe, whereof the best head (whereever it is) in all Europe cannot sound the bottome: *Nisi sapiens non potest perspicere sapientem:* My wisedome, I confesse, is farre too short to

[1] Lucan.

[2] *Utinam meis temporibus eveniat, ut militum stipendia in Doctores Artium absumantur.* Leo Græcanicus.

[3] Histor. l. 4. *initio libri. Ad laudem regnantis trahitur, si ab omnibus pax ametur.* Cassiodorus *epist. l.* 1. *ep.* 23. A deepe point of policie. δυναθαι χλαζειν. Arist. polit. *l.* 8. *c.* 14.

[4] *In vita* Budæi. *Idem narratur de* Theodoro Gaza. Sphynx. Philos. *cap.* 25.

[5] As Ecclesiasticus is called παν-αρετων. Suidas *in Philolog.* & Epiph. *lib. de mensuris.*

[6] Κόσμος μὲν βασιλέων ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι, φρόνησις δὲ ἁπάσων βασιλικώτερα. Synes. *de regno.*

give you any character of his infinite wisedome. Some streames hereof, you may hereafter find in the histories of this age, the fourth member of this statue, the booke of the acts of Salomon. "And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his wisedome, are they not written in the booke of the acts of Salomon?"

For although king James had no such officers as [1] Salomon had, *a commentariis*, appointed of purpose to write his actions; yet [2] *Dulce est oculis videre Solem*, the sunne cannot shine in such a brightnesse, but eyes must behold it, nor set in so lasting a night, but the world will misse it. Private histories (as [3] Adrian said of Apers accusations) are but incke, and paper, and may bee holpe in part with the golden pin-dust; whereas [4] *Suffragia mundi nullus emit*, none can be honoured of all Europe, but he that held the ballance of all Europe, and for the space of twentie yeares at the least, preserved the peace of all Europe. Christendome therefore will be the booke, swords, I feare, will prove the pennes, and the remembrance of the times past, the acts and monuments of our blessed Salomon. And if multitude of writers could multiply his fame, the Israelite with his fifteene pen-men (for so [5] Pineda makes his boast) must give place herein to our British Salomon. What writer hath cause to speake of a king, but præsently he falles upon this king of writers? so that as [6] Constantine the Great did nick-name Trajan, *Herbam Parietariam*, a wall-flower, because his name was engraven on every wall: so shall æmulous Posteritie terme king James *Herbam chartaceam*, a paper-flower, when they reade his glory in all writers. And as one saith of Plinius, and Tacitus, that they were [7] *Literarum nomina, non Hominum;* so will it be a quæstion amongst critiques in the ages to come, whether this name of James doth more properly note an eminent king, or an eminent scholler. And in that case, if ungratefull posteritie should forget the king, (as beleeve me it will not, for like one of [8] Demetrius his statues, this king will shew better and better with time) yet if it should, learning will never forget the scholler. In the world before the flood, though wee reade not of one king, [9] the inventers of the arts are still remembred. His history therefore, like [10] Herodotus his history, shall be written, and set out by all the muses; they all shall joyne in the writing of his booke, the booke of the acts of our British Salomon.

In the fifth place, survey we his capitall citie; which [11] enlarged, and repaired in each corner thereof, 1 King. 9. 15. and refreshed within with a [12] running water, (which [13] Iosephus attributes to the sonne of David) doth no more resemble that other, than this Hierusalem, where our Salomon raigned. "Hee raigned in Hierusalem." Here for the space of two and twentie yeeres the sacrifices were daily offered, here Gods word was learnedly expounded, here the lawes were justly administred, here all the tribes were usually assembled, here the three kingdomes were convened, here Edenburgh and Diuelen were united, like Jebus and Salem, in one Hierusalem, whilst Salomon raigned in this Hierusalem. And so much of this fifth circumstance.

In the sixt place, survay wee the bounds of his empire, and King James will prove a King Salomon in this, as being the first king (for ought we know) that reigned here over all this island, over all Israel. "Hee raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel." There is a brute

[1] Sanctius *in* 1. *Reg.* proleg. 1. [2] Ecclesiastes 11. 7. [3] Spartianus *in* Adriano.

[4] Sidonius. *Melius omnibus quam singulis creditur. singuli enim decipere, & decipi possunt: nemo omnes, neminem omnes, fefellerunt.* Plin. Secund. *in* Panegyr. [5] *De reb.* Salom. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. [6] *Apud* Euseb.

[7] *Nosti me? & quidem ex studiis. Ad hoc illum.* Tacitus *es, an* Plinius? *Exprimere non possum quam sit jucundum mihi, quod nomina nostra quasi literarum propria, non hominum, literis redduntur.* Plinius Secund. *lib.* 9. *ep.* 23.

[8] Οὐδεὶς ἔχει ἰὸν ἀδὲ πινὸν. Plutarch. reip. gerend. præcept. *Solum te commendat, augetque temporis spatium.* Plin. *in* Paneg. [9] Genes. 5.

[10] Whereof the severall bookes are assigned to severall *Muses. Quem referent musæ, vivet.* Tibul. *li.* 1. *eleg.* 4. νέκταρ χυτον, μοισᾶν δόσιν. Pynd. Olymp. Hymn. 7.

[11] See the *Proclamations* for buildings. Πόλιν λαμπρύνει κατασκευὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς οἰκοδομημάτων. Philostratus *de vitis* Sophist. *li.* 1.

[12] Which a man might call, as the *Ægyptians* doe *Nilus*, Κοινὸν κρατῆρα. Philost. *de vit.* Apol. *l.* 5. *c.* 10.

[13] *De bello* Judaic. *l.* 6. *c.* 6.

of one Brutus long before, but it is no more then a meere brute. [1] King James is the first king of the island, that wee reade of in good histories. And surely *non sine numine Divûm*, this came not to passe otherwise, then by Gods directions, from time to time. When the two daughters were so matched, why should Scotland be preferred? when a new [2] race had gotten the crowne, why should the name within the space of 115 yeares be thus extinguished? when many prætenses were made to this land, why should they all in this one king be concentred and united? [3] that of the Britaines by Cadwallo, that of the Scots by Fargus, that of the Picts by the daughter of Hungus, that of the Saxons by the sister of Edgar, that of the Danes by the daughter of king Christian, and that of the Normans by the daughter of Henry the Seventh, from all the which he was a lineall descendant. Surely to let us know, that this was the Salomon, whom God from the beginning had anointed king over all Israel, and accordingly he raigned in Hierusalem over all Israel. And so much of the sixt circumstance.

The seventh circumstance is the time of his raigne, the which though it falls short in a divided, yet in a compounded sense exceeds the patterne. For though he raigned not so long over all Israel, yet in all hee raigned 58 yeares. A long and a blessed raigne, wherein he was married to one queene, and (as he said of Tigranes) to a thousand vertues. A raigne like that Σειρὴ χρυσείη, or golden chaine in [4] Homer, whereof Πάντες τε θεοὶ, πᾶσαιτε θεαῖναι, the several linkes were severall blessings, with the one end fastened to his cradle, and the other dropping into his grave. And surely God Almightie, to let us know that it is [5] by him that kings doe raigne, makes them sometimes to governe states (and that very well) before they be able to governe themselves. [6] Varanes his childe was crowned king, while he was yet in his mothers wombe. [7] Fredricke the Second, when he was but three yeares old. [8] Joas, when hee was but seven. Salomon, (as some [9] Rabbins thinke) when hee was but ten. [10] Charles the ninth, when hee was but eleven. [11] St. Lewis, when he was but twelve. And our late Soveraigne aged little more then [12] so many moneths. Thus God stockes those kings with daies, whom he meanes to stocke with goodnesse. Thus our deare master, who raigned better, raigned also longer then King Salomon, whose raigne in Hierusalem over all Israel, was no more then fortie yeares: and so much of the seventh circumstance.

And hitherto, most high and mightie, most honourable, worshipful, and wellbeloved, you may imagine I have offered unto your thoughts, not only a statue of king Salomon, but withall, as the Græcians did in their Hercules, and Xenophon in his Cyrus, an idea, or repræsentation of all the perfections required in a king. But, out alas! those statues of theirs are (as the soule that frames them) lasting and immortall, but this of ours made of flesh and bloud, *Majore nostrûm damno, quam suo* (as [13] hee said of Titus) to our losse, but his great advantage, is proved mortall. I, but did you not know before (will some men say) that the king was mortall? I did indeed; and I know withall, the state of Christendom doth require, that such a king, as this, of these sayings, and doings, and wisdome, and experience of 58 yeares, should have beene immortall,

[14] *Verum oneranda mihi non sunt, memoranda recepi,*
Fata ———

[1] Cambd. in sua Brit. pag. 5. [2] The name of the Tuddors.

[3] Noted by the late Earle of Northampton, in his speech for the recognition, made in parliament. 3. Iac. 26. Maij. M. S. [4] Iliad 1. [5] Prov. 8. 17. [6] Agathias libr. 4. *applicata ad uterum corona.*

[7] King of Sicelie. Polychron. [8] 4 Reg. 11. 12.

[9] *Rabbi David Kimchi apud Lyram. Salomonem decennem regni initio suscepisse filium Rheboboam.* Although all the Greeke and Latine fathers make him to be 12 yeares old, and these opinions do make his raigne with his fathers to have beene for many yeares. Whereas the late writers, protestants and Romanists, making that raigne to be but for two yeares, doe make Salomon of the age of 18. or 19. years, when hee began his raigne.

[10] Inventor of France. in Car. 9.

[11] *Ludovico suffectus est Ludovicus filius annos duodecim natus. Gaguinus. Compendii sui libr. 7.*

[12] *Regnum cessit filiolo vix tredecim menses nato,* Camb. Elis. *p.* 119.

[13] *Sueton. in Tito. Non memini me legisse malâ morte mortuum, qui libenter opera pietatis exercuit.* Hieron. disc. 13.

[14] Auson. Burdig. profess. cap. 19.

Our onely comfort is this, that as he lived like a king, so he died like a saint. He did rather (as Saint Hierome said of Nepotian) *migrare, quam mori;* or (as Saint Bernard writes of Hubertus) *abire, quam obire,* hee did not dye, but fall asleepe, *Dormiuitque Salomon,* And Salomon [2] slept. Never have you read of any king, that left this world more resolved, more prepared, as though hee had unbraced himselfe for his bed, rather then for his grave. And it was his fashion so to doe, when hee was summoned by any sicknesse. God dealt with this blessed prince, as he did with [2] Ezechia; for certaine yeeres before his death, hee was called upon by his sicknesse at Royston to set his house in order. Lord, what a [3] speech hee then made to his sonne our præsent soveraigne! *O Verba Bracteata.* Not a syllable in all the same, but deserves to be written in letters of gold. How powerfully did hee charge him with the care of religion and justice, the two pillars (as he tearmed them) of his future throne? How did he recommend unto his love, the nobilitie, the clergie, and the communaltie in the generall? How did he thrust, as it were into his inward bosome, his bishops, his judges, his neere servants; and that disciple of his whom he so loved in particular? And concluded with that heavenly advice, to his sonne, concerning that great act of his future marriage, To marrie like himselfe, and marrie where hee would. [4] But if hee did marrie the daughter of that king, hee should marry her person, but hee should not marry her religion. But now at this sicknesse more shaken with the fits of a raging fever, the neerer death drew unto him, the more he prepared himselfe for it. All his latter dayes he spent in prayer, sending his thoughts before into heaven, to bee the harbingers of his happy soule. Some foure dayes before his end, he desired to receive the blessed sacrament, *Viaticum Æternitatis,* as it is tearmed in the ancient councels, a blessed bait, that the devout soule useth for the most part to take in this life, when it is ready to travaile for the other life. Being demanded, if hee was prepared, in point of faith and charitie, for so great a devotion; he said hee was, and gave humble thankes to God for the same. Being desired to declare his faith, and what he thought of those bookes he had written in that kinde, hee repeated the Articles of the Creede one by one, and said hee beleeved them all, as they were received and expounded by that part of the Catholique church which was established here in England. And said, with a kinde of sprightfulnesse and vivacitie, that whatever hee had written of this faith in his life, he was now ready to seale with his death. Being questioned in point of charitie; he answered presently, that hee forgave all men that offended him, and desired to be forgiven by all Christians, whom hee in any wise had offended. Being told, that men in holy orders in the church of England doe challenge a power, as inhærent in their function, not in their person, to pronounce and declare remission of sins, to such as being penitent doe call for the same; and that they have a forme of absolution for that very purpose, set down in the booke of Common Prayers; [5] he answered suddenly; I have ever beleeved, there was that power in you, that be in orders in the church of England. And that, amongst others, was unto me an evident demonstration, that the church of England is without all quæstion the church of Christ. And therefore I, a miserable sinner, doe humbly desire Almighty God to absolve me of my sinnes, and you, that are his servant in that high place, to affoord me this heavenly comfort. And after the absolution read, and pronounced, hee received the sacrament with that zeale and devotion, as if hee had not beene a fraile man, but a cherubin cloathed with flesh, and blood. And some houre after, he said unto his sonne, the

[1] *Fælix somnus cum requie, requies cum voluptate, voluptas cum æternitate.* Petrus Damianus *de* Stephano. *Dulcis simul et beatus somnus.* Gregor. Nyssen. *de cod.*

[2] 4 Reg. 20. 6.

[3] Taken by Mr Deane of Winchester, and shewed and approved by the king in his life time. M. S.

[4] Κατὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐλᾶν. Solon *apud* Plutarch.

[5] So his majestie had done before, saying, that it was apostolicall, and a very good ordinance, in that it was given in the name of Christ, to one that desired it, and upon the clearing of his conscience *Confer.* at *Hampt. Court,* pag. 13. also it is retained in the confessions of Augusta, Bohem, and Saxon.

duke, and others that stood about him, that they could not imagine what ease and comfort he found in himselfe, sithence his receiving of the blessed sacrament. O, saith hee, that all my lords would doe but thus, when they are visited with the like sicknesse. Themselves would bee more comforted in their soules, and the world lesse troubled with quæstioning their religion. From this time, to the houre of his death, the sicknesse prevailed more and more upon his body, and his sense, and memory not much impaired, prayers were multiplied accordingly from houre to houre, for the comfort of his soule. And as [1] Nazianzen saith of Saint Basil, that he did desire to dye μετα ρήμασι της ευσεβειας with some sentence of pietie in his mouth: so there were selected in English, and Latine, some short sentences of devotion to raise and lift up his soule into heaven, before it came thither. With this he was so ravished, and comforted, that as all his servants (never sufficiently commended for diligence, and [2] devotion) can beare witnesse, when he groaned now under the pangs of death, yet was hee ever still, and as quiet, as a lambe, when these ejaculations were infused into him. To one of them, to wit, *Mecum eris in Paradiso,* he replied presently, *Vox Christi,* that it was the voice and promise of Christ. And another, *Veni Domine Jesu, veni citò,* hee twice or thrice repeated. And a while after, his hastning on forward towards his end, hastened us also to that prayer usually said at the houre of death; the which was no sooner ended with that sentence, *In manus tuas Domine Commendo spiritum meum,* but his lords and servants kneeling on the one side, his archbishop, bishops, and other of his chaplaines on the other side of his bed, without any pangs, or convulsion at all, *Dormivit Salomon,* Salomon slept. And so much of this eight, a most bitter circumstance.

And yet this bitternesse is like the bitternesse of myrrhe, very unpleasing unto us, but very præservative unto him. [3] *Mors janua vitæ.* [4] He had no way, but by this mortalitie, to cloath himselfe with immortalitie. Were it not for this sleeping, how had he obtain'd this æternal [5] dreaming? which his soul sever'd from the dregges of the bodie, doth now enjoy in the præsence of God, environ'd no more with lords and knights, but with troupes of angels, and the soules of the blessed, call'd in this text, his fore-runners, or fathers; and Salomon slept with his fathers. And therefore, as Papinius Statius reports of the old Arcadians, that mourning all night for the setting of the sunne, they were comforted notwithstanding at the breake of day, when they saw him in his spheare again; and as the people enraged at the death of Romulus, were quieted by and by with [7] Proculus his newes, that he saw him in glory riding up to heaven: much more must we Christians remain full of hope at the death of a [8] saint, that is gone to his fathers; *Dormivitque Salomon cum Patribus suis,* And Salomon slept with his fathers. And no more of this ninth circumstance.

And I must say lesse of the last of all, prævented therein by the magnificence of his majestie: because, for any thing wee reade in the Scriptures, the funeralls of the first, came nothing neare the stately funerals of our second Salomon. Shall I say therefore

[1] *In ejus vita.*

[2] *Est magnificum, quod te ab omni cognatione vitiorum reprimis, ac revocas; sed magnificentius, quod tuos. Quanto enim majis arduum est, alios præstare quam se; tanto laudabilius, quod cum ipse sis optimus, omnes circa te similes tui effecisti.* Plin. sec. *de* Trajano *in* Paneg. Ὀύ μόνον ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττε καθαρὺς. Plutarch. *de* Catone Majore.

[3] *Cui peregrinatio dulcis est, non amat patriam.* August. in Psal. 93. *Cur hanc vitam adeo amamus, ubi quanto diutius quis fuerit, tanto majori oneratur sarcina peccatorum?* Ambros. de bono mortis, cap. 2. *Nam cur mortem adeo detrectamus? Ne videamus nimirum descripta in Apocalypsi Joannis.* Cypr. lib. de mortal. sect. 17.

[4] *Si tamen fas est aut flere, aut omnino mortem vocare, quâ tanti viri mortalitas magis finita, quam vita est.* De Verginio. Rufo. Plin. sec. l. 2. ep. 1.

[5] *Dormiunt mortui, non solum propter facilitatem resuscitandi, sed etiam propter jucunda insomnia, quæ animæ à corporibus separatæ habent, dum Deum facie ad faciem, &c.* Salmer. tom. 6. tract. 44.

[6] Theba'd. 4.

[7] *Plin. secund. de viris illustribus,* c. 2.

[8] So the Egyptians mourn'd for Jacob 70 daies; Joseph but 7 daies. Gen. 50. 3. and 10. So of the blessed Virgin at the death of Christ: *Stantem lego, flentem non lego.* Ambros. in Luc.

of my præsent master, that he is a great, and a hopefull king? All that is true; but I leave it to another, that hath time to enlarge it. I will onely say, as St Ambrose[1] said of Theodosius, *Summam votorum complexus est, pius est;* He hath shew'd himselfe, as we desir'd he should, a pious sonne of a most pious father. He layes, with all possible solemnity, the bodie of his father in the sepulchre of the kings, erected by Henry the Seventh his great grandfather, *Tanquam in civitate David patris ejus;* just as this other Salomon was, In the citie of David his father.

And yet, with due reverence to his majestie, I must be bold to say, that all this is nothing to that honour, which God hath done to the funeralls of his father. "So[2] deare in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." For God hath provided another statue yet to adorne the exequies of our late soveraigne. I do not mean this artificiall repræsentation within the hearse; for this shews no more then his outward body; or rather the bodie of his bodie, his cloathes and ornaments. But I meane that statue which (beyond all former præsidents of pietie) [3] walk't on foot this day after the hearse, one of Myron's statues, *Qui pæné hominu animas effinxerit,* which came so neare to the soules of men, [4] A breathing statue of all his vertues. This God hath done for him, or rather for us. For as he hath made a lively repræsentation of the vertues of Salomon, in the person of King James: so hath he done a like repræsentation of the vertues of King James, in the person of King Charles our gratious soveraigne.

I will therefore conclude these Exequies of Salomon, with a saying spoken by that imitator of Salomon, [5] *Mortuus est pater, & quasi non est mortuus, similem enim reliquit sibi post se.* Though his father be dead, yet is he, as though hee were not dead, for he hath left one behinde him most like himselfe. Whom God long prosper, and preserve.

The grace of our Lord, &c.

FINIS.

London: printed by John Bill, printer to the King's most excellent Majestie, MDCXXV.

The King's Majestie's Declaration to his Subjects, concerning lawfull Sports to be used. London, 1618.

The following proclamation seems to claim a place in this Collection, as it proved the source of great discontent in this and the following reigns. "Among all the dances," says Arthur Wilson, "that these times were guilty of, none of the masqueradoes presented so horrid a vizard as the churchman's; for some of the bishops, pretending recreations and liberty to servants and common people (of which they carved to themselves too much already) procured the king to put out a book to permit dancing about may-poles, church-ales, and such debauched exercises upon the Sabbath day, after evening praying, (being a specious way to make the king and them acceptable to the rout,) which book came out with a command, enjoining all ministers to read it to their parishioners, and to approve of it; and those that did not were brought into the high commission, imprisoned, and suspended. This book being only a trap to catch some consciencious men, that they could not otherwise with all their cunning insnare; for they would preach the gospel in a

[1] *Orat. Funebr. de Morte Theodos. Imperat.*

[2] Psal. 116. 15.

[3] *Te ad sydera tollit humus.* Plin. secund. in Panegyr.

[4] Ζῶν ἄγαλμα. *Cyrus Prodrom. in sua πρόσφων in Gregor. Theol.*

[5] Eccles. 30. 4.

fools coat, (as some of them expressed,) rather than be silenced for a surplice. And their conjuring of them with the cross in baptism, and the circle of the ring in marriage, could not make a well-composed reason and a sound conscience then start at it; but when so frightful an apparition as the dancing-book appeared, some of the ministers left all for fear, others by force, they were so terrified with it. These, and such like machinations of the bishops, to maintain their temporal greatness, ease, and plenty, made the stones in the walls of their palaces, and the beams in the timber, afterwards cry out, moulder away, and come to nothing: whereas, if those in most authority had not been so pragmatical, but holy, prudent, and godly men, (as some others of the function were) their light might have shined still upon the mount, and not have gone out as it did, offensive to the nostrils of the rubbish of the people."—WILSON, *ad Ann.* 1617.

By the King,

Whereas, upon our returne the last yeere out of Scotland, wee did publish our pleasure touching the recreation of our people in those parts under our hand. For some causes us thereunto moving, we have thought good to command these our directions then given in Lancashire, with a few words thereunto added, and most appliable to these parts of our realmes, to be published to all our subjects.

Whereas we did justly, in our progresse through Lancashire, rebuke some Puritanes and precise people, and tooke order that the like unlawfull cariage should not bee used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawfull punishing of our good people for using their lawfull recreations and honest exercises upon Sunday, and other holy dayes, after the afternoone sermon or service. We now find, that two sorts of people wherewith that countrey is much infested (wee meane Papists and Puritanes,) have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honourable proceedings. And, therefore, lest our reputation might upon the one side (though innocently) have some aspersion layd upon it, and that upon the other part our good people in that countrey bee misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of our meaning, wee have, therefore, thought good hereby to cleare and make our pleasure to bee manifested to all our good people in those parts.

It is true, that at our first entry to this crowne and kingdome, we were informed, and that too truely, that our county of Lancashire abounded more in Popish recusants then any county of England, and thus hath stil continued since, to our great regreet, with litle amendment, saye that now of late, in our last riding through our said countie, wee find, both by the report of the judges and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to us.

The report of this growing amendment amongst them made us the more sory, when with our owne eares we heard the generall complaint of our people, that they were barred from all lawfull recreation and exercise upon the Sundayes afternoone, after the ending of all divine service, which cannot but produce two evils; the one, the hindering of the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vexe, perswading them, that no honest mirth or recreation is lawfull or tollerable in our religion, which cannot but breed a great discontentment in our peoples hearts, especially of such as are peradventure upon the point of turning; the other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for warre, when wee or our succesors shall have occasion to use them, and in place thereof sets up filthy tiplings and drunkennesse, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speaches in their alehouses; for when shal the common people have leave to exercise if not upon the Sundayes and holydayes, seeing they must apply their labour and winne their living in all working days?

Our expresse pleasure therefore is, that the lawes of our kingdome and canons of our church bee as well observed in that county, as in all other places of this our kingdome;

and, on the other part, that no lawfull recreation shall be barred to our good people, which shall not tend to the breach of our foresaid lawes and canons of our church, which to express more particularly our pleasure is, that the bishop, and all other inferiour churchmen and churchwardens shall, for their parts, bee carefull and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince them that are misled in religion, presenting them that will not conforme themselves, but obstinately stand out, to our judges and justices, whom we likewise command to put the law in due execution against them.

Our pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of that diocesse take the like straight order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conforme themselves, or to leave the countrey according to the lawes of our kingdome and canons of our church, and so to strike equally on both hands against the contemners of our authority and adversaries of our church. And as for our good people's lawfull recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that, after the end of divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawfull recreation, such as dauncing, either men or women, archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmelesse recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitson ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decoring of it, according to their old custome. But withall we doe here accompt still as prohibited all unlawfull games to bee used upon Sundayes only, as beare and bull baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people, by law prohibited, bowling.

And likewise we barre from this benefite and libertie all such knowne recusants, either men or women, as will abstaine from comming to church or divine service, being therefore unworthy of any lawfull recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God; prohibiting in like sort the said recreations to any that, though conforme in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, that they to whom it belongeth in office shall present and sharply punish all such as in abuse of this our libertie will use these exercises before the ends of all divine services for that day. And we likewise straightly command, that every person shall resort to his owne parish church to heare divine service, and each parish by itselfe to use the said recreation after divine service. Prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be caried or used in the said times of recreations. And our pleasure is, that this our declaration shal be published by order of the bishop of the diocesse through all the parish churches, and that both our judges of our circuit, and our justices of our peace be informed thereof.

Given at our mannour of Greenwich the foure and twentieth day of May, in the sixteenth yeere of our raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fiftieth.

God save the king.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

SECOND CLASS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

SECOND CLASS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

The King's Majesties Speech, as it was delivered by him in the Upper House of the Parliament to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses there assembled, on Monday the 19. *day of March* 1603, *being the first day of this present Parliament, and the first Parliament of his Majesties raign.*

This is the first of these ornate harangues with which James regaled his new subjects. Hume says, it displays more knowledge and better parts, than prudence or decorum; and, though surpassed by few productions of the age in style and matter, it wants that majestic brevity and reserve, which becomes a king in his addresses to the great council of his nation. There was, indeed, a woeful difference between this oration, and the concise and masculine speeches of Elizabeth. It intimates a mind more pleased with expressing a high strain of prerogative, than likely to assert with manhood, either the rights of the crown, or of the people. Rapin gives us the following account of its reception:

"This speech was not received with the applauses expected by the king. Besides the excessive length, several things were remarked which gave occason for censure. In the first place, nobody could tell what to make of his *actions of thanks inseparably conjoined in his person,* and containing two blessings, the first whereof was confined to these two points: 1. That, having never had war with any of his neighbours, he inferred from thence, that he brought peace with him every where. But it was no great wonder he had not been hitherto in war with his neighbours, since Scotland has properly no neighbours but the English. 2. That, without being solicited, he had revoked the letters of marque against Spain. The other blessing of his actions of thanks consisted in the union in his person of the titles of the two houses of Lancaster and York. Hence he would have insinuated, that by his accession to the throne of England, he freed the English from the dread of seeing a renewal of the civil wars occasioned by the titles of the two houses. But this pretended dread was only a chimera of his own forming. Since Henry VIII., who much more justly united in his person the rights of the two contending houses, the dread of civil war had so disappeared, that it was entirely forgot. As for his efforts to shew the great advantages which would accrue to England from the union of the two kingdoms, they were entirely vain, as will hereafter appear. Besides, his inferences from the arbitrary comparisons, of a head with a divided body, a husband with two wives, a shepherd with two flocks, seemed so little solid, that they were turned to ridicule. What he said about religion was displeasing to all. The Catholics were not satisfied with his distinctions. The Puritans were extremely offended, that he should positively say of them, 'They were ever discontented with the present government, and impatient of any superiority, which made their sect insufferable in a well-governed commonwealth.' The Protestants, in general, remarked in his speech too great condescension to the Papists, and even contradiction in what he said about them. On the one hand, he affirmed, he was of the church of England, and his faith grounded upon the holy scriptures. On the other hand, he was ready to lay aside all prejudice, and meet the Catholics half-way. He declared himself a mortal enemy to their errors, but took care to intimate, that he confined, as I may say, these errors to the doc-

trine of the Pope's exorbitant power. Upon the other sort of action of thanks, consisting in the making and executing of laws, it was said, that a king of England might extol his condescension concerning some particular law, made to his own detriment and the nation's benefit; but no king before him ever pretended to lay an obligation upon his people for giving his assent to such laws as were for his own and the kingdom's good. It was also observed, that he admonished the parliament not to enact too many laws, as if he feared to be obliged to carry his pretended thankfulness too far. That as for the few good laws he was willing to admit, all the effects of his thankfulness consisted in giving the judges a very common and trivial charge. Finally, it was remarked, that this thankfulness, upon which his whole speech turned, was as imaginary as the cause that produced it. In thanking the people of England *for receiving and embracing him as their undoubted and lawful king and governor,* he did not mean to declare that the people had made him so, but only that being undoubted king, by his birthright, they had received and owned him as such. This was lessening the obligation, and consequently the thankfulness too. Wherefore it was thought by many, that the king's aim, in this long harangue, was not so much to express his thankfulness to the English, as to insinuate to them, that all he was obliged to them for, was, their not opposing his undoubted right: that his chief intention was, to obtain of the parliament the union of the two kingdoms; to prevent any new laws against the papists, and to have the execution of those already in force left to him. What was only conjectured at first, became certain afterwards, as the king's intentions were discovered. In this very parliament, therefore, a suspicion and jealousy of the king began to be entertained by the people. This also put the House of Commons upon their guard, and made them carefully weigh the king's words and actions, who, notwithstanding the maxims laid down in the conclusion of his speech, was a great master in the art of choosing ambiguous expressions."—RAPIN'S *History of England, ad. ann.* 1604.

IT did no sooner please God to lighten his hand, and relent the violence of his devouring angel against the poore people of this citie,[1] but as soon did I resolve to call this parliament, and that for three chiefe and principall reasons: the first whereof is, (and which of itselfe, although there were no more, is not onely a sufficient, but a most full and necessarie ground and reason for convening of this assemblie.) This first reason I say is, That you who are heere presently assembled to represent the body of this whole kingdome, and of all sorts of people within the same, may with your owne eares heare, and that I out of mine owne mouth may deliver unto you the assurance of my due thankfulnes for your so joyfull and generall applause to the declaring and receiving of me in this seate (which God by my birthright and lineall descent had in the fulnesse of time provided for me) and that, immediately after it pleased God to call your late sovereign of famous memorie, full of dayes, but fuller of immortal trophies of honour, out of this transitorie life. Not that I am able to expresse by wordes, or utter by eloquence, the vive image of mine inward thankfulnesse, but onely that out of mine owne mouth you may rest assured to expect that measure of thankfulnesse at my hands, which is according to the infinitenesse of your deserts, and to my inclination and abilitie for requital of the same. Shall I ever—nay, can I ever—bee able, or rather so unable in memorie, as to forget your unexpected readines and alacritie, your ever memorable resolution, and your most wonderfull conjunction and harmonie of your hearts in declaring and embracing me as your undoubted and lawful king and governour? Or shall it ever be blotted out of my minde, how at my first entrie into this kingdome, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meete mee? their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection, their mouthes and tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy, their hands, feete, and all the rest of their members in their gestures discovering a passionate longing, and earnestnesse to meete and embrace

[1] The plague had just abated its violence, after sweeping away 30,000 people in London alone.

their new soveraigne. *Quid ergo retribuam?* Shall I allow in my selfe, that which I could never beare with in another? No, I must plainely and freely confesse heere in all your audiences, that I did ever naturally so farre mislike a tongue so smoothe, and diligent in paying their creditors with lippe payment and verball thanks, as I ever suspected that sort of people meant not to pay their debtors in more substantiall sort of coyne. And therefore for expressing my thankfulnesse, I must resort unto the other two reasons of my convening of this parliament, by them in action to utter my thankfulnesse: both the said reasons having but one ground, which is the deedes, whereby all the dayes of my life, I am by God's grace to expresse my sayd thankfulnesse towards you, but divided in this, That in the first of these two, mine actions of thanks[1] are so inseparably conjoyned with my person, as they are in a maner become individually annexed to the same: in the other reason, mine actions are such, as I may either do them, or leave them undone, although by God's grace I hope never to be wearie of the doing of them.

As to the first, it is the blessings which God hath in my person bestowed upon you all, wherin I protest, I doe more glorie at the same for your weale, then for any particular respect of mine owne reputation, or advantage therein.

The first then of these blessings, which God hath joyntly with my person sent unto you, is owtward peace: that is, peace abroad with all foreine neighbours; for I thanke God I may justly say, that never since I was a king, I either received wrong of any other Christian prince or state, or did wrong to any: I have ever, I praise God, yet kept peace and amitie with all, which hath beene so farre tyed to my person, as at my comming here you are witnesses I found the state embarqued in a great and tedious warre, and onely by mine arrivall heere, and by the peace in my person, is now amitie kept, where warre was before, which is no small blessing to a Christian commonwealth; for by peace abroad with their neighbours the townes florish, the merchants become rich, the trade doeth encrease, and the people of all sorts of the land enjoy free libertie to exercise themselves in their several vocations without perill or disturbance. Not that I think this outward peace so unseparably tyed to my person, as I dare assuredly promise to my selfe and to you the certeine continuance thereof: but thus farre I can very wel assure you, and in the word of a king promise unto you, that I shall never give the first occasion of the breach therof, neither shall I ever be mooved for any particular or private passion of minde to interrupt your publique peace, except I be forced thereunto, either for reparation of the honour of the kingdome, or else by necessitie for the weale and preservation of the same; in which case a secure and honourable warre must be preferred to an unsecure and dishonourable peace: yet do I hope by my experience of the by-past blessings of peace, which God hath so long ever since my birth bestowed upon mee, that hee will not be weary to continue the same, nor repent him of his grace towards mee, transferring that sentence of king Davids upon his by-past victories of warre to mine of peace, that "that God, who preserved me from the devouring jawes of the beare and of the lyon, and delivered them into my hands, shall also now grant me victory over that uncircumcised Philistine."

2. But although outward peace be a great blessing, yet is it as farre inferiour to peace within, as civill warres are more cruell and unnaturall then warres abroad. And therefore the second great blessing that God hath with my person sent unto you, is peace within, and that in a double forme. First, by my descent lineally out of the loynes of Henry the Seventh, is reunited and confirmed in me the union of the two princely roses of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke, whereof that king of happy memorie was the first uniter, as hee was also the first ground-layer of the other peace.

[1] The *action of thanks* is an affected latinism, from the Roman phrase *agere gratias*.

The lamentable and miserable events by the civil and bloody dissention betwixt these two houses was so greate and so late, as it need not be renewed unto your memories; which, as it was first setled and united in him, so is it now reunited and confirmed in me, being justly and lineally descended not onely of that happy conjunction, but of both the branche thereof[1] many time before. But the union of these two princely houses is nothing comparable to the union of the two ancient and famous kingdoms, which is the other inward peace annexed to my person.

And here I must crave your patiences for a little space, to give me leave to discourse more particularly of the benefites that doe arise of that union which is made in my blood, being a matter that most properly belongeth to me to speake of, as the head wherein that great body is united. And first, if we were to look no higher than to naturall and physicall reasons, we may easily bee perswaded of the great benefites that by that union doe redound to the whole island: for if twentie thousand men be a strong armie, is not the double thereof, fortie thousand, a double the stronger armie? If a baron enricheth himselfe with double as many lands as he had before, is hee not double the greater? Nature teaches us, that mountaines are made of motes, and that at the first, kingdomes being divided, and every particular towne or little countie, as tyrants or usurpers could obtaine the possession, a seigniorie apart, many of these little kingdomes are now in processe of time, by the ordnance of God, joyned into great monarchies, whereby they are become powerfull within themselves to defend themselves from all outward invasions, and their head and governour thereby enabled to redeeme them from forreine assaults, and punish private transgressions within. Doe wee not yet remember, that this kingdome was divided into seven little kingdomes, besides Wales? And is it not now the stronger by their union? And hath not the union of Wales to England added a greater strength thereto? Which, though it was a great principality, was nothing comparable in greatness and power to the ancient and famous kingdome of Scotland. But what should wee sticke upon any naturall appearance, when it is manifest that God, by his Almighty Providence, hath preordained it so to be? Hath not God first united these two kingdomes both in language, religion, and similitude of manners? Yea, hath he not made us all in one island, compassed with one sea, and of itselfe by nature so indivisible, as almost those that were Borderers themselves on the late Borders, cannot distinguish, nor know, or discerne their own limits?[2] These two countries being separated neither by sea, nor great river, mountaine, nor other strength of nature, but onely by little small brookes, or demolished little walles, so as rather they were divided in apprehension, then in effect. And now in the end and fulnesse of time united, the right and title of both in my person, alike lineally descended of both the crownes, whereby it is now become like a little world within itselfe, being intrenched and fortified round about with a naturall, and yet admirable strong pond or ditch, whereby all the former feares of this nation are now quite cut off: The other part of the island being ever before now not only the place of landing to all strangers that was to make invasion here, but likewise moveed by the enemies of this state by untimely incursions, to make inforced diversion from their conquests, for defending themselves at home, and keeping sure their back-doore, as then it was called, which was the greatest hinderance and lett that ever my predecessors of this nation gat in disturbing them from their many famous and glorious conquests abroad. What God hath conjoyned then, let no man separate. I am the husband, and all the whole isle is my lawfull wife; I am the head, and it is my body; I am the shepherd, and it is my flocke: I hope, therefore, no man wil be so unreason-

[1] From king Edgar the Greate and from king Edgar Ethelin. *Orig: Note.*

[2] The Borders remained in some degree unsettled till within the last fifty years; for a space of waste ground, near the head of Reedwater, was thus lately disputed between the dukes of Northumberland and Douglas. This difference concerning the limits of the kingdoms might, in ancient times, have occasioned a bloody war between these powerful nobles, but was, in the 18th century, amicably settled by arbitration.

able as to thinke that I, that am a Christian king under the gospel, should be a polygamist and husband to two wives; that I, being the head, should have a divided and monstrous a body; or that, being the shepheard to so fair a flocke, (whose fold hath no wall to hedge it but the four seas,) should have my flocke parted in two. But as I am assured, that no honest subject of whatsoever degree within my whole dominion, is lesse glad of this joyfull union then I am; so may the frivolous objection of any that would be hinderers of this work, which God hath, in my person, already established, bee easily answered, which can be none, except such as are either blinded with ignorance, or els transported with malice, being unable to live in a well governed commonwealth, and onely delighting to fish in troubled waters. For if they would stand upon their reputation and priviledges of any of the kingdomes, I pray you, was not both the kingdomes monarchies from the beginning, and consequently could ever the bodie bee counted without the head, which was ever unseparably joyned thereunto? So that as honour and priviledges of any of the kingdomes could not be divided from their soveraigne, so are they nowe confounded and joyned in my person, who am equall and alike kindly head to you both. When this kingdome of England was divided into so many little kingdoms as I told you before, one of them behooved to eat up another, till they were all united in one. And yet can Wiltshire or Devonshire, which were of the West Saxons, although their kingdom was of longest durance, and did by conquest overcome divers of the rest of the little kingdoms, make claime to prioritie of place or honour before Sussex, Essex, or other shires, which were conquered by them? And have wee not the like experience in the kingdome of France, being composed of divers dutchies, and one after another conquered by the sword? For even as little brookes lose their names by their running and fall into great rivers, and the very name and memorie of the great rivers swallowed up in the ocean: so by the conjunction of divers little kingdomes in one, are all these private differences and questions swallowed up. And since the successe was happie of the Saxons, kingdomes being conquered by the speare of Bellona; how much greater reason have wee to expect a happie issue of this greater union, which is only fastened and bound up by the wedding ring of Astrea? And as God hath made Scotland the one half of this isle to enjoy my birth, and the first and most unperfect half of my life, and you heere to enjoy the perfect and the last halfe thereof; so can I not think that any would be so injurious to me, no not in their thoughts and wishes, as to cut asunder the one halfe of me from the other.[x] But in this matter I have farre enough insisted, resting assured that in your hearts and mindes you all applaud this my discourse.

Mars.

Love and Peace.

3. Now although these blessings before rehearsed of inward and outward peace be great, yet seeing that in all good things a great part of their goodnesse and estimation is lost, if they have not appearance of perpetuity or long continuance, so hath it pleased Almighty God to accompany my person also with that favour, having healthfull and hopefull issue of my bodie, whereof some are here present, for continuance and propagation of that undoubted right which is in my person; under whom I doubt not but

[x] "The king's aims were, to unite the two kingdoms, so that the one might corroborate the other, to make good that part of his speech, (by this intermixtion,) wherein he divides England and Scotland into halves; but the English stumbled at that partition, thinking it an unequal division, and fearing that the Scots, creeping into English lordships, and English ladies' beds, (in both which already they began to be active,) might quickly make their least half the predominant part. But he was proclaimed king of Great Britain; England must be no more a name; the Scottish coins are made current; and our ships must have St George's and St Andrew's crosses quartered together in their flags; all outward ensigns of amity. But those English that had sucked in none of the sweets of this pleasant stream of bounty, repined to see the Scots advanced from blue bonnets to costly beavers, wearing, instead of wadmeal, velvet and sattin, as divers pasquils written in that age satyrically taunted at. Which is not set down here, to vilifie the Scots, (being most of them gentlemen that had deserved well of their master,) but to shew, how cross to the public appetite the honeycomb is, that another man eats."—Wilson *apud* Kennet, p. 673.

it will please God to prosper and continue for many yeeres this union, and all other blessings of inward and outward peace which I have brought with me.

4. But neither peace outward nor peace inward, nor any other blessings that can follow thereupon, nor appearance of the perpetuity thereof, by propagation in the posterity, is but a weake pillar and a rotten reede to leane unto, if God doe not strengthen, and by the staffe of his blessing make them durable; for in vaine doth the watchman watch the city, if the Lord be not the principall defence thereof; in vain doeth the builder build the house, if God give not the successe; and in vain (as Paul saith) doeth Paul plant and Apollo water, if God give not the increase. For all worldly blessings are but like swift passing shadowes, fading flowers, or chaffe blowen before the wind, if by the profession of true religion, and works according thereunto, God be not mooved to maintaine and settle the thrones of princes. And although that since mine entry into this kingdome I have, both by meeting with divers of the ecclesiasticall estate, and likewise by divers proclamations, clearly declared my mind in points of religion, yet doe I not thinke it amisse, in this so solemne an audience, I should now take occasion to discover somewhat of the secrets of my heart in that matter; for I shall never, with God's grace, be ashamed to make publicke profession therof at all occasions, least God should be ashamed to professe and allow me before men and angels, especially least that at this time men might presume further upon the misknowledge of my meaning to trouble this parliament of ours then were convenient. At my first comming, although I found but one religion, and that which by my selfe is professed, publiquely allowed, and by the law maintained; yet found I another sort of religion, besides a private secte, lurking within the bowels of this nation. The first is the true religion, which by me is professed, and by the law is established; the second is the falsely called catholikes, but truly papistes; the third, which I call a secte rather than religion, is the puritanes and novelists, who doe not so farre differ from us in points of religion, as in their confused forme of policie and parity, being ever discontented with the present government, and impatient to suffer any superioritie, which maketh their sect unable to be suffered in any well governed commonwealth.[1] But as for my course toward them, I remit it to my proclamations made upon that subject. And now for the papists, I must put a difference betwixt mine owne private profession of mine owne salvation, and my politique government of the realme for the weale and quietnesse therof. As for mine owne profession, you have me, your head now amongst you, of the same religion that the body is of. As I am no stranger to you in blood, no more am I a stranger to you in faith, or in the matters concerning the house of God. And although this my profession be according to mine education, wherein (I thanke God) I sucked the milke of God's trueth, with the milke of my nurse; yet doe I here protest unto you, that I would never for such a conceite of constancy or other prejudicate opinion, have so firmely kept my first profession, if I had not found it agreeable to all reason, and to the rule of my conscience. But I was never violent nor unreasonable in my profession: I acknowledge the Romane church to be our mother church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Jewes were when they crucified Christ. And as I am none enemie to the life of a sicke man, because I would have his bodie purged of ill humours, no more am I enemie to their church, because I would have them reform their errors, not wishing the down-throw-

[1] King James had early testified his hatred to the puritans, even in his *Basilicon Doron*, written before he left Scotland:—"I protest before the great God, and since I am here upon my testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highland or Border thieves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits; and suffer not the principal of them to brook your land."—*King James's Works*, p. 161. And in the conference between the bishops and the puritans at Hampton Court, when moved to permit the revival of the assemblies, or prophesying meetings, which had been suppressed by Elizabeth, the King exclaimed,—"What, do you aim at a Scottish presbytery? it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil."

ing of the temple, but that it might be purged and cleansed from corruption; otherwise how can they wish us to enter, if their house be not first made cleane?[1] But as I would be loather to dispense in the least point of mine owne conscience for any worldly respect, then the foolishest precisian of them all, so would I be as sory to straight the politique governement of the bodies and mindes of all my subjectes to my private opinions; nay, my minde was ever so free from persecution, or thralling of my subjectes in matters of conscience, as I hope that those of that profession within this kingdome have a proofe since my comming, that I was so farre from encreasing their burdens with Rehoboam, as I have so much as either time, occasion, or law could permit, lightened them. And even now at this time have I bene carefull to revise and consider deepely upon the lawes made against them, that some overture may be proponed to the present parliament for clearing these lawes by reason, which is the soule of the law, in case they have bene in times past further, or more rigorously extended by judges, then the meaning of the lawe was, or might tend to the hurt as well of the innocent as of guiltie persons. And as to the persons of my subjects which are of that profession, I must divide them into two rankes, clerickes and layickes; for the part of the layickes, certainly I ever thought them farre more excusable then the other sort, because that sort of religion containeth such an ignorant, doubtfull, and implicit kinde of faith in the layickes grounded upon their church, as except they doe generally beleeve whatsoever their teachers please to affirme, they cannot be thought guilty of these particular points of heresies and corruptions, which their teachers do so wilfully professe. And againe, I must subdivide the same layickes into two rankes, that is, either quiet and well minded men, peaceable subjects, who either, being old, have retayned their first drunken-in liquor upon a certaine shamefastnesse to be thought curious or changeable; or being young men, through evill education have never bene nursed or brought up, but upon such venim, in place of wholesome nutriment. And that sort of people I would be sorry to punish their bodies for the errour of their minds, the reformation whereof must onely come of God and the true Spirit. But the other ranke of layickes, who either through curiositie, affectation of noveltie, or discontentment in their privat humours, have changed their coates, onely to bee factious stirrers of sedition, and perturbers of the commonwealth, their backwardnesse in their religion giveth a ground to me the magistrate, to take the better heede to their proceeding, and to correct their obstinacie. But for the part of the clerickes, I must directly say and affirme, that as long as they maintaine one speciall point of their doctrine, and another point of their practice, they are no way sufferable to remaine in this kingdome. Their point of doctrine is that arrogant and ambitious supremacie of their head, the Pope, whereby he not onely claimes to be spirituall head of all Christians, but also to have an imperiall civill power over all kings and emperors, dethroning and decrowning princes with his foot as pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all kingdomes and empires at his appetite. The other point, which they observe in continuall practise, is the assassinates and murtherers of kings; thinking it no sinne, but rather a matter of salvation, to doe all actions of rebellion and hostilitie against their naturall soveraigne lord, if he be once cursed, his subjects discharged of their fidelitie, and his kingdom given a praye by that three-crowned monarch, or rather monster, their head. And in this point, I have no occasion to speake further here, saving that I could wish from my heart, that it would please God to make me one of the members of such a generall Christian union in religion, as laying wilfulnesse aside on both hands, we might meete in the middest, which is the center and perfection of all things. For if they would leave, and be ashamed of such new and grosse corrup-

[1] James always professed a sort of respect for the catholic religion, and also for the pope, in his character of a temporal prince. His objections to that faith attached chiefly to the doctrine of papal supremacy. He lived also in fear of their regicide principles, of which he had soon a specimen in the Gunpowder Plot.

tions of theirs, as themselves cannot maintaine, nor denie to be worthy of reformation, I would, for mine own part, be content to meete them in the mid-way, so that all novelties might be renounced on either side. For as my faith is the true, ancient, catholike and apostolike faith, grounded upon the scriptures and expresse word of God; so will I ever yeeld all reverence to antiquitie in the points of ecclesiasticall pollicy; and, by that meanes, shall I ever, with God's grace, keepe myselfe from either being an hereticke in faith, or schismatick in matters of policie. But of one thing would I have the papists of this land to bee admonished, that they presume not so much upon my lenitie, (because I would bee loth to be thought a persecuter,) as thereupon to thinke it lawfull for them dayly to encrease their number and strength in this kingdome, whereby, if not in my time, at least in the time of my posteritie, they might be in hope to erect their religion againe. No, let them assure themselves, that as I am a friend to their persons if they be good subjects; so am I a vowed enemie, and doe denounce mortall warre to their errors: And that as I would be sory to be driven by their ill behaviour from the protection and conservation of their bodies and lives; so will I never cease, as farre as I can, to tread downe their errors and wrong opinions. For I could not permit the encrease and growing of their religion, without first betraying of myselfe, and mine owne conscience: Secondly, this whole isle, aswel the part I am come from, as the part I remaine in, in betraying their liberties, and reducing them to their former slavish yoke, which both had casten off, before I came amongst them: And, thirdly, the libertie of the crowne in my posteritie, which I should leave againe under a new slavery, having found it left free to mee by my predecessors. And therefore would I wish all good subjects that are deceived with that corruption, first, if they find any beginning of instinction in themselves of knowledge and love to the trueth, to foster the same by all lawfull meanes, and to beware of quenching the spirit that worketh within them; and if they can finde as yet no motion tending that way, to be studious to reade and conferre with learned men, and to use all such meanes as may further their resolution; assuring themselves, that as long as they are disconformable in religion from us, they cannot be but halfe my subjects, bee able to doe but halfe service, and I to want the best halfe of them, which is their soules. And here have I occasion to speake to you my lords the bishops. For as you, my lord of Durham, said very learnedly to-day in your sermon, correction without instruction is but a tyrannie: So ought you, and all the clergie under you, to be more carefull, vigilant, and diligent then you have bene, to winne soules to God, aswell by your exemplary life, as doctrine. And since you see how carefull they are, sparing neither labour, paines, nor extreme peril of their persons to divert, (the devill is so busie a bishop,) ye should be the more carefull and wakefull in your charges. Follow the rule prescribed you by S. Paul, "Be carefull to exhort and to instruct in season, and out of season:" and where you have been any way sluggish before, now waken yourselves up againe with a new diligence in this point, remitting the successe to God, who calling them either at the second, third, tenth, or twelfth houre, as they are alike welcome to him, so shall they be to me his lieutenant here.

The third reason of assembling the Parliament.

The third reason of my convening of you at this time, which conteineth such actions of my thankfulnesse toward you, as I may either doe, or leave undone, yet shall, with God's grace, ever presse to perfourme all the dayes of my life. It consists in these two points: In making of lawes at certain times, which is onely at such times as this in parliament; or in the carefull execution thereof at all other times. As for the making of them, I will thus farre faithfully promise unto you, that I will ever preferre the weale of the body and of the whole commonwealth, in making of good lawes and constitutions, to any particular or private ends of mine, thinking ever the wealth and weale of the commonwealth to be my greatest weale and worldly felicitie: A point wherein a lawfull king doeth directly differ from a tyrant. But at this time, I am onely thus farre

to forewarne you in that point, that you beware to seeke the making of too many lawes, for two especiall reasons: First, because *in corruptissima republica plurimæ leges;* and the execution of good lawes is farre more profitable in a commonwealth, then to burden mens memories with the making of too many of them. And next, because the making of too many lawes in one parliament will bring in confusion, for lacke of leisure wisely to deliberate before you conclude. For the bishop said wel to-day, that to deliberation would a large time bee given, but to execution a greater promptnesse was required. As for the execution of good lawes, it hath been very wisely and honourably foreseen and ordered by my predecessours in this kingdome, in planting such a number of judges, and all sorts of magistrates, in convenient places, for the execution of the same: And, therefore, must I now turne mee to you that are judges and magistrates under me, as mine eyes and eares in this case. I can say none otherwise to you, then as Ezekias, the good king of Juda, sayd to their judges, "Remember that the thrones you sit on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine." And that as you must be answerable to me, so must both you and I be answerable to God for the due execution of our offices. That place is no place for you to utter your affections in, you must not there hate your foe, nor love your friend, feare the offence of the greater party, or pity the misery of meaner; ye must be blind and not see distinctions of persons, handlesse, not to receive bribes; but keepe that just temper and mid-course in all your proceedings, that like a just ballance yee may neither sway to the right nor left hand. Three principall qualities are required in you; knowledge, courage, and sincerity: that you may discerne with knowledge, execute with courage, and doe both in upright sinceritie. And as for my part, I doe vowe and proteste here in the presence of God, and of this honourable audience, I never shall be wearie, nor omit no occasion, wherein I may shewe my carefulness of the execution of good lawes. And as I wish you that are judges not to bee wearie in your office in doing of it; so shall I never be wearie, with God's grace, to take account of you, which is properly my calling.

And thus having tolde you the three causes of my convening of this parliament, all three tending onely to utter my thankfulnesse, but in divers formes, the first by word, the other two by action; I doe confesse, that when I have done and performed all that in this speech I have promised, *inutilis servus sum. Inutile*, because the meaning of the word *inutilis* in that place of scripture is understoode, that in doing all that service which wee can to God, it is but our due, and wee doe nothing to God but that which wee are bound to doe: And in like maner, when I have done all that I can for you, I doe nothing but that which I am bound to doe, and am accomptable to God upon the contrarie. For I doe acknowledge, that the speciall and greatest point of difference that is betwixt a rightfull king and an usurping tyrant is in this: That whereas the proude and ambitious tyrant doeth thinke his kingdome and people are onely ordeined for satisfaction of his desires and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just king doth, by the contrarie, acknowledge himselfe to be ordeined for the procuring of the wealth and prosperitie of his people, and that his greatest and principal worldly felicitie must consist in their prosperitie. If you be rich I cannot be poor, if you be happie I cannot but bee fortunate; and I protest, that your welfare shall ever bee my greatest care and contentment: And that I am a servant, it is most true, that as I am head and governour of all the people in my dominion who are my naturall vassalls and subjects, considering them in numbers and distinct rankes; so if wee will take the whole people as one bodie and masse, then as the head is ordeined for the bodie, and not the body for the head; so must a righteous king know himselfe to bee ordeined for his people, and not his people for him. For although a king and people be *relata;* yet can hee be no king if he want people and subjects. But there be many people in the world that lacke a head, wherefore I will never bee ashamed to confesse it my principall honour to

be the great servant of the commonwealth, and ever thinke the prosperitie thereof to be my greatest felicity, as I have already said.

But as it was the whole body of this kingdome, with an uniforme assent and harmonie, as I tolde you in the beginning of my speech, which did so farre oblige mee in good will and thankfulnesse of requital by their alacritie and readinesse in declaring and receiving mee to that place which God had provided for mee, and not any particular persons (for then it had not bene the body:) So is my thankfulnes due to the whole state. For even as in matter of faults, *quod à multis peccatur, impunè peccatur:* Even so in the matter of vertuous and good deedes, what is done by the willing consent and harmonie of the whole body, no particular person can justly claime thankes as proper to him for the same. And, therefore, I must here make a little apologie for myselfe, in that I coulde not satisfie the particular humours of every person, that looked for some advancement or reward at my hand since my entrie into this kingdome. Three kinde of things were craved of me: Advancement to honour, preferment to place of credit about my person, and reward in matters of land or profit. If I had bestowed honour upon all, no man could have beene advanced to honour; for the degrees of honour doe consist in preferring some above their fellowes.[1] If every man had the like accesse to my privy or bedchamber, then no man could have it, because it cannot containe all. And if I had bestowed lands and rewardes upon every man, the fountaine of my liberalitie would be so exhausted and dried, as I would lacke meanes to bee liberall to any man. *And yet* was I not so sparing, but I may, without vaunting, affirme, that I have enlarged my favour in all the three degrees, towards as many, and more, than ever king of England did in so short a space: No, I rather crave your pardon that I have beene so bountifull; for if the meanes of the crowne bee wasted, I behoved then to have recourse to you my subjects, and bee burdensome to you, which I would be lothest to be of any king alive. For as it is true, that as I have already said, it was a whole bodie which did deserve so well at my hand, and not every particular person of the people; yet were there some who, by reason of their office, credit with the people, or otherwise, took occasion both before, and at the time of my coming amongst you, to give proofe of their love and affection towards me. Not that I am any way in doubt, that if other of my subjects had beene in their places, and had had the like occasion, but they would have uttered the like good effects, (so generall and so great were the love and affection of you all towards me:) But yet this having beene performed by some speciall persons, I could not, without unthankfulnesse, but requite them accordingly. And, therefore, had I just occasion to advance some in honour, some to places of service about mee, and by rewarding, to enable some who had deserved well of me, and were not otherwise able to maintaine the rankes I thought them capable of, and others, who, although they had not particularly deserved before, yet I found them capable and worthy of place of preferment and credit, and not able to sustaine those places for which I thought them fit, without my helpe. Two especiall causes moved me to be so open handed; whereof the one was reasonable and honourable; but the other, I will not bee ashamed to confesse unto you, proceeded of mine owne infirmitie. That which was just and honourable, was: That being so farre beholding to the body of the whole state, I thought I could not refuse to let runne some small brookes out of the fountaine of my thankfulnesse to the whole, for refreshing of particular persons that were members of that multitude. The other, which proceeded out of mine owne infirmitie, was the multitude and importunitie of sutors. But although reason come by infusion in a maner, yet experience groweth with time and labour; and therefore doe I not doubt, but expe-

[1] Yet in conferring honours, and especially that of knighthood, James had been so injudiciously liberal, that a libel was affixed to St Paul's, professing to teach weak memories a competent knowledge of the names of the nobility.

rience in time comming will both teach the particular subjects of this kingdome not to be so importune and undiscreete in craving, and mee not to be so easily and lightly mooved in graunting, that which may be harmefull to my estate, and consequently to the whole kingdome.[1]

And thus having declared unto you my minde in all the points for the which I called this parliament, my conclusion shall onely now be to excuse my selfe, in case you have not found such eloquence in my speech, as peradventure you might have looked for at my hands. I might, if I list, alledge the great weight of my affaires and my continuall businesse and distraction, that I could never have leisure to thinke upon what I was to speake, before I came to the place where I was to speake: and I might also alledge, that my first sight of this so famous and honourable an assembly might likewise breede some impediment. But, leaving these excuses, I will plainely and freely in my maner tell you the true cause of it, which is, that it becommeth a king, in my opinion, to use no other eloquence then plainnesse and sincerity; by plainnesse I mean, that his speeches should bee so cleare and voyde of all ambiguitie, that they may not be throwne nor rent a sunder in contrarie sences like the old oracles of the Pagan gods; and by sinceritie I understand, that uprightnesse and honestie which ought to bee in a king's whole speeches and actions, that, as farre as a king is in honour erected above any of his subjects, so far should he strive in sinceritie to be above them all, and that his tongue should be ever the true messenger of his heart; and this sort of eloquence may you ever assuredly looke for at my hands.

[1] This avowal Hume calls a remarkable stroke of candour, and notices justly, that though the king confessed and promised to correct this infirmity, it stuck to, and distressed him during his whole reign. Indeed, as Weldon remarks, "he was very liberal of what he had not in his own gripe, and would rather part with L.100 he never had in his keeping, than one twenty shillings within his own custody." Of this disposition, the following is a diverting instance: "In this place my memory presents me with Sir Robert Cecil, after Earl of Salisbury, famed for the most mortal enemy of the Earl of Essex, and a seducer of the king, by persuading him this nation was so rich, it could neither be exhausted nor provoked; a saying generally laid to his charge, yet contradicted in this practice of his; for the Earl of Somerset, being in the flower of his favour, before he had either wife or beard, had got a peremptory warrant to the treasurer for 20,000l.; who, in his exquisite prudence, finding that not only the exchequer, but the Indies themselves, would, in time, want fluency to feed so immense a prodigality; and, not without reason, apprehending the king as ignorant in the value of what was demanded, as the desert of the person that begged it; and knowing a pound, upon the Scotch account, would not pay for the shoeing of a horse, by which his master might be farther led out of the way of thrift, than in his own nature he was willing to go, being observed very tenacious in the distribution of any money passed through his hands, or in his presence; laid the former mentioned sum upon the ground, in a room through which his majesty was to pass; who, amazed at the quantity, as a sight not unpossibly his eyes never saw before, asked the treasurer, whose money it was? Who answered, Yours, before you gave it away: Whereupon the king fell into passion, protesting he was abused, never intending any such gift: And casting himself upon the heap, scrabled out the quantity of 200 or 300 pounds, and swore he should have no more: However, it being the king's minion, Cecil durst not provoke him farther than by permitting him only the moiety." OSBORNE'S *Works*, p. 457, &c.

A Relation of such Things as were observed to happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, his Majesty's Ambassador to the King of Spain, being sent thither to take the Oath of the said King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of Great Britain and Spain, according to the several Articles formerly concluded on by the Constable of Castile, in England, in the Month of August 1604. *Set forth by Authority. By Robt. Treswell, Esq. Somerset Herald. Printed* 1605.

"This curious piece is recommended for publication, as it will illustrate, as well as correct, the historians in the reign of King James the First, and gives a better idea of the court of Madrid, as well as of the general disposition of the Spaniards, and of some of the customs peculiar to them at that time, than can be met with in any other English writer; besides, it must be allowed to be a most entertaining relation; for, among other varieties, the reader is here presented with an account of the famous procession of Corpus Christi, and of a bull feast and Spanish tournament, and other kind of diversions, such as masquerades, &c." To these observations of the former editor, it is only necessary to add, that, in 1604, the constable of Castile, with a large train of Spaniards, arrived at the English court to settle the terms of peace between Britain and Spain. On the part of England, the Earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, was sent into Spain, and the Earl of Hertford into the Low Countries, to ratify the treaty. The former nobleman, whose journey is here narrated by a principal officer in attendance on him, was received with the utmost courtesy by the Spaniards. After so long and destructive a war, it is said, that the handsome forms and blooming faces of the English astonished the bigotted natives of Spain, who had been taught by their priests to believe, that the northern heretics were scarcely human in appearance, and utterly fiendish in disposition. The Spanish court were overjoyed at the conclusion of a war, which had proved in every respect so harassing to their country; but the English statesmen regretted the peace, which James had precipitated. On this subject, Cornwallis, though sent over as "Leiger," *i. e.* resident envoy to the Spanish court, expresses himself freely in a private letter to Lord Cranbourne, secretary of state, preserved in Winwood's Memorials.

"MY GOOD LORD, *2d June*, 1606.

"Notwithstanding what I have written in my general letter to the lords of the councell, I thought it my duty by a private, to acquaint your lordship with that which I held not fit to communicate to all.

"I find here, by many arguments, that this peace came opportunely for this kingdome, and is admitted of all Europe, yea of this kingdome itself, how it was possible, with so advantageous conditions to them, and so little profittable to our realme, it could be effected. The Duke of Anera, discoursing with one of great privacie and trust with him, after that he heard that the peace was in such forme concluded, said, in plain terms, 'that the king and counsellers of England had not their senses, when in such sort they agreed upon it;' and some Spanyards have lately reported, that the king of Spaine's money purchased this quiet, otherwise peace with so good conditions would never have been obtained. I know, that, besides your lordship's exceeding wisdome, (which breed you so generall an honour and observance with all men of judgement,) your lordship, out of your true noble disposition, hath ever equalled the care of the safetie and honor of your countrie with your owne life. I verily perswade myself, that the king's owne Christian and earnest inclination to peace led on that treaty with speedy feete. I dare, therefore, out of my duty to my sovereigne and zeal to truth, deliver my mind and opinion to your lordship plainly. The greenness of my understandinge of matters here moves mee to attribute littell to myne knowledge; but by those collections that I have made, and relations of others well practised in this state, I find, that England never lost such an opportunity of wynning honor and welth unto it, as by relinquishing the warr with Spaine. The king and kingdome were reduced to such estate, as they could not in all likelyhood have endured the space two years more; his owne treasurie was exhausted, his rent and customes susigned for the most part of the payment of money borrowed,

his nobilitie poor and much indebted, his merchantes wasted, his people of the countrye in all extreamitie of necessitie, his devices of gaining by the increse of the valuation of money, and other such of that nature, all plaid over, his credit in borrowing, by meanes of the incertaintie of his estate during the warre with England, much decayed, the subjects of his many distracted dominions held in obedience by force and feare, not by love and dutie, and therefore rather a care and burthen, then a relief and strength to him. Himself very young, and, in that regard, with this people in no great veneration; and the less, for suffering himself to be wholly governed by a man generally hated of his own countrie, his strength at sea not able to secure his ports at home, much less his Indies or his treasurie homewards.

" If this state, standing on such feeble foundations, had made but one such stumble as his father did, in the time of the late queen, hardly could hee have recovered without a fall, his nearest and dearest kingdomes more hurting this nation than any other, desiring nothing more than the ruin of it, &c."—WINWOOD's *Memorials*, II. 76.

TO THE READER.

Having collected together many general observations in that honourable journey into Spain, lately performed by the right honourable and worthy earl, the Earl of Nottingham, although, amongst many reasons which persuaded me to be therein to myselfe secret and to the world sparing in divulging this treatise, I found especially (and which I must of necessity confess) my own weakness in compiling the same, and making it fit and worthy of so general a reading as by this consequence it must undergo; yet, being overweighed with many especial motives, which I could not well answer or contradict, I thought rather to expose myself to the favourable censure of the worthiest and best minded, who rather respect a plain and home-bred stile, yet true, than a tale consisting of eloquent phrases, but doubtful, than, pleasing myself in my own fearful humour, give cause of offence to them whom I most labour to content. The first of these motives being, that many of my friends, knowing me to have been by especial appointment an attendant upon his lordship in that honourable employment, and understanding of the care taken by me in observing some particulars in the same, exceedingly urged me to give them a perfect knowledge and satisfaction thereof, which as it was a thing likely to be tedious, so could they not receive that contentment by a brief report, which a more ample relation and discourse might better afford. Another was, that, for that it came to our knowledge how many false and ill-contrived reports had been bruited abroad after our departure from England, as well derogating from that honourable entertainment we received in general, whilst we were in Spain, as from the proceedings of his lordship and his company in some particulars, I could not but (taxing myself of duty to his lordship and the rest) endeavour to satisfy all doubtful and unsatisfied minds, with relating and declaring the truth thereof. But a third and a more especial cause is, that, since our return, one not well informed, having undertaken to know much of the proceedings of that journey, and mistaking himself in his own understanding, lately published a pamphlet of many false and erroneous observations, thereby possessing the readers with an untrue relation of that, the truth whereof they so much desired. Upon these former considerations, therefore, I was advised to tender unto your generous acceptance my well meaning endeavours, which, although they cannot give that pleasure and content in reading you happily expect, yet shall they assure you what they promise, that is, a true relation of such things which happened in that honourable journey. In reporting whereof I had rather be condemned for plainness, than once suspected for reporting an untruth.

ROB. TRESWELL, alias Somerset-Herald.

So soon as the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral of England, had taken notice from his Majesty, that it was his will and pleasure to employ him in this great ambassage to the king of Spain, calling to mind how honourably and richly the Duke of Fryas, constable of Castile, and late ambassador for the said king, had formerly demeaned himself in England; presently, with a most honourable resolution, neither fearing the hazard of his person, being now aged, nor regarding the expences that so great and honourable an employment should require, with what speed he conveniently might, endeavoured to perform his majesty's designs and appointment herein. And therefore, by the advice of the council of England, he first resolved both what honourable personages and what number of them might be fitting, for accompanying and attending him, in this his great employment. To whom when as particular letters from the council, by his majesty's especial commandment, were dispatched, to give them notice, to prepare themselves to attend the said noble earl, according as his highness had commanded; they seemed so willing and ready to perform their duty and service therein, that his lordship was far more troubled to deny many, and that of very good sort, who voluntarily tendered their service in good will and honour of his lordship, to attend him in this his appointed voyage, than he was at first in bethinking what company were necessary to take with him. And therefore at last concluding of a competent number (not without displeasing many) he resolved upon these whose names hereafter follow:

The Earl of Perth.
The Lord Howard of Effingham, his son and heir.
The Lord Willoughby.
The Lord Norris.
Sir Charles Howard knight, his second son.
Sir Thomas Howard knight, second son to the Earl of Suffolk.
Sir John Sheffeild knight, son and heir to the Lord Sheffeild.
Master Pickering Wotton, son and heir to the Lord Wotton.
Sir Richard Lewson knight, admiral of the fleet and vice-admiral of England.
Master Thomas Compton, brother to the Lord Compton.
Hans Harman Van Veisenbach, a German, and of good esteem in England.
Sir Robert Drewry.
Sir Robert Maunsel, treasurer of the king's navy, and vice-admiral of the fleet.
Sir Edward Howard his nephew.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir Edward Swift.
Sir William Smith.
Sir John Trevor, surveyor of the navy.
Sir Robert Killegrew.
Sir Richard Cowper, gentleman-porter of the king's-house.
Sir George Buck.
Sir Guilford Slingsby,
Sir Adolphus Cary.
Sir Francis Howard, his lordship's nephew also.
Sir Sacville Trevor, rear-admiral of the fleet.
Sir Walter Gore.
Sir William Page.
Sir Giles Hoftman.
Sir Thomas Roe.
Sir John Eyres.
Sir Philip Cary.
Sir Henry Knowles.
Sir John Guevarra, knights.

Master Giles Porter, his interpreter, Doctor Marbeck, Doctor Palmer, physicians, Master Pawlet, Master Cary, Master Barret, Master John Lewson, Lewis Tresham, Captain Thomas Button, William Button, John Fearn, Hierom Laments, Henry Butler, John Milliscent, Bernard Sanders, Philip Roper, Francis Plomb, Roger Tailor, Captain William Morgan, Henry Minn, Christopher Frederick, Thomas Buck, Captain William Polewheel, Edmond Fitton, Walter Grey, John Atkinson, Dudley Carleton, Edward Smith, and many other gentlemen of good condition and quality, as well his lordship's private officers and servants, as divers, whose names are not herein remembered.

The ships appointed to attend his lordship and his company for transportation of themselves, the followers and necessaries were these:

The Bear,	being ships royal.	The Amity.
The Due-Repulse,		The Resistance.
The Waste-Spight,		The great Hoy, called the George.
The Mary Anne.		

According to appointment, the said lords, knights, and gentlemen, prepared themselves to give their attendance, whensoever his lordship should take his journey; and therefore, understanding that he intended to take leave of the king on Thursday, the one-and-twentieth day of March, according to the computation of England, the greatest number of them, being very richly apparelled themselves, and extraordinarily appointed for their servants, gave their attendance at Nottingham house, the said one-and-twentieth day of March, his lordship having appointed many barges and boats for conveying himself, the said lords, and knights, and their company to the court, the king's highness then being at Greenwich; the said earl having ordained his own company to be in number, as follows: six trumpeters clad in orange-colour damask, with clokes of cloth of the same colour, and banners of damask with his honour's arms thereupon. Six footmen in orange-tawny velvet alike suited. Six pages, clad likewise in velvet of the same colour with their clokes suitable. Thirty gentlemen with clokes of black velvet. Fourscore yeomen well apparelled with livery clokes of orange-tawny cloth, garded with silver and blue silk lace. The said noble earl being thus prepared, went with his said company from Nottingham house, the said Thursday about noon, and so, shooting the bridge, arrived at Greenwich immediately after dinner; and there, presenting himself and his company unto his majesty, was most acceptably and graciously entertained. After some time spent in receiving his highness's commandment, as well concerning himself in his own particular, as also touching the conducting and presenting of Sir Charles Cornwallis knight, who was appointed for to be his majesty's lieger ambassador with the king of Spain; the said ambassador, lords, knights, and gentlemen, humbly taking their leaves of his highness, were for that night dismissed; every one taking himself to his lodging, there remaining and expecting his lordship's further pleasure to be known when they should prepare to set forward on his journey.[1]

His lordship, having now dispatched his private counsels and intendments with his majesty and the lords of the counsel, gave warning to his said company and followers to be ready against Tuesday morning, being the six-and-twentieth day of the said month of March: which time he gave to prepare themselves; for that day he intended to set forward. On which said day, being both mindful and forward for his intended journey, he was early up in the morning, and, taking the time of the tide, and such company as were ready, being to the number of eighty persons, in divers barges and boats, passed from Nottingham House to Gravesend, and there dined, staying for much of the company, which followed. After dinner they rode from Gravesend to Chatham, where he lodged that night. The same night the Earl of Marr came from the court, on purpose to congratulate with his lordship, and do such like private offices of friendship. The next day being Wednesday, his lordship would have gone to the ships, which were then

[1] In Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 41. it is stated, that Nottingham was allowed L. 15,000 for the expences of this princely equipment. But he did not escape the lash of satire. In a letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr Winwood, dated 10th March 1604, the following curious passage occurs: "My lord admiral's number is 500, and he swears 500 oaths he will not admit of one man more. But if he will stand to that rate, and take in one as another will desire to be discharged, in my opinion all men's turns will be served. There was great execution done lately upon Stone the fool, who was well whipt in Bridewell for a blasphemous speech, 'That there went sixty fools into Spaine, besides my lord admiral and his two sons.' But he is now at liberty again, and for that unexpected release, gives his lordship the praise of a very pittifull Lord. His comfort is, that the news of El Sennor Piedra (*i. e.* Seignior Stone) will be in Spaine before our ambassador." WINWOOD'S *Memorials*, II. 52.

fallen so low as Queensborough, there riding at anchor and staying our coming; but the weather fell out somewhat foul, and the wind contrary, so that he rested at Chatham that night. The next day being Thursday the eight-and-twentieth of March, before seven of the clock in the morning, his lordship having commanded to be ready divers barges and pinnaces, to carry himself and his followers aboard the ships, took his barge, and about ten of the clock the same day entered the ship, called the Bear, lying in Queensborough Road as afore is said, together with the Due-repulse, and the Waste-spight, which three ships kept company together, and lay of purpose to transport his lordship, the ambassador-lieger, and the other lords, knights, and gentlemen, that were of the company and train.

Now what by reason of staying for some of the lords and gentlemen, as yet not come aboard, for the better disposing and ordering all things concerning the voyage, as also for placing and appointing to every man his room accordingly; the weather likewise being not very fair to put to sea, we anchored before Queensborough till Sunday morning, being Easter-day, and the last day of March. At which time the wind coming about to the west, and standing fair to put to sea, his lordship commanded to weigh, and to set sail, which was done accordingly. Sailing as far as the tide would give them leave, which was to a certain road betwixt the sands, near to the shore-beak, where they rested that night. The next day being very foul, and the wind contrary, they were fain to ride it out till Tuesday morning, being the second of April. At which time the weather fell somewhat fair, and his lordship, being desirous to take all advantage that might forward the journey, commanded to weigh again, and put to sea; but the wind being very slack, he was becalmed, and so driven to a flat near the Spits, where, for that the tide was much spent, and the flood coming on, they cast anchor about one of the clock in the afternoon, there staying in expectation of wind till Wednesday morning; when, although there was little or no wind stirring, yet his lordship set forward, tiding it as far as they could that night. The next day being Thursday, early in the morning, the wind coming somewhat towards the north, his lordship caused to weigh anchor; and so, with expence of time and much pains, the ships recovered Dover Road, where they anchored, as well for the receiving in of many of the company, as also for taking in fresh water and victuals. So soon as the fleet was discovered, and coming near Dover Road, as well the forts and blockhouses as the castle of Dover saluted them with many shot, his lordship answering them again, both out of his own ship, and out of the rest also with the like.

That night, the lords and gentlemen, for whom they made stay at Dover, came aboard; and that night also his lordship minded to have set forward, had not the hoy called the George, by spending of her mast, in her passage from Queensborough to Dover, caused a longer abode.

Now for that the said hoy was appointed to carry provision and necessaries for the fleet, and could not be so soon made ready again for service, as was desired; and for that the wind, standing at north-east, was a fair and fit wind, for going forward, his lordship advised with Sir Richard Lewson, the admiral of the fleet, that some course might be presently had to forward the journey. Sir Richard therefore, with great care and extraordinary pains, labouring all that night, being seconded by Sir John Trevor, surveyor of the navy, unladed the said hoy of all such necessary provisions as they were like to use in the voyage; and having, that night and the next morning, dispersed her luggage, some in one ship, and some in another; and being returned to the ships, about ten o'clock, a warning-piece was given, and about two hours after they weighed, and sailed all that day, being Friday the fifth of April, until the next day, being Saturday, and then being becalmed, were fain to cast anchor again. That night the wind coming fair, they weighed anchor, and so sailed all that night, till the next day; the wind again altering, they lay at anchor till towards the evening, and then set forward, sailing un-

till ten o'clock next day, and then cast anchor. About ten o'clock in the evening, they weighed anchor again, and so sailed with a fair wind, that night and the next day. On Wednesday as we sailed, his lordship commanded to hail a bark, which was discovered to be a bark from Barnstable in Devonshire, and came from Bayonne in France, who declared for news, that there was a young prince born in Spain. Now it should seem his lordship had received understanding, by letters from the Right Honourable the Viscount Cramborn, his highness's principal secretary of state, delivered to him whilst we lay at road before Dover, that his coming was expected, and provision made for him and his company, by the king of Spain, at St Anderas. His lordship having sent his provision of horses, coaches, litters, hangings, and other his rich furniture and necessaries, together with his harbingers, and other officers, to the Groyne, in several hoys appointed for that purpose, the king's ship, called the Advantage, being their convoy; his highness presents likewise, under the charge of Thomas Knoell, one of his majesty's equeries, an appointed messenger, for the delivery thereof to the king of Spain, in their said company. And being uncertain, whether the king's designs were as well known to the said harbingers, and the rest, as to himself, he commanded captain Morgan, and one Master Pett, a master shipwright, and a very good mariner, to go on board the Resistance, being a ship of London, and one appointed for carriage of provision in this journey, to make what way they possibly could for the Groyne, to command the said ship's provisions and people, to meet him in the mouth of the harbour, thence to bear in his company for St Anderas; but the said ship was becalmed, as was the rest of the fleet likewise, and could make no way, but kept company with us till Sunday morning; after which time we had no more sight of her, till her coming to the Groyne, which was the next day after our arrival there.

On Monday morning early, the land was discovered by the fleet, and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived into the road of the Groyne, being a very safe and pleasant harbour.

We were no sooner descried from the land, but the governor of the town, Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, Seignior Peynte Corde de Carazena, and governor of Galicia, had commanded to make ready for entertaining his lordship; which was most royally performed, being, upon entrance into the harbour, first saluted from a fort, on the north side of the town, with twenty great pieces of ordnance; then, from the fort lately built upon the rock, with six-and-twenty pieces of great ordnance; and, from the town and castle, with thirty great pieces of ordnance at least. His lordship coming to anchor, with the rest of the ships, gave them their whole broad-sides. Immediately upon his lordship's arrival, the governor of the town sent the four principal officers, commanders of the town, together with his brother Don John de Pacheco, and Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, his only son, to give his lordship the welcome; wherein they demeaned themselves so exceeding kindly, and with the most affable and respective speeches that might be, excusing their slender entertainment, by reason of their late understanding of his lordship's coming to the Groyne, for that they had intelligence his lordship meant to have gone to St. Anderas. After a short time spent in compliment with these commanders, the governor himself, being accompanied with divers personages of worth, came aboard in a barge, which seemed to have been made on purpose for this use; the rowers and mariners thereof, being clad in blue silk cassocks and caps, and the barge covered with blue velvet, and newly painted, reported to his lordship, that the king his master had especially written to him in these words: That he should have respect what person he was that was coming ambassador, from whom he was come, and to whom he was sent, and that he should do every thing for the honour of these three persons, without sparing any thing that might be fit for his lordship's entertainment. And therefore, the governor intreated his lordship to go on land, which he refused to do that night; but, being much importuned, he promised to go on shore the next day.

During the governor's abode in the ship, there came many on board likewise, and they of all conditions; doctors of law, churchmen, friars, and of all other sorts of people, who all seemed much to wonder and admire the greatness and neatness of that galleon, as they termed her, exceedingly commending and applauding the same. At the departure of the said governor from the ships, his lordship gave many pieces of ordnance, which were again received and answered from town and forts; the whole town indeed being but a hold and fort, but very strong. That night they sent from the town unto his lordship a present of fish and fruit, bread, and such like commodities as the country yielded, excusing that they were not able to shew their love in better sort unto his lordship; for that Monday, the day of his arrival, being St Mark's day with them, and the fishermen as then not going to sea, and also having feasted, as that day, for joy of the birth of the young prince, they were the more unfurnished of a better present, and more fit for his entertainment.

On Tuesday the sixteenth day of April, his lordship prepared to go on shore to his lodging, which was prepared for him at the governor's house; which house is the whole pleasure of the town, for that it overlooketh the whole harbour, and is seated in the heart of the town. The governor likewise having taken great care to receive his lordship in the most honourable manner; and therefore had, upon intelligence of our coming to the Groyne, caused to be built a bridge of timber above forty yards long, and painted the same yellow, red, and blue, and garnished the same with many pensils of silk, of like colours, very formally, and planted the way into the town with boughs of bays and orange trees, and strewed the same with rushes and flowers. A whole company of the town, and many more of the country, being, as was supposed, drawn thither for this purpose only, all ready to give his lordship entertainment after the best fashion. When the time came that his lordship might conveniently land, for until three of the clock after noon the flood was not, upon which he must of necessity land, the governor sent divers of the commanders of the town to give notice, that he, and other the magistrates of the town, would attend upon the bridge. His lordship thereupon took his barge, carrying in the head thereof an antient of white silk, with the picture of the sun in the upper part thereof, his motto or word being *Desir Na Repos*, written in manner of a bend within the same, and so came in a very honourable manner to the bridge, where staid for him the said governor, judges, and magistrates of the town, entertaining the English as they landed, whilst the music, being shagbots and hoboys, and placed for that purpose upon the bridge, played sweet and delectable melody; and so the Spaniards intermingling themselves with the English according to their degrees, ever giving the right hand to the English, passed into the town in order as follows:—First went four of his lordship's servants, who were appointed marshals for his train; after followed certain of his officers in his house and chamber, in their liveries; next after followed the gentlemen, his servants, and especial officers, in their liveries of black velvet; then followed the esquires and knights, every one according to his degree; then, with our lords and nobles, divers Spanish commanders and judges of the kingdom of Galicia. At their entrance into the town there was shot off an exceeding great volley of shot, both great and small, and so they passed all on foot to the Conde's house; and, at the entrance of his lordship into the house, there were shot off a great number of chambers, being for that purpose, as it should seem, planted over against the Conde's gate. His lordship, being thus received, was exceedingly well appointed and lodged. That night, what by reason of the littleness of the room, and the muchness of the company, he was both lated, and could not but be much troubled at his supping; wherein the Conde and his officers did make manifest their exceeding care and respect to have all things to content his lordship and the company, with so much attendance and observance, as it was rather a trouble and offence to any well minded to see their extraordinary pains taken in their service, than cause of exception in any wise, especially for that it did appear there was provided what the country could any way afford.

There his lordship rested from that time forward, sometimes riding abroad to take the air on horseback, other times in his carroch, and ever with much applause and admiration of the people; so that it could not but give him much contentment to observe how welcome he seemed generally to the whole country. In his passages abroad, he took occasion to shew his bounty to the poor, which in that place abound greatly, many of them being very miserable creatures to see, and wherewith his lordship was in mercy and charity much moved, not sparing his purse one hour in the day; for, besides what he gave abroad, he never shewed himself in his gallery, but he provided good sums of money to give for relief of these miserable poor people, who indeed during his abode there, made little account of other living, than of his relief.

Whilst we rested in the Groyne, a certain mariner, being one of the Repulse, and having, upon Wednesday the seventeenth day of the present month of April, brought on shore some company, and staying in town until, amongst lewd company, he became tippled, that thereby he gave offence in his behaviour, by violent striking of one of the churchmen of the town; although it was not directly complained of by any, either of the church or of the town, yet, by chance, came to his lordship's knowledge, who, for that he received such extraordinary kind and liberal usage, both for himself and his followers, and that generally from all, if no other cause might move him but that, was much offended therewith, and therefore thought good to take due punishment of that so foul a fault, commanding that present inquiry should be made through all the ships, who of them had been on shore; at last finding the offender, he committed him presently to the Bilboes, there to remain till the next day, which was Friday, at which time he appointed Sir Richard Lewson, his admiral and marshal, to call unto him the other admirals and captains of the fleet, and thoroughly to examine the offence, and accordingly to proceed without any respect or favour. They calling before them the said offender, and finding indeed that the fellow was drunk, and by no means could remember whether he had struck the said churchman or no; and although the manner of his striking was so slight, and the party said to be struck so vile in reputation of the whole city, as they generally pitied any man should once be called in question for so base a person; the said commissioners and jury proceeded, and, finding him guilty of striking the said churchman, being contrary to law and his lordship's former decrees in that behalf, adjudged him to be presently hanged. Here it is to be understood, that the matter could not be so privately carried, but many of the town, and some churchmen also, had made means to get aboard, and saw the proceeding so austere and resolute, that presently they solicited the conde, and the honourable condesse his wife, upon any condition, to hinder the execution. Whereof when the conde, but especially the condesse and her daughter, had taken notice, they never left intreating his lordship to recall his averred sentence and judgment; and which to do his lordship could not, without offering much unkindness, refuse or deny. Many reasons were alledged by the conde and the condesse, that the party offended was a man vile in reputation, and esteemed as a man half lunatick; that the offence was not a malicious or determinate wilful offence, and therefore the premisses considered, his lordship could not but with more judgment pass it over, than so severely prosecute the execution of justice upon so mean a cause, especially since no information or complaint was by the party offended, or by any other of the court, prosecuted on his behalf. His lordship, thus urged, granted he should be delivered unto the conde, to be used as he thought good, and therefore commanded he should be brought on land, and delivered unto him; which was done, one of the masters going along with him, and the boatswain leading him with a halter about his neck; who, when he came before the conde, fell on his knees, and would have made much protestation; but the honourable conde took him up, took off the halter from his neck, and commanded him to be carried to eat in the buttery, for that the doleful looks of the man moved much pity in the conde.

On Tuesday, the three-and-twentieth day of April, according to the computation of England, his lordship solemnised the feast of St George; which was done in a very solemn manner, and with the more regard, for that the townsmen, taking notice of his intendment to feast, came in troops, to see and observe the fashions of England: His lordship, therefore, having desired sufferance of the conde to use his own officers for that day, appointed to be served after the fashion of England, both in service and diet. And, whereas the conde had, for his lordship's state, set up a cloth of state with his proper arms, his lordship commanded to set up a state of his own, being rich of bawdkim, without arms, other than the arms of his highness with St George's cross, as is the custom; his own arms was placed a good distance off, upon the hangings, and on the right-hand of the cloth of state, for that both the room was most convenient, as also it was thought the conde would have dined with his lordship, as he was desired. After private prayers in the chamber, and that most of his company was come to him, and dinner being served in accordingly, his lordship came forth, in his robes of St George, to meet the conde: but the conde fearing to do any thing that might impeach the honour of his master, or be present to hear any thing pronounced, which might offend him, in respect of the honour of his master, after that he had staid to see his lordship wash, and sit at the table, prayed leave, and so went to his private lodging. At the coming in of the second course, according to the fashion of England, the king's style was proclaimed, in three several languages, by Somerset-herald, crying, Largesse, who had a liberal reward for the same: And so his lordship, being served very honourably by persons of the better sort, and very richly in diet and in plate, ended his dinner, sitting alone at the table; but divers other lords, knights, and esquires, sitting in the same room, at two other tables by.

After dinner, the conde came to congratulate his lordship, seeming much to repent him, that he kept not him company at dinner, since he had understood by his brother (who stood all dinner-time there, and well observing all) that there was not any thing, that might give the least cause of offence, or exception: therefore the conde discovered, that he much desired to keep him company at supper; which he did, his lordship sitting, as he did at dinner, under the escutcheon of his own arms, the conde of the same side, but on the left-hand of the cloth of state, and at the lower end of the table. Whilst they sat at table, much company came in to see them; divers ladies, and other gentlemen of the better sort, coming privately to observe the fashion of our state, which his lordship performed most honourably and orderly, to the glory of our nation, and to no small honour of himself.

Wednesday, the four-and-twentieth day of the said month of April, about noon, there came a gentleman from the court, who gave notice to the conde and his lordship, that, that night Don Blasco de Arragon, nephew to the duke of Terra Nova, one that had been formerly in England with the constable, would be there; who, indeed, about seven of the clock that night, came accordingly to salute his lordship, from the king his master, and to give understanding, both of the preparation for his lordship and his company upon the way, as also what order should be presently taken for their more speedy journey.

Tuesday, the thirtieth of April, there was appointed a communion on ship-board, to the which resorted divers knights and gentlemen, and as many as could conveniently come to the same.

On Wednesday and Thursday, his lordship treated with the conde, the said Don Blasco, and Don Jasper de Bullion, the Aposentador, mayor to the king; which said Jasper de Bullion was lately come from the court, of purpose to provide for his lordship and his train, with commission from the king to see them furnished of all necessaries for their journeying.

In this conference (notwithstanding it had been formerly understood, there should be no want of means or necessaries for his lordship and his people, in their journey to court)

it appeared, that, the company being numbered by the poll to be six hundred and fifty persons of all sorts, besides their carriages, which were very many, the country could by no means supply the whole number; therefore it was thought good to lessen them, as much as conveniently they might, resolving to leave divers of his lordship's own people aboard the ships, till they return: Some also were dispatched for England, with the carroches, litters, and mares, and such other his furniture, as, by Don Blasco was understood, he should have little use of. And for that, besides riding-mules, we understood there were sent thither by the king four litters, and four coaches, which staid for us at Villa Franca, for the more ease of his lordship, when he pleased, and for the relief of any gentleman, that might happen to be sick upon the way; which, in so long and tedious a journey, was likely to be: and indeed, as it happened, most of them were put to use, one coach and one litter being appointed for his lordship's own use; another coach and litter appointed to the ambassador-lieger; and another serving sometimes one, and sometimes another, as occasion served, and they desired.

Thursday, the second day of May, there was prepared in the market-place a certain piece of ground, railed in square, the space of twenty yards, or more; with scaffolds built of purpose about the same, wherein the English were very sufficiently appointed and placed, for the seeing of these sports. His lordship and other noblemen were placed in several windows, in a very fair room in the king's state-house, being for that purpose hung with rich arras, and several cloths of state over the windows, on the wall on the outside the house. They being come to their standings, the ladies and better sort of the town being likewise placed in a convenient room for that purpose, they began their sports after this manner: First, There was brought in a castle, wherein a lady was inclosed, and kept by four monsters. The said castle being placed in the midst of the squadron, there appeared four knights armed, with their pages going before them with drums and fife, playing; who presently assailed the castle, surprised the monsters, relieved the lady, and so set fire to the castle; the device being, as we understood of it, as much to shew the strangeness of the fire-works, which indeed were many, as for any other reason, which we observed by the same.

Then came Venus, Pallas, Juno, Cupid, every one led severally by savages; after whom followed four other armed knights, in colours painted blue and white. Then came a third company, being four in number, in coloured armours likewise, with crosses on their breasts, in shew like knights of Malta; bringing in with them a chariot, wherein the chief sat Peace, Plenty, and other virtues, being likewise planted in the same, with their several names written on their backs; after whom likewise followed four other knights armed, with trumpets sounding. When they had all appeared, they fell to barriers, according to the direction of certain gentlemen appointed to marshal the same. Some English lords and knights being intreated by the Spaniards to assist them therein also, they encountered one another single, first by two, after increasing their number, according to the pleasure of the judges and marshals; when they had broken their staves (or at least done their best to break them) retiring, fell to it again with their swords, according to the manner of barriers, five blows a-piece. In a scaffold, directly opposite against the place wherein the lords stood, sat the judges of these sports, amongst whom the Lord Howard of Effingham was intreated by the magistrates of the town to be one; which judges, upon every encounter, gave reward to the best deserver, as, scarfs, gloves, choppimors, ribbons, and such like, which were, by the knights, thankfully received, and bestowed as favours upon their mistresses; at last the knights encountered pell-mell one another, and, as it seemed, in a very furious manner. But, the bar being made in fashion like a trough, and many fire-works being cunningly contrived in the same, it duly took fire; and so with flame and smoke they were parted.

These sports ended, there was a banquet carried up to his lordship, and other the lords and ladies, which were in another room next adjoining, being indeed both plentiful and

costly, and served in by the chief gentlemen of the country and town. The banquet ended, and night coming on, there were brought into the same place divers fire-works; one in the fashion of a chariot, another like the wheel of fortune, another like a castle, and such like, guarded and attended with divers wild men, with clubs and wheels, with several fire-works; men riding with spears in their hands, all containing squibs and fire-works, with which they ran at one another, as in manner of tilt. The diversities of the fire-works were many, and, for the strangeness and manner of performance thereof, generally commended, and so well liked, as two hours, spent in that pastime, seemed but a moment.

Friday, the third day of May, his lordship, having his company furnished with convenient mules for riding, as also for carriage of their trunks and necessaries, about eleven of the clock, accompanied with the governor and other the magistrates of the town, set forward on his journey: Don Blasco de Arragon and Don Jasper de Bullion, the chief harbinger for the king, accompanying his lordship, for the purposes aforesaid. In the passage from the town, the waits and shagbots were placed, playing all the while; at our departing from the town, and our leave-taking of the governor, they gave a small volley of shot out of the town. His lordship being half a mile out of the town, and yet within sight of the ships, as they lay at road, the said ships took their leave also of us, with many pieces of ordnance.

The said governor, as before is mentioned, is named Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, &c. and is of the country of Castile, but appointed here by the king, as governor of the Groyne, and all the country of Galicia; a man of very mild and affable behaviour, very courteous, and most respective of the English in general, as, by the great care and good usage of us, whilst we lodged in the Groyne, appeared.

That night, being, as is aforesaid, the third day of May, according to the computation of England, we rode to Bytaunce, being distant three leagues from the Groyne; where his lordship and his company were well entertained and lodged.

Saturday, the fourth day of May, we rode from Bytaunce to a certain town called Villa Alva, six leagues, where our entertainment was such as the town could afford, by reason of the means thereof.

Sunday, the fifth day of May, we rode forward to a very fair town, called Lugo, being distant from Villa Alva seven leagues: The alcaid, and other officers of the town, meeting his lordship about half a mile without the gates, and accompanying us into the town, the street being decked with boughs, and the walls of their houses garnished with their best hangings and furniture. In the way coming thither, his lordship received letters of intelligence and congratulations from the conde at the Groyn, which he accepted very kindly.

The messenger being dispatched from Lugo, and rewarded with a chain of gold of good value, on Monday we rode to a certain town called the Terra Castella, distant from Lugo eight leagues.

Tuesday, the seventh day of May, we travelled all the morning up to a high mountain by the space of six leagues, and dined at a little village called Cebrera, where we received such entertainment, unexpected, as was altogether in an arbour of green boughs, made of purpose, of such a convenient length, that it received his lordship and all the better sort of his train. And after dinner we rode to a certain town called Villa Franca, being distant six leagues, where his lordship was received with the townsmen, the streets, all the way where we passed, being garnished with boughs, and strewed with herbs and flowers; musick being likewise placed near the house where his lordship should lodge.

Wednesday, for that the company were somewhat weary, his lordship disposed himself chiefly to rest; chiefly, for that the ambassador-lieger complained of sickness, as al-

so to relieve the mules, forbearing to travel in so foul weather, as it fell out to be the same day.[1]

Thursday, the ninth day of May, we rode by a town called Congusta to Beubibre, to bed, where his lordship was lodged in a castle of the Conde de Alvalista, but very old and mean. The town being so poor, and men also, as if the officers of his highness had not then, as indeed they did, taken more than ordinary pains and care, it had not been possible to have lodged half the company.

Friday, the tenth day of May, we came to Astorga, being a city walled, and standing in a pleasant and champaign country, and containing in it many churches, amongst which one is a cathedral, two friaries, and two nunneries. A mile without the town we were met with the alcaid and officers of the town; over the gates hung divers guidons and banners of silk; one of them being a large white banner of damask, in fashion of a guidon, and placed in the midst of the rest; musick likewise playing all the way as we passed, the houses garnished with their best hangings, and the streets strewed with herbs and flowers.

Saturday, the eleventh day of May, his lordship having had understanding of the fairness of the castle there, belonging to the Marquis of Astorga, and being desired by Don Blasco to take a view thereof, in passing out of the town, alighted to see the same. The house, indeed, being a very strong castle, and having in it a very fair gallery, with many goodly pictures and pieces of painting, both large and costly; and also a rich library, with many fine rarities in the same. After we rode four leagues to a certain town called La Ban'esa, where, in the way coming, we were met with divers gypsies, (as they termed them) men and women, dancing and tumbling much after the Morisco or Moorish fashion, which continued till we came to town.

Sunday, the twelfth day of May, we rode eight leagues to a town called Benavente, where, a mile without the town, the alcaid and chief officers of the town met us, bringing with them a company of gypsies likewise, singing and dancing, playing, and shewing divers feats of activity, conducting his lordship to the Conde of Benavente's house, where he lodged that night.

Monday, we rode forward eight leagues to a certain town called Villa Garcia, where we were received with a Morrice dance of certain comely gentlemen, being in number eight; as also with eight boys, attired like satyrs or shepherds, with shepherds hooks, who, as they danced, played with the same after the fashion of Mattachyna.

In this town is a very fair college, wherein is only taught the rules of grammar, and grounds of the Latin tongue; it containeth about six hundred scholars. The church a very fair church, very richly set out, with many goodly pieces of painting; the altar and quoir exceeding rich and fair. From hence his lordship received order, by the king's officers, to go to a certain town called Cimancas; which, though it was rather further in distance than Valladolid, yet, for that his lordship should not come late, nor his company over wearied, this town was appointed to receive him before our coming to the court. Other reasons were given, that is, in the right way, between Villa Garcia and Valladolid, a bridge was lately broken, whereby of necessity we must have passed; and also that the king desired we should enter through the high street, and the best part of the town; which we did, and, therefore, appointed our way by Cimancas: Accordingly we came to Cimancas, on Tuesday, at night, somewhat late, being overtaken with extraordinary foul weather, and greatly annoyed with the same.

[1] Sir Charles Cornwallis, in a letter to the lords of council, concerning this journey to Valladolid, states, that notwithstanding the care taken by the King of Spain, for accommodating the English embassy, the exceeding barrenness of the place and poverty of that whole country, did enforce them to many sufferances, whereof none had a greater feeling than he himself, being sick for the space of several days, and hardly able to endure a journey. Winwood's *Memorials*, II. 67.

In the way between Villa Garcia and Cimancas, we passed by a very fair monastery of monks of the order of St Benedict, being not long since built, but exceeding fair and rich, whereunto there is belonging, inclosed, as much ground as the wall thereof, being of stone, is the circuit, a league, or better; within which is all kind of game royal, as pheasants, partridges, hares, conies, and such like. The church here is very curiously and workmanlike built, and garnished with many curious pieces of painting, with copes very rich and very curiously wrought.

That night at supper, his lordship had notice, that it was the king's pleasure we should rest at Cimancas all Wednesday, and not till Thursday come to the court.

On Wednesday, after dinner, there came from the court Don Juan de Suniga, eldest son to the Conde de Villa Mediana, ambassador in England; as also, Don Pedro de Tassis, the new appointed ambassador for England, accompanied with divers others; who, having congratulated his lordship, staying with him some half hour or thereabouts, departed.

That night we understood that it was the king's pleasure his lordship should come to court on Thursday, whereupon every one, taking notice thereof, made preparation accordingly.

Thursday, being the sixteenth day of May, we staid till after dinner, expecting to receive more particular directions from court; at which time there came, to attend his lordship thither, the Marquis of Camerassa, Don Pedro de Suniga, Don Juan de Tassis, Don Blasco de Arragon, and divers other knights and gentlemen of the king's house and chamber, bringing with them divers coaches, so that his lordship was entertained by Don Blasco and the marquis in the first coach; the ambassador-lieger, by some others in the second; others knights and gentlemen filling as well the other coaches, which came along from the Groyne, as those which were brought from court by these lords. After we had travelled about four English miles, (for from Cimancas to court it was accounted but six,) and having been met with many of the better sort in their coaches, his lordship was moved by Don Blasco and the rest, to go into a certain banquetting-house, which stood upon the highway, as well to see the delicacy of the orchards and gardens, as to taste of the variety of fruits within the same. But we rather suppose, to make stay for such nobles, as were appointed by the king to give meeting to his lordship, and were not as yet come forward. During his lordship's stay in this garden, there was a horse presented unto him from the king, which the king himself used to ride on. After they had staid there, by the space of a long hour or more, there came from the town divers noblemen, the chief whereof was the Duke of Fryas, constable of Castile, the king's late ambassador in England; the Duke of Infantasgo, the Duke of Alberquerques, the Duke of Cea, the Duke of Sesa, the Duke of Pastrava, the Marquis of St Germain, the Conde of Chincou, the Conde of Punion en Restro, the Marquis de Lavanessa, the Conde of Aguilliar, the Conde de Berosa, the Conde de Nieua, the Conde de Cornua, the Conde de Paredes, the Conde de Lodosa, the Marquis del Carpio, the Marquis deTavera, the Marquis de Villa Nueva, the Conde Apala, Conde de Salinas, Marquis de Ceralva, Marquis de Fuentes, Marquis de Alcanes, Conde de Galves, the Admiral of Arragon, and many other lords and knights in great number. His lordship setting forward in very good order, accompanied with a great multitude of nobles, knights, and gentlemen, as is aforesaid. The weather being all that time extraordinarily hot, suddenly, to the great disordering of all the company, there fell so great a shower of rain as the like was not seen of long time before, and continuing till the company could get to the town; notwithstanding which, his lordship kept still on horseback, accompanied with many of the chief of the company, and riding forward to his appointed lodging, which was in a very fair house of the Conde of Salinas, and not far from the court; an infinite number of people, eight hundred coaches, filled with ladies, were gotten out of the town

to meet and see his lordship and his company, all which took part of this great shower, to their no little discomfort.[1]

The order of our going into the town was appointed as follows: First rode two trumpets, all the sumpter and carriages being about two hours before sent into the town; after whom followed certain gentlemen's servants to the knights and lords; as also the lieger ambassador's servants in liveries, very fair, to the number of sixty: then followed six trumpets of his lordship's, in suits of damask, holding their trumpets in their hands, but not sounding: then came divers gentlemen of good sort, with whom also followed his lordship's gentlemen and principal officers, in their liveries of black velvet, to the number of thirty: then followed the esquires, knights, and lords, every one according to their degree, being accompanied with several Spanish knights and lords; after whom came his lordship, accompanied with the nobles afore-mentioned; which order, for that the rain fell so exceedingly, could not be continued as was meant; but, by reason thereof, divers made what haste they could to their lodging, and yet were throughly wet before they could get thither. His lordship accompanied, as before, and entering into the town at the gate, called La Puerta del Campo, passed through the chief parts of the town and along by the court gate; the king, queen, and ladies (as it was said) standing in several windows to take view of the company; about six of the clock came to the place appointed for his lordship's lodging.

That night came divers noblemen, as also the Mayordomo to the queen, to visit his lordship from her highness, which was wondered at by the Spaniards themselves; for that (if they speak true) they never knew the like favour done to any ambassador whatsoever.

The next day, being Friday the seventeenth day of May, there came to visit his lordship the Duke of Lerma, Don Francisco Govees de Sandoval, &c. a man of especial regard and account with the king, accompanied with divers dukes and condes.

Thither also, that day, came the Duke of Medina de Ryoseco, a youth of ten years of age, Admiral of Castile by inheritance, accompanied with divers other lords, and men of great account.

Upon Saturday, the eighteenth day of May, in the morning, the king sent the Conde d' Guklues, and divers other of his privy chamber, to visit his lordship the same day.

The first audience somewhat before dinner, his lordship had intelligence, that the king's majesty intended to give him audience in the afternoon; whereof the English lords, knights, and gentlemen, taking notice, prepared themselves to give their attendance, although not in so good fashion as they desired, and would, had they had understanding thereof over night: his lordship therefore staying his highness's pleasure, about three of the clock in the afternoon.

[1] This same shower, as Sir Charles Cornwallis informs the lords of council, greatly blemished the grace of the procession. "At this voyage being diverted from following his way, and drawne into the garden of a private gentleman, the houre of the day was then about four in the afternoone, the weather being very fair, yet threatening a showre towards night, his excellency stayed there at least two houres, expecting the constable and other dukes and noblemen which purposed there to receive him, and accompany him to the towne. In the ende worde being brought that they were comeing, his lordship tooke horse, and so did the rest of the companie, and meeting them, after the ordinarie complements, wherein this nation doth abound, being to goe towards the towne, a great showre of raine overtook us, which enforced us to enter into our coaches; yet having sent to my lord a gennet of his owne, he once again took horse, and so did the rest of the dukes and noblemen. Yet such was the vehemencie of the raine, as his excellency's trayne was enforced to enter into the cittie in great disorder, some in coaches, and others to escape the extremity of the weather, brake the ranks and galloped; so as the shewe of the trayne, which was intended to have been in the best sorte, and which the king and queene in persone, in places attended to beehould, proved not answerable to expectation. There rode on the one side of my lord admirall the Duke del Infantado and Alba, on the other side the constable, and the Duke of Ossuna, and next before him myselfe, accompanied with the Duke of Sessa, and the Conde of ——. The noblemen and gentlemen who came to meet with his excellencie, and accompanied him to his lodginge, were (as I thinke) to the nombre of 200, well horsed and appoynted, and many of them attended with their coaches." WINWOOD'S *Memorials*, II. 68.

The constable, accompanied with twenty noblemen, or more, whereof three or four of them were of the grandees of Spain; and divers other men of dignity and esteem in that court, bringing with them many coaches, came to conduct his lordship and the company to the court; many people were gathered in the streets to see the passage of his lordship, and his company. The number of the coaches was about twenty; but, notwithstanding many of our noblemen and knights rode upon their rich foot-cloths, the king's guard waited even from the uttermost gate of the palace, to the presence-chamber door, being all newly suited in coloured velvet, yellow and red, but in several habits; that thereby they might be the better distinguished, being in number three hundred, whereof there were one hundred Switzers, one hundred Spanish horsemen, and one hundred Walloons. At the palace gate stood divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, amongst whom was the Duke of Infantasgo, the Marquis of Vellado, and others, all appointed to receive and give his lordship entertainment, and to conduct and guide the company up into the presence, where the king sat under a rich cloth of state, and by him stood eight grandees of Spain, covered.[1] The care these lords took to give contentment to the English was so great, that we might easily perceive, they spared not to put out of the said room all manner of people of what condition soever, on purpose to make way, and give place even to the meanest of the English, which would press to see the king, not keeping out any of how mean condition soever.

His lordship having delivered his mind in oration, by the mouth of Mr Giles Porter, his interpreter, as also the king's majesty's letters, into his highness's own hands; the king, descending from his chair, gave entertainment to his lordship, with most kind and affable behaviour, appointing him to sit down by him, and that very near; which especial favour was much observed, and reported as a thing never used to any ambassador before that time. Some short time spent in conference with his lordship, his highness was pleased to take notice of such nobles and gentlemen, as accompanied his lordship in this his long and painful journey; and thereupon required they should draw near, which they did, each after other, to do their reverence, and, as they say, *besar las manos*,[2] which was only in bowing low to the ground, without touching either hand or foot, or any other part of his garments. This done, his lordship took his leave, and the king appointed the constable and others to conduct his lordship and company to the queen's side; where, in a very fair presence, sat her highness, with the infanta by her, under a rich cloth of state, accompanied with many ladies and maids of honour, divided on either side the same room, a good distance each from the other, standing close by the wall, almost from one end of the chamber to the other. The gentlemen, knights, and lords, going along, and before his lordship, were received by the Mayordomo to the queen, and so conducted to her presence.

After some conference and compliment, his lordship taking leave of her majesty, for that it began to be late, all the lords, knights, and gentlemen, were called up to the queen, as formerly they had been to the king, every one after other, bowing himself in obeysance, and kissing the skirt of her highness's kirtle, departed; being conducted by the said dukes and lords which both brought them to the court, and accompanied them back again to his lodging.

Sunday, the nineteenth day of May, the king's majesty went in procession, first going into the church near the palace, called St Paul's, and after through the town, to a church called St Mary's, in manner as follows:

First went many friars singing, bearing among them divers crosses, banners, and other ceremonies, relicks of the church, the sacrament being likewise carried by four church officers.

[1] It is not lawful for any to stand covered in the presence of the king, except he be a grandee.

[2] *i. e.* To kiss his hand.

Then followed divers noblemen, according to their degrees.

Next, before the king's own person, went the younger of the princes of Savoy.

Then the king himself in person; after whom followed the cardinal, being archbishop of Toledo, and with him the prince of Savoy, the elder brother. Then followed together the prince of Morocco, the emperor's ambassador, the ambassador of France, and the ambassador of Venice; after whom followed divers gentlemen of the king's chamber, and the rest of the train. After dinner, there was preparation made for the christening of the prince, and, for that the court stood from the church, there was set up, on purpose for a more close and convenient passage, a very large scaffold adjoining to the end of a long gallery, and to the church likewise, the timber whereof was all covered with cloth of gold very rich, and the scaffold being high, was a good means to give sight to all the people. The manner of their coming to church was in this sort; the king's trumpets were placed near and before the church, in several companies, always sounding, and one answering the other: about four of the clock in the afternoon, there appeared, descending by the scaffold aforementioned, to go into the church of St Paul's, which, as is likewise said, adjoins to the scaffold, the knights, lords, and grandees, going before, and some dukes of especial name, bearing divers ceremonies [1] likewise; as the salera or salt borne by one, the taper of wax by another, the chrism by another; then the crown borne by the constable, before whom went the king at arms. The prince was borne by the Duke of Lerma, in his arms, but tied to him with a rich scarf, or band; he was assisted by the prince of Savoy, and the conde of Miranda. Then followed the infanta in a chair, as it should seem, made for that purpose, and borne by divers gentlemen of the king's bed and privy-chamber, on their shoulders, assisted by the younger prince of Savoy. At the church door the cardinal staid for them in his pontificalibus, accompanied with three bishops, and other special officers of the church, the singing-men going before, and so conducting them to the font, which was richly prepared, and covered with a canopy of cloth of gold; the cardinal performed all the ceremonies according to the order of their church; and so with church-music, noise of trumpets, and many other wind instruments, they finished their ceremonies, returning in such manner as they went, being accompanied also with most of the great ladies of the kingdom, and those of the court.

He was christened Phillippe Domingo Victor.

His godfather was the elder prince of Savoy, of whom he took his name Victor.

His godmother was the infanta, his sister.

His lordship was placed conveniently in the house of the Conde d'Rubadavia, in the morning, both to see the procession, as also the going of the prince to christening; but, so soon as they were passed by, he, with some others, were privately conveyed through a gallery, on the back-side of a monastrey, into the church, to a place appointed on purpose for him and the lords that were of his company.

On Monday in the afternoon, the ambassador-lieger was by his lordship presented to the king, and by him graciously received and allowed. [2] That day, in the afternoon, came divers ambassadors to visit his lordship; as first, Don Francisco de Meschite, ambassador for the state of Venice; as also the French ambassador, Monsieur Baron de Barault Chevalier, who, after some short stay, departed. At the time of the French ambassador's being there, came likewise the ambassador resiaunt for the emperor. His lordship ever shewing much affability and courtesy, and accompanying them

[1] To be used in the Romish form of baptism.

[2] The letter of Sir Charles Cornwallis, already quoted, differs in the date of this important matter. On Wednesday, after the dinner at the constable's, the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles were sent for to court, where they found the king standing upright against a little table in the midst of a gallery, when Sir Charles Cornwallis, being presented as the resident ambassador of England, was welcomed to Spain by the monarch, and assured of access to his person whenever occasion offered. Winwood's *Memorials*, Vol. II, p. 68.

on their way to their coaches, this kind behaviour of his, being greatly observed, caused an extraordinary respect, and an exceeding love of all men towards him.

That night also, came to visit his lordship the cardinal of Toledo, being a very stately prelate, well descended, very rich, in his carriage very courteous, and in his expence liberal, as by the apparelling of his pages and servants, and by his rich sumpter-cloths, hangings, and such like, might well appear.

Tuesday, the one-and-twentieth of May, his lordship was conducted by Don Blasco unto the church called St Mary's, to see the ceremony and state of the queen's churching, whither the king and queen came together, the king riding on horseback, and the queen in a very rich chariot of cloth of gold, drawn by four horses, all trapped and harnassed with cloth of gold; in which chariot likewise sat the infanta. Next followed, in another chariot, the young prince, in the arms of an ancient lady. After followed two other carroches of black velvet, wherein sat divers duchesses, countesses, and other great personages, widows.

Then followed four other carroches, all of one fashion, wherein sat several ladies, the queen's maids.

This was the first day of the queen's going abroad, and, as we accounted it, her churching-day.

This day his lordship was invited to dinner to the constable's, where he was accompanied by the Duke of Alberquerque, the Duke of Cesa, and others. The manner of feasting being not usual in Spain, our company being many, could not all receive that contentment which the constable desired to give in general. For, the country considered, it is much to be marvelled, how they could do what they did; but it plainly appeared, nothing was left undone for want of cost, and that all preparation was made that the country could any way afford for their entertainment. [1]

Wednesday, his lordship was visited by the Conde de Lemos, accompanied with divers noblemen, and men of good quality.

That day, likewise, and Thursday, his lordship visited as well the ambassadors aforementioned, as also divers other lords and ladies in the town.

Friday, the four-and-twentieth day of May, Thomas Knoell, Esq. his highness's servant and messenger for the delivery of certain presents to the king of Spain, expecting and attending the king's pleasure therein, was sent for by Don Blasco to come and bring the said presents into a private garden belonging to the Duke of Lerma, where the king and queen came in person to receive the same. The presents were six horses, (three for the king, and three for the queen,) with saddles and cloths very richly embroidered and costly; two cross-bows with sheaves of arrows; four fowling-pieces, with their furnitures, all very richly garnished, and inlaid with fine plate of gold; and one couple of limehounds, of an extraordinary goodness; which presents were acceptably received, the king and queen very much observing and admiring the richness and fashion thereof. [2]

On Saturday, the five-and-twentieth day of May, there came to visit his lordship the bishop Salustius Taernsius, bishop of Montepolitan in Hetruria, and ambassador for the duke of Florence. After dinner came, likewise, to visit his lordship, Don Juan de Bourch,

[1] Here also, were it worth while, a date might be corrected. Sir Charles Cornwallis mentions this entertainment as taking place on Wednesday; but the herald and ambassador agree as to the poverty of the entertainment, where, according to the latter, "such was the exceeding number of men and women, that stood on both sides of the table, and so great the press of men and unshamefacedness of the women, that the service, in my seeming, was performed with no grace or order." WINWOOD's *Memorials*, II. 68.

[2] According to some critical persons, these presents were in some respects ill chosen. Mr Chamberlain acquaints Mr Winwood, 18th December 1604, "The prince sends a present of certain horses and hunting geldings, with two rich saddles, and eight or ten horsecloths of several coloured velvets, with rich embroidery, whereby they are hot and heavy, and so, very improper for that place, valued at eight hundred pounds apiece; as likewise the whole sorts, methinks, nothing well, being as if we sent trees to the wood." WINWOOD's *Memorials*, II. 41.

Conde de Figaroa, president of Portugal, with his four sons. That day, also, came to visit him, together with the constable, the Conde de Olivares, accompanied with divers marquisses and earls. This conde was one of them that was in England, in the time of Queen Mary. The same day, in the afternoon, his lordship visited the queen, and delivered her a fair rich jewel, as a token from the queen of England.

Sunday and Monday, his lordship went abroad to visit divers nobles that had formerly been with him, as also spending some part of the same time, in concluding with the council of Spain, of matters concerning his ambassage; and of all things necessary for the effecting and performing the same.

Tuesday, the eight-and-twentieth day of May, his lordship, and all the rest of the company, were invited to dinner to the Duke of Lerma's, where they were most honourably entertained, receiving there all contentment that might be; for, besides the plenty of his chear, the manner of the entertainment could not be bettered. At the table, his lordship was accompanied with the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Infantasgo, and the Duke of Alberquerque.

They were attended upon at this feast, by divers nobles, marquisses, and earls, with many knights and gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber, and few others.

And besides the several sorts of music, during the time of dinner, his lordship, and the rest, having received what could be possibly given at the table, they were carried down into a fair court, paved with square stone, in the midst whereof was a fountain of clear water; the whole court covered with canvas to defend and keep off the heat of the sun, which at that time shone extremely. In this court, was, of purpose, a stage erected, with all things fitting for a play, which his lordship, and the rest, were invited to behold; the king and queen being in private, likewise spectators of that interlude.[1] To write of every particular of the duke's entertainment, were too much; for he took exceeding care to perform all things with the greatest state, as well appeared in this: that, for that the kitchen was cross a square court, there were set up high posts of timber, with canvas strained, to cover and defend the same, in the passage of the meat from the dresser; the ground being likewise covered with hangings of leather, that no dust should arise, whilst the service passed by. At this feast, several healths were drank to the kings of Great Britain and Spain, and to the happy continuance of the peace; begun by the Duke of Lerma, seconded by his lordship, and performed by all the company at the table. Many ladies of great account came privately to see and observe his lordship, and the company, as they sat at meat, well allowing and applauding the plenty and bounty used at this feast, being, indeed, such a one, as the like was not seen in Spain many years before.

Wednesday, his lordship concluded with the constable, and Alexander Rovida, senator of Millain, as concerning all matters touching the taking of the king's oath.[2]

Thursday, the thirtieth day of May, being Corpus Christi-day, the king went in procession, and for that he would be seen by the English, the course was appointed by the gate where his lordship lodged. The manner was as follows:

First, came eight great giants, three men, three women, and two Moors, with a taber and pipe playing, and they dancing. Then followed certain pilgrims clad in blue. After whom came many crosses, being in number twenty-five or twenty-six, borne and attended by the officers of the several churches to which they belonged. Amongst whom were also mingled divers pictures of saints; as St John, St George killing the dragon,

[1] Sir Charles Cornwallis remarks, that this comedy was "of more length than pleasure."

[2] This was not done without many difficulties. The English ambassador made a point of dining with the king, which the etiquette of the Spanish court did not admit. There were other points of ceremonial unadjusted, which so much disconcerted the Earl of Nottingham, that on the morning of the 27th May, he assured Sir Charles Cornwallis, that "neither had he tasted a morsel the evening before, nor had one hour's sleep." Winwood, Vol. II. p. 70.

St Michael, St Francis, St Andrew, St Dominick, St Martin, the picture of Christ in several forms, Mary Magdalen, and our Lady, in divers fashions also. Many holy and precious relicks, friars Morrice-dancers, in manner of gypsies, beasts with fire-works, wild-men, and such-like toys, as it should seem to draw the people more readily with admiration. After these followed divers other church relicks, friars Augustines. Other friars of the order of St Francis, with their relicks. Many churchmen with lighted tapers in their hands; the king's pages bearing torches; then the sacraments [1] borne by four church-men in rich copes; then the lords and grandees of Spain; then followed the king, bearing a lighted taper of virgin-wax; after whom followed the cardinal, the emperor's ambassador, the French ambassador, and the Venetian ambassador; the prince of Savoy, the prince of Morocco, and others, all bearing their tapers lighted in their hands. [2]

The same day his lordship staid till four of the clock in the afternoon, until his highness's pleasure were known, that he was pleased as that day to take the oath formerly agreed on between them. About which time there came to his lordship Don Blasco de Arragon, who brought word that the king expected his lordship's coming to the court as that day; and therefore, for the more convenient passage of the nobles and gentlemen, that were to attend him thither, order was taken, that all should be supplied with gennets that wanted, and would send to the king's stable for the same. Every man being furnished, his lordship set forward to the court, the constable and Don Pedro de Suniga being sent to accompany his lordship thither, as also divers other knights and lords, whose names, for the suddenness of their coming, and the number of them being so many, could not be had. His lordship's own gentlemen were in several coaches afore, and staid at the court-gate, expecting his lordship's coming thither, where likewise great preparation was made; divers noblemen and others staying there to receive his lordship and his company; amongst whom were the Duke of Lerma and some other grandees, and those of the greatest lords in Spain.

His lordship, being thus received, was conveyed up through a long gallery into a presence, and so into another inner room; the gentlemen, knights, and lords, ever going before in very good order. In which room his majesty staid for the coming of his lordship, receiving him with affable and kind congratulation, and took him along with him by his side, the king's serjeants at mace going first, after following all the grandees and lords of Spain, one among another; then the four kings of arms in their coats of arms; then the Duke of Lerma, bearing the sword naked, wherein one thing is especially to be noted, that the duke bare not the sword upright, as is the custom of England, but bare it lying upon his right shoulder; so the king and his lords went together into a very fair banquetting-house, very lately built, the ambassador-lieger, the lords, and divers others following. [3]

The king sitting in his estate, his lordship and the ambassador-lieger were placed upon his left hand; the grandees and other noblemen of Spain being seated on the other hand, two degrees lower. Before the king was brought a little table, whereon lay the Bible and a crucifix upon it. The Archbishop of Toledo read the oath with a reasonable loud voice. At one part of the oath, his lordship held the king's hands between his; to which oath the king swear kneeling, and laying his hand upon the book, and afterwards subscribed to the articles and agreements drawn and concluded by both kings.

[1] The host under a canopy, borne by four priests.

[2] The Reformation had already purified the English taste. Cornwallis was shocked at this "mixture of things sacred with things profane;" and remarks, with displeasure, that "the dragons, giants, and morrice-dancers, paraded and danced in the very ranks of the friars procession." Winwood, Vol. II. p. 71.

[3] Somerset Herald should certainly have expressed himself more accurately. The ambassador extraordinary walked on the king's left hand, and Cornwallis behind him.

Friday, the one-and-thirtieth day of May, his lordship dined early, for that there was that day appointed a sport, which they call *Ieugo de Toros*, and also *Ieugo de Cannas;* and for that his lordship and all his company, from the meanest to the highest, should have the pleasure of the sights, there were some appointed to see every Englishman furnished of convenient room, which they did, Don Blasco himself taking an especial care and respect thereof. About the midst of the day came the king and queen riding on horseback, with many lords and ladies on horseback likewise, after the Spanish fashion, every lady accompanied with one or other man of worth. His lordship was placed in the standing with the king and queen, and the other lords were placed not far off. There were that day killed fourteen bulls, the manner whereof was in this sort: First, the market-place, being very square and of a great largeness, was round built with scaffolds very strong; the ground covered very thick with sand, so that they were fain divers times to bring in many carts of water, both to allay the dust, as also to cool the reflection of the sun upon the place; in which none were appointed to be but such as were designed to play the sports. The bull being turned out, they shot sticks with sharp pins and pricks, which might stick fast in his skin, thereby the more madding him. He seemed to be the most valiant that durst affray the bull in the face, and escape untouched; but some escaped not well, for it cost them their lives. There was another manner of striking the bull in the face with short spears, to the which went divers lords and gentlemen very well mounted, their pages following them with divers hand-spears for that purpose; wherein many shewed good valour, and struck the bull very cunningly and manly; but yet some of their gennets paid dear for it, being both hurt and killed. To this sport came two gentlemen, one after another, and, as it was reported, supplying the places of champions to the king, riding on horses blinded, and so taking their stand, waiting for the coming of the bull against them, very manly, with a spear of good length and strength, struck him in the head, and escaped without hurt, though not being without danger.[1]

After this began their sports of *Iuego de Cannas,*[2] wherein the king himself was an actor.[3] First came riding twelve drummers with kettle-drums playing; then followed thirty trumpeters, all clad in red and white silk coats, then followed twelve *Açemulaes,* or great mules, with coverings of red velvets bearing bundles of canes, tied and chained with great hooks of silver; then followed the king's gentlemen and pages, richly suited, being to the number of two-and-thirty, or thereabouts; after them were led by several grooms six-and-twenty riding horses richly covered.

For the two princes of Savoy were shewed: First two pages riding, bearing on their arms targets all white; after whom were led three horses covered with caparisons of

[1] Cornwallis gives the following account of this bull-feast:—"Their majesties had a faire roome to sit in right over against the middest of it, wherein at first, before the comeing of the king, my lord admiral, being told by Don Blasco and others, that hee should be placed as never any of his ranke was before in this kingdome, was appointed to sit on the right of the state, but some good distance from it; and a travars of taffata drawn between him and the same; by him sate the Earle of Pearthe, the Lord Willoughby, and others. But after the king and queen were entred, (the Prince of Savoy being put into the place where my lord admirall sate,) his excellencie was removed from thence into the lower part of the next roome of the left hand of their majesties, and there placed amongst the maides of honor; certain noblemen being there appointed to accompany him. Myself had assigned unto mee a house on the other side of the market-place, directly over against the place where the king and queen satt. We there continued from twelve of the clock till eight at night; where four houres at least were spent in seeing the *Iuego de Toros*, a sport, in my seeming, raising in troth more pittie then pleasure; for four men were slain in it, and divers sore hurt, and four or five horses of great value wounded to death, or at least made utterly unfit for future use."—Winwood's *Memorials*, II. 73. It is remarkable, that the Somerset Herald mentions, with entire indifference, the waste of human life in this cruel sport, although the pastimes of England, however rough, were strangers to such incidents. Cornwallis also speaks very coolly upon the subject.

[2] This sport was borrowed by the Spaniards from their Moresco conquerors. It is still practised at Constantinople and other cities of the East, but especially by the Mamalukes in Egypt.

[3] Cornwallis says, that this was unusual, and took place only in honour of the English embassy.

black velvet, embroidered richly with pearl; then followed twelve other horses, clad likewise in black velvet, but embroidered with silver.

For the Duke of Lerma, were led six horses with caparisons of white and red; the grooms and pages attending, and all alike suited.

For the constable, were led four-and-twenty horses of service, covered with white and green, his pages and grooms also alike suited.

The number of horsemen that shewed themselves in these sports were fourscore, whose names hereafter follow, according to a note thereof delivered by one of good worth, and of especial respect with the king:—

1. *Quadril.*

The King	The Duke of Lerma
Duke of Cea	Conde de Gelves
Marquis of St German	Don Hen. de Goseman
Conde de Mayald	Don Petro de Costro
Marquis de la Venessa	Don Garcia de Figueroa.

2. *Quadril.*

Don Diego de Sandoval	Don Antonio de S. Fago
Don Alonso Lopes de Mella	Don Diego de Sebro
Don Lewis de Alcarath	Don Galvan
Don Diego Nino	Don Pedro de Arietta
Don Diego de Lieva	Don Hieronomo de Sandoval.

3. *Quadril.*

Duke of Infantasgo	Don Diego Sarmiento
Conde de Barasa	Conde de Paredes
Conde de Corunna	Conde de Lodosa
Conde de Nieva	Don Juan de Tassis
The Admiral of Arragon	Don Lewis Enriques.

4. *Quadril.*

The Constable of Castile	Marquis de Cuelar
Conde de Aguillar	Marquis del Carpio
Don Barnardino de Velasco	Don Francisco de Velasco
Don Antonio de Velasco	Don Alonso de Velasco
Don Manuel de Cuniga	Don Andreas Velasques.

5. *Quadril.*

The Duke of Alva	Conde de Salinas
Marquis de Villanueva	Don Martin Valerio
Don Pedro de Cuniga S. de flores	Don Manuel de Alencastro
Marquis de Tarrara	Don Diego Piementel
Conde de Ayala	Marquis de Cerralva.

6. *Quadril.*

The Duke of Pastrana	Conde de Cosentagua
Comendador Mayor de Montesa	Don Carlos de Borsa
Marquis de Fuentes	Don Lewis Nino
Don Pedro de Fonseca	Don Ferdinando de la Cedar
Don Bernardino de Rozas	Don Juan Vicentela.

7. *Quadril.*

Conde de Alvalista	Don Bernardino de Toledo
Don Ferdinando de Toledo	Don Antonio de Toledo
Don Philippo de Valencia	Don Francisco Congusta
Don Lewis de Gozman	Don Juan de Gozman
Marquis de Alcanes	Marquis de Fales.

8. *Quadril.*

The Prince of Savoy	The Prior of Ivan
Marquis de Doste-	Don Diego de las Marinas
Don Francisco de Cordova	Don Juan de Heredia
Don Alvard de Mendoza	Don Pero Mune
Don Francisco Finea	Don Pedro de Licamo.

At their first appearance, they came riding in by couples two after two, very swiftly, richly attired, with their targets on their shoulders, holding and shaking long staffs, such as the Moors or Arabians are described to use. When they were all come, they divided themselves to sides, every side into four squadrons, every squadron being ten in number. When they were ready, holding their staffs in their hands, the king's side gave the first charge, the other side undertaking the same, and charging on them likewise; thus they continued still chacing one another, squadron upon squadron, throwing their canes one after another, by the space of a long hour or better; and so their sports ended.

Saturday, the first of June, his lordship was invited by the king to see a muster of armed men, in a place called El Campo, being lances, light horse men, and carbines, to the number of two thousand, whereof the Duke of Lerma was the general. His lordship stood with the king and queen; the rest of the English were placed in a scaffold built for them of purpose, which said soldiers, being divided, made some shew of sallies each upon other, very pleasing and warlike; and, after a few skirmishes, drew themselves into a ring, and, marching along under the window where his majesty stood, departed.

Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, were used as days of rest after their great feasts, and spent only in visitation and matters of compliment with one or other.

Wednesday, his lordship dispatched Sir John Trevor for England with letters of intelligence to his highness, who took with them the Advantage, which lay at St Anderas with the rest of the ships.

Thursday, the sixth day of June, his lordship was appointed both to dine and sup early, which he did, because both his lordship, as also all the other English lords and gentlemen, were invited to see a mask. About six o'clock, therefore, came Don Blasco to conduct his lordship and the rest through a private gallery of the king's, which joined to his lordship's lodging, to the appointed place, which was the new built banqueting-house formerly spoken of, by them termed the Grand Sala or Great-Room, where was appointed very convenient room for his lordship and the rest of his followers. The room was garnished with three hundred and twenty wax-lights, all set in standards of silver of divers fashions, some great and some small. After two or three several songs, sung by divers voices in parts, placed severally in the same hall for that purpose, the mask appeared, and began as follows:—

First came thirty musicians, clad in long garments of taffaty, garnished well to the shew, playing on several instruments; after whom followed six virgins dancing, one bearing in her hand a sun, another a branch of olive tree, another an anchor, another a sword with two points, on either point a bunch of flowers.

Then followed a chariot, made of an antique fashion, being drawn by two live horses, but exceeding little; in the upper part whereof sat the infanta, with a scepter of gold in her hand, with the picture of a dove on the upper end thereof; at her feet sat two virgins, who attended her; on either side went divers pages, bearing torches of white wax.

At the upper end of the hall was appointed a very rich state, all of mason's work, ascending up by degrees, richly gilded and garnished with divers statues, all gilt over; in which were planted three chairs, two great and one lesser, and that between the other two; in which middle chair, the infanta, being taken out from her chariot, was placed, the two virgins near her, and the other six upon the degrees at the foot of the estate.

At the nether end of the said hall stood the maskers in a gallery contrived for the purpose, who, upon the drawing of a curtain, appeared as it were in clouds; the number of them were eight-and-twenty knights and ladies, besides torch-bearers, whereof the king and queen were two, the rest all grandees and men of great honour, the ladies were all the queen's maids. The said gallery being built in manner of an arch, and fully set with looking-glasses, with the light of the torches shone as if it had been garnished with an infinite number of stars; the music playing, the maskers descended by four and four at a time, on a stage made in fashion of a cloud, and so dancing to the upper end of the hall; before they could return back, other four appeared, and so joined altogether, until the number came forth, and then danced altogether in good form and measure.

After divers dances and measures appointed of purpose for this shew, the king and queen, and so likewise all the company, unmasked themselves; the king and queen taking their seats in the places and chairs before mentioned, before whom were divers galliards danced by the several lords and ladies unmasked; the Earl of Perth and the Lord Willoughby were invited, and danced likewise: The king and queen divers times sallied out from their chairs of state, and danced openly. At last they began a calling dance, which was begun by the Duke of Lerma, holding a torch lighted in his left hand. The manner was, every man called forth two women, chusing one especial, conducted the other to her place, and left the chosen to call out two men, who, likewise delivering the torch to one especial, conducted the other to his seat. Thus it passed to and fro amongst many of the great lords and ladies; at last the king was called, and his lordship the Earl of Nottingham likewise; but, the torch being given to the king, his lordship was again brought to his seat. The king called forth the queen and another, and, after a few traverses, when the time came he should have chosen and delivered up his torch, he delivered it to a page standing by, and so the sports ended.

Friday, the seventh of June, his lordship was appointed to take leave of the king, and so set forward on his journey for England; therefore, taking notice of his lordship's desire of return, he ordered he should have audience in the afternoon. In the mean time his highness sent, by Don Pedro Suniga and some others, divers chains of gold, to the number of fourteen or thereabouts, to some of the king's servants, and his lordship's chief officers; having likewise before sent, by Don Pedro Cuniga, unto the lords and many other knights and especial men of his lordship's company and train, several jewels and chains, very rich. About four of the clock in the afternoon, his highness sent to his lordship a very rich present of jewels, both for himself and his lady, which were presented to him by Don Blasco, and brought by the masters and officers of the jewel-house, who were by him well gratified and rewarded.

Not long after, the constable and others came to give his lordship knowledge of the conveniency of the time for our coming to the court; whereupon his lordship, accompanied with the lords, knights, and gentlemen of his train, in several coaches, went to the court, where they were received by divers lords and officers of the court at the

palace-gate, from whence the king's guard made a passage even to the king's chamber. The king staid to receive his lordship in a gallery, which was long, but narrow, with whom his lordship had conference in private for the space of three quarters of an hour; and, fearing to give offence by tediousness, made motion to his highness, that the lords and others of his company might likewise take their leaves; the king very well pleased therewith, the lords, knights, and gentlemen, took their leaves, being generally well respected of his majesty. To conclude all, his lordship took his leave also, receiving many gracious and kind words from his majesty, as also a ring with a diamond, said to be of the value of three thousand pounds, which he put upon his lordship's finger, and, as he said, in token of wedding him in true love perpetually; commanding the Duke of Infantasgo to conduct his lordship and the rest to the queen in like manner, to take their leave of her majesty.

Being brought to the queen, where she sat under a cloth of state, with the ladies and maids of honour about her, for that it was late, his lordship made no long stay. After a short time spent in compliment, he took his leave of her highness, as also did all other the lords and knights of the train, to whom the queen, most respectively bowing herself with much favour and grace, gave them a kind farewell.

His lordship, now thoroughly furnished of all convenient means for his journey, about five of the clock the same day, being Saturday, and the eighth day of June, set forward, being accompanied in his coach with the constable, and divers other noblemen in other coaches, accompanying his lordship a mile or more out of the town, where they, taking their leaves, departed. That night we rode six leagues, to a town called Duenas. The next day, being Sunday, we rode nine leagues, to a town called Fromista; where, for that Don Blasco and others were behind, his lordship thought good to stay all Monday, lest the weather, being very hot, might too much trouble them in riding post, and that were to come after. That night Don Blasco overtook his lordship at Fromista.

Tuesday, the eleventh of June, his lordship dined at Osorno, and somewhat late after dinner rode to Herrera to bed, where he was lodged in a fair house of the Constable of Castile. Within this house are placed divers pillars, with letters engraven after the manner of the Roman inscription: and so they plainly appear to be monuments of the Romans, and left as reliques of their being in that country.

Wednesday, the twelfth of June, his lordship rode from thence eight leagues, and lodged at a town called Aguillar de Campo; the Marquis of Aguillar being lord thereof.

Thursday, we rode forward seven leagues, to a town called Rynoso; a town seated in the midst of the mountains.

On Friday, his lordship rode to Villa Concha to dinner, being three leagues, and very ill way. After dinner, we rode four leagues further, to a town called Villa Civil, to bed; being the worst way, and the worst place of entertainment we had in the whole country of Spain, being indeed seated amongst mountains, which harbour many bears, wolves, and other wild beasts, and wherewith the country round about is much troubled.

Saturday, the 15th day of June, we came to St Anderas, being distant from Villa Civil seven leagues, where his lordship was received by the magistrates and officers a mile out of the town. All the streets were strewed with rushes and herbs, and decked with boughs; and, at his entrance into the town, they gave him many great ordnance, with a volley of small shot.

That night the ambassador-lieger, Don Pedro de Suniga, who accompanied the king to Burgos, came also to St Anderas, where, during the time of his stay, his lordship expressed his bounty, by rewarding Don Blasco the Aposentador, and all the king's other officers and servants, with great chains of gold, fair jewels of good value, and large sums of money, to their general contentment.

Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, his lordship rested at St Anderas, as well for that the horses sent by the king, his lordship's own horses, and the ambassador-lieger's horses, came not till Tuesday, as also for furnishing the ships with fresh water and victuals for his return for England: And on Sunday in the afternoon his lordship invited the Aposentador, Mayor, Don Blasco de Arragon, and others, aboard the ships, where he made them a very great banquet, and, at their going off, saluted them with many pieces of ordnance.

His lordship having, on Wednesday the nineteenth of June, with all expedition that conveniently might be, shipped the horses, and supplied the ships with all needful provisions, about three of the clock in the afternoon came aboard his ship called the Bear, lying at road a long English mile from the town, bringing also with him Don Pedro de Cuniga, who tarried and supped with his lordship that night. After supper, his lordship commanded his barge to convey him to his appointed lodging, which was in the Repulse, where he entered, the trumpets sounding, and being saluted with many shot of great ordnance.

In the same road his lordship anchored till Thursday, and upon Thursday we put to sea; but, for that the tide was spent, and the wind falling out contrary, after an hour or two's sailing, we were driven to cast anchor, resting that night till the next tide; at which time his lordship hoisted sail and put to sea, and, with scant wind, sailed Friday and Saturday. On Sunday the weather fell out very foul and stormy, insomuch as the Wastespight spent in that storm her main-mast, but escaped further danger. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we sailed but with very unconstant winds, being many times becalmed. On Thursday afternoon the land was descried, but very far off: That day and night we sailed within sight of land; and, upon Friday, about four of the clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor before Portsmouth, but somewhat far into the sea. That night also came the Wastespight, who made great means to come so soon, having spent her main mast, as is aforesaid. Some of our company made hard shift that night to go on shore, enduring the hardness of the weather, which fell out all that evening.

On Saturday morning early, his lordship went in his barge to the Repulse, wherein Don Pedro was, and, knowing that the said Don Pedro much desired to be on land, having indeed endured much sickness at sea, took him into his barge, and so, with the company of some other boats and pinnaces, came on shore at Portsmouth, before eight of the clock in the morning, where they were received with many shot of great ordnance from the castles, forts, and walls of the town. On the shore stood Sir Lewis Lucas, knight, accompanied with the mayor and officers of the town, ready to receive the said ambassadors, being, as it should seem, appointed so to do by the king and lords of the council. That day every one hastened to get off their luggage from the ships, preparing to go forwards likewise on their way toward London.

The next day, being Sunday, his lordship rested there, went to the church, and heard a sermon publickly.

Monday, his lordship having, as well by means of the king's officers and servants, who were sent for the purpose thither, as by his own care, provided for all necessaries to supply him in his journey towards London, about eleven of the clock, set forward, riding in his carroch, and taking the said Don Pedro along with him; and so came that night to Alton, where they lodged.

Tuesday, the second of July, his lordship rode from Alton, and lodged that night at Guildford, having taken special care, both that Don Pedro, the ambassador lieger, whom his lordship had brought along in company, should be respectively provided for himself, as was fitting; as also all other his followers most plentifully supplied for all necessaries in their travel, and that freely, without charge or expence to any of them.

Wednesday, they rode forward towards Kingston, where the Conde de Villa Mediana and others staid, expecting the coming of the said ambassador; and where also his lordship had bountifully provided for their entertainment in general.

Thursday, his lordship having appointed the Lord Howard of Effingham, and some others of the better sort, to accompany the said ambassador, and the Conde de Villa Mediana to London, he himself, with the rest of his company, rode for Windsor Castle, where as then the king lay, for his pleasure of hunting; who, there presenting themselves to his majesty, were of him most graciously entertained and welcomed. At which time also his lordship received further order from his highness, when he would be pleased to give audience to the said ambassador, and to admit him to his royal presence, according to appointment; which was accordingly performed, at the court at Whitehall, on Sunday, the fourteenth day of the said month of July following.

Now, for that it doth not fully appear by this former relation of his lordship's travel and journey, how honourably and with what respect he and his whole company were received and entertained, ye shall understand, That, first, upon our landing at the Groyne, the governor of Galicia, as is afore rehearsed, and, as it should seem, by direct order from his majesty, upon the former arrival of certain ships, wherein were the horses and other presents, sent from his majesty to the king of Spain, had drawn together much people, and that of the better sort of the whole country, on purpose to make a shew both of the strength of the country, as also to be the more ready to do service, in supplying the English with all necessaries; and, for this purpose also, their greatest care was, that, during our abode there, there might appear no want of any thing. His lordship, as is aforesaid, was lodged in the governor's house, which of itself was very little, and not able to give entertainment to so great a company. Therefore especial care was taken, that every man might, according to his estate, be lodged as conveniently, and as sufficiently, as the place would give leave; the town being much decayed, by reason of the late wars, nor as yet re-edified since the sackage thereof by Sir John Norris, and Sir Francis Drake: But we must acknowledge, that, for the greatest part, every man was lodged there, without exception. The care for lodging was not so much, as was their exceeding care they had for provision, victuals, and viands, to serve the company, that country of Galicia being indeed very mountainous and unfruitful. And therefore, although his lordship was very sufficiently provided for at the governor's house, and that since the room there, being little, could not by any means supply all, order was taken, that, in every house wherein any Englishman lodged, provision of diet was made for him and his servants, at the king's proper cost; wherein of necessity we must observe both the great charge, as also the great care that was taken to supply all necessaries in the best fashion: Notwithstanding which, there was daily provided so large a table, as conveniently could be, for all such knights and gentlemen, as would at their pleasure come to attend and keep his lordship company at meat; this entertainment beginning the first day of our arrival at the Groyne, which was the sixteenth day of April, and continuing all the time of our being in the Groyne, which was till the third of May following: what time we set forward on our land-journey, being then likewise furnished of mules, both for riding and carriage, all upon the king's charge.

The number of mules, sent to his lordship for riding and carriage, were eight hundred, or thereabouts, whereof twenty-four were great ass-mules, of the king's provision, and appointed for his lordship's own carriages; besides the mules for the Spaniards themselves, and their necessaries, which were esteemed above four hundred. The muletteers, to regard these mules, were numbered to be above three hundred.

The company of English were accounted six hundred and fifty. Besides these, the king sent many of every office in court, some with the aposentador, mayor, aforemen-

tioned, as divers others aposentadors, or harbingers; stewards, ushers for the chambers, sewers, and officers for the table; officers of the ewery, pantry, cellar, chaundry; forty of the Spanish guard to serve the table, pastry-cooks, and such like. Every of these being particularly furnished with such necessaries as belonged to his office, as we might well perceive; for that, through the whole journey, they were fain to carry by mules, from place to place, all the said necessaries for their service; as plate, linnen, bedding, hangings, chairs, tables, forms, pastry-boards, kitchen-furniture, racks, spits, pans, and such like; as also most of their provision of meal, wine, oil, vinegar, herbs, fruit, sweet-meats, and such other: Wherein the said officers did so carefully and wisely behave themselves, that it appeared there wanted no will in them, either in care or pains, to give contentment to the whole company of the English. This charge of the king's endured until the return of his lordship to the ships at St Anderas, with very little difference, either of meats or service, at any time. Whether for that the way from the Groyne was by experience found to be both long and ill, his lordship had formerly directed the ships to go there to abide and stay his return, being indeed not above half the way from Valladolid, in comparison of his journey from the Groyne. Both in our going and return, we might well observe how joyful our coming seemed to the common people, both by their manner of behaviour, which was courteous, as also by their speeches, which were most kind; who, for that they found by experience the ill reports made heretofore of our nation altogether untrue, admiring our civility and good behaviour, being clean contrary to that which had been formerly preached unto them by their churchmen and friars, we received that kind congratulation and usage, that was possible for them to give, and us, as strangers and travellers, to receive. Insomuch as well we observed, as we passed, the country had taken exceeding care to make the ways both easy and pleasing for us to pass, digging down hills in many places, and mending the ways with timber, stones, and earth, no doubt, to their great pains and charge.

By which it most plainly appeared, with what joy and comfort they received the peace generally, manifesting the same as well by their deeds as words; and, no doubt, performed much more thankfulness to their king, for procuring it, than they would make shew of joy to us, for obtaining it.

And yet, what words might express, that might we daily hear; for we might observe, how they preached the same in pulpits, and spake of the same, even in their open plays and interludes, making, as they said, many feasts and joys for the blessed peace.

The bounty of the king in gifts, as well to his lordship, as to divers other of his followers, together with the great charge his highness was at, during our abode there, gave us not so good contentment in general, as did the good esteem and behaviour, we found in all, from the highest to the meanest, upon every occasion ministered to them to shew the same, either in particular, or in general: His lordship receiving all very thankfully, and not without a reciprocal shew of his bounty and good-will again, being indeed of his purse not sparing, and (with pardon be it spoken) as liberal, in his degree, as was necessary: whose carriage and behaviour, during the whole journey, being such, and, upon good intelligence, sufficiently known to his majesty, who employed him, and by him is both graciously allowed and accepted; he himself hath cause sufficient of gladness, and no other cause of exception in any sort. So, concluding with the blessing of our Saviour, *Beati Pacifici*, let us pray to Almighty God to make his majesty as careless of war, as he, from time to time, in his great judgment, shall find peace to be necessary; his people and subjects ever obedient to all his designs and appointments, either in war or peace; and his majesty himself blessed with long life, health, and ability to undergo either, as it shall seem best to the Divine Majesty. Amen.

The History of the Gunpowder Treason: Collected from approved Authors, as well Popish as Protestant. [1]

Sæpe Divinitatis opera hæc sunt, et furias in ipso jam successu securas subita ultio excipiat; ne vel unquam improbis timor, vel spes absit calamitosæ virtuti.

Jo. Barclaii Conspiratio Anglicana.

Printed 1678.

It is unnecessary to make farther introduction to this tract, than by saying, that it contains the best and most full account of the memorable event which is the subject. The piece was probably reprinted in 1678, to aggravate the terrors of the pretended Popish plot, which was then the universal subject of attention.

There are no conspiracies and insurrections more dangerous to states and governments, than those, that the name of religion is made to patronise; for, when that doth head and manage the party, as it makes it look somewhat considerable in itself, so it doth inspire those, that are concerned, with a certain furious and intemperate zeal, and an ungovernable violence: They then rebel with authority, and kill with a safe conscience, and think they cannot do amiss, as long as it is to do God service. "The brother will then deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child; and the children will rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death;" and the laws of nature, which are of themselves sacred and inviolable, shall, in such a case, be despised, and lose their authority. This, this is it, which, in these latter ages more especially, hath disturbed governments, disposed of the crowns of princes, and troubled the peace of the world: From hence spring all those mischiefs, that threatened and perpetually alarmed this nation, during the long and fortunate reign of Queen Elisabeth: From hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody design of the Gun-powder Treason, in 1605: Such a design, as the world before never heard of, and which posterity will hardly believe, for the horror of it, say the soberer of their own [2] authors: [3] Such a design, as even some of the Jesuits, after it miscarried, and they saw how ill it was resented by the rest of mankind, professed their detestation of; [4] but how little to their own vindication, and the satisfaction of the world, will easily appear to any one, that doth impartially inquire into the history and the process of it. For this design was not taken up of a sudden, and what

[1] The authors, from whence this narrative hath been collected, are, *Thuanus; Jo. Barclaii Conspiratio Anglicana.* Proceedings against the Traitors, printed in 1606; *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ, Societatis Jesu, Collectore Henrico Moro*, printed at St Omers, 1660. *Andreæ Eudæmon-Joannis Apologia pro Garnetto. Rob. Abboti Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Joannis. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu.*

[2] Thuanus. Barclay. Rog. Widdrington, in his Apolog. *pro Jure Principum*, p. 1.

[3] All catholic princes, even the king of Spain himself, sent to congratulate James upon his escape from this treason.

[4] Mori Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Præfat.

a small company of rash and hot-headed persons did without consideration attempt, [2] but what proceeded from the same original, and was carried on by the same counsels and endeavours, that were in being in the time of Queen Elisabeth; the principals in which, for their time, were, Garnet, [3] the provincial of the Jesuits in England, Baldwin in Flanders, [3] and Creswel [4] in Spain: These were the great projectors and encouragers of that which was called the Spanish Treason, in the last year of Queen Elisabeth; and which when defeated in by her death, and the peace that issued upon it betwixt the crowns of England and Spain, they were put upon new counsels, and forced to take other measures for the prosecution of it.

It was in December, in the year 1601, that Thomas Winter [5] was sent into Spain, by the joint advice of Henry Garnet and Oswald Tesmond, [6] Jesuits, and of Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham, gentlemen of good quality and reputation, to try what could be done for their assistance, that were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the catholick cause; and to assure the king of Spain, that, could they but prevail with him to send over an army, they would have in readiness fifteen hundred, or two thousand horses for the service. With Winter was sent over Oswald Tesmond, and by them a letter to Creswel, the Jesuit, then residing there; by whose mediation the motion was readily hearkened to, and Don Pedro Francesa, second secretary of state, and the duke of Lerma, did assure them of the king's furtherance and help; and, in the conclusion, the count of Miranda particularly told them, that his master had resolved to bestow 200,000 crowns to that use, half to be paid that year, and the rest the next following; and that, at spring, he would, without fail, set footing in England.

About the latter end of the year, Thomas Winter returns with this joyful news, and they were now busy in preparing for it, and almost every day expecting the arrival of these forces, when of a sudden all was dashed by the death of Queen Elisabeth, which was March the twenty-fourth, 1602. Upon this, one of the Wrights is immediately dispatched into Spain, to give the king notice of it; and about the same time was Guy Fawkes sent, with letters and commission, from Sir William Stanley, [7] Hugh Owen, and Baldwin the Jesuit; (who were then in Flanders, and ready to attend and to prosecute the same design,) but that king told them, that he was now otherwise resolved, and it became him not to hearken to such proposals, after he had sent ambassadors to the new king of England to treat of a peace. It was now, therefore, fit either to let their design fall, or to betake themselves to some other course to effect it: but the former their temper and their principles would not permit; and therefore, since they could not promise

[2] The attorney general, Sir Edward Coke, stated it to be the wish of many to represent the conspirators as mere desperadoes, *sine religione, sine sede, sine fide, sine spe et sine re.*

[3] Henry Garnet was born in Yorkshire, in 1555, and educated at Winchester school, where he became a *Præpositor;* and he is said to have impeded his being sent to Oxford, by infamous vices. He became a Jesuit in 1575, and distinguished himself by his active violence against Queen Elizabeth, and was Superior of the English Jesuits, but accepted a pardon under the Great Seal, upon the accession of James I. He was deep in the mystery of the Gunpowder Treason, as appears from future passages in this tract, and suffered death for it, 3d May, 1606.

[3] William Baldwin, residing in Flanders. When peace was made with Spain, James demanded that this priest should be delivered up to him, but the request was evaded.

[4] Arthur, or, as he chose to call himself, Joseph Cresswell, was the only person, according to Sir Edward, who ever changed his christian name. He was a sort of resident envoy, or *leiger* at the court of Madrid, in behalf of the English Catholics; and was so much enamoured of the Gunpowder plot, that he ventured himself in England to witness the result, but escaped abroad, and died at Ghent, in 1634.

[5] Thomas Winter was a man of good family, an approved soldier, and an excellent engineer. The plan of a Spanish invasion being defeated by a peace between the crowns of Spain and England, he was about to forsake his country for ever, when Percy sent for him, and engaged him, as well as his brother Robert, in the conspiracy.

[6] Otherwise called Greenwell; even after the plot was discovered, he exerted his influence to invite the catholics to a rising.

[7] Stanley deserted in Flanders with his whole regiment to the Catholic service, and delivered up Deventer to the Spaniards.

themselves success therein by force, they did contrive how, without any noise, or visible and open preparations, it might be obtained.

That a king or queen, who is an heretick, may be deposed or killed, was current doctrine amongst them, in the time of Queen Elisabeth, and what they had been taught from Father Creswel, or whoever was the author of the book called Philopater,[1] and by Tresham, in his book, *De Officio hominis Christiani,*[2] found with them about this time. And, though the king was not formally declared and proceeded against, as such, yet it was thought sufficient, by them, that the pope, on Maundy-Thursday, did censure and condemn all heretics in the general, as Guy Fawkes and others of them did confess; and therefore the question was not so much about the lawfulness of it, as about the order that was to be observed, and the way that was fit to be taken in it. Catesby,[3] who was no novice in these affairs, and that, from his acquaintance with Parsons, when in England, and Garnet, and the other Jesuits (to whose order he and his family, from Campion down to this time, were particularly devoted) had learned great skill and subtlety, quickly contrived this for them; and, when Percy, who was of the house of Northumberland, and at that time one of the king's pensioners,[4] according to the bluntness of his temper, did offer himself for the service, and that he would, without any more ado, undertake to assassinate the king, this wary gentleman replied: That would be too dear a purchase, when his own life would be hazarded in it; and it was unnecessary, when it might as well be accomplished without it; and so acquaints him in part with what was intended.[5]

Before this was fit to be fully communicated, he thought it necessary, that there should be some care taken to oblige all to secrecy; for which purpose, an oath was devised, that every one should take, and which was accordingly administered to them by Gerard the Jesuit. The oath was:

"You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave."

[1] A book written by Cresswell to prove the lawfulness of rising against an heretic prince. Sir Edward Coke, in his charge against the conspirators, quotes the following passage: "Hinc enim infert universa Theologorum ac Jurisconsultorum Ecclesiasticorum schola (et est certum et de fide) quemcunque Principem Christianum, si à Religione Catholica manifesto diflexerit, et alios avocare voluerit, excidere statim omni potestate ac dignitate, ex ipsa vi juris tum humani tum divini, hocque antedictam sententiam supremi pastoris ac judicis contra ipsum prolatam, et subditos quoscunque liberos esse ab omni juramenti obligatione, quod de obedientia tanquam Principi legitimo præstitissent; posseque et debere (si vires habeant) istius modi hominem tanquam Apostatam, Hæreticum, ac Christi Domini Desertorem et Reipub. suæ inimicum hostemque ex hominum Christianorum dominatu ejicere, ne alios inficiat, vel suo exemplo aut imperio à fide avertat. Atque hæc est certa, definita et indubitata virorum doctissimorum sententia."

[2] A work composed by Francis Tresham, the conspirator, for the same purpose with that called Philopater, as appears from the following extract: "Si Princeps Hæreticus sit, et obstinate ac pertinaciter intolerabilis, summi Pastoris divina potestate deponatur, et aliud caput constituatur, cui subditi se jungant, et legitimo Ordine et Authoritate amoveant. Princeps indulgendo Hæreticis non solum Deum offendit, sed perdit et Regnum et gentem." *De Officio Principis*, cap. 5.

[3] Catesby is called by the attorney general, *bono subacto et versuto ingenio et profunda perfidia.*

[4] According to Osborne's Memoirs of King James, Thomas Percy was so acceptable to the king, that he had lain for many nights in his chamber. His kinsman, Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, was a warm friend to the succession of King James, and had employed Thomas Percy in negotiating for his interest among the English Catholics. The agent fulfilled, and probably exceeded his commission, in holding forth to the Papists hopes of toleration, or at least of connivance, beyond what James found it convenient to fulfil upon his accession to the throne; and Percy, rendered desperate by the reproaches of his party, resolved to evince his own zeal, and punish the king's breach of faith, by an act of assassination.

[5] His words were, "No, Tom, thou shalt not adventure thyself to so small purpose; if thou wilt be a traitor, there is a plot to greater advantage, and such a one as can never be discovered." *State Trials*, Vol. I. p. 253.

This was taken, and the sacrament upon it received by Catesby, Percy, Christopher Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes,[1] in May 1604.

Upon which, Catesby communicated the whole, and told them, that, at the meeting of the parliament, which now drew on, they would have a fair opportunity to consummate all their wishes, and without being observed or discovered, by one fatal blow to destroy the king, the prince, the duke, and the parliament at once; for, as long as there were those branches of the royal family remaining, to what purpose would it be to make away the king? And, as long as there was a parliament in being, what should they get, if they could not as well destroy the branches, as the root? Therefore his design was to extirpate at once all the seeds of heresy, and, by a train of powder conveniently laid under the house, in which at that time they should all be assembled, to blow them up and their cause together. This was what the confederates very well approved of, and now they united counsels and endeavours to carry it on.[2]

The first thing to be considered was the hiring of the house, and this Percy undertook; and having, not without some difficulty, persuaded the present tenant, Ferris, to quit it, he became immediate tenant to Whinyard, keeper of the wardrobe; at whose disposal it was, in the intervals of parliament. The house was committed to the care of Fawkes, as being least known; who, the better to conceal himself, changed his name to Johnson, and gave himself out to be Percy's servant. Whilst they were thus busy in contriving and carrying on their plot, the parliament was prorogued till February the seventh, upon which they dispersed themselves into several countries; but, to lose no time, *did* think of taking in some other persons, whom they might confide in, and expect some help from. Catesby was sensible, that he had given Thomas Bates, a servant of his, that attended him, too great cause of suspicion; and upon examination found him to have observed somewhat from his proceedings, and therefore invited him into the undertaking; but he, somewhat surprised at the horror of it, began to decline it, till his master referred him for advice to Tesmond; unto whom imparting it in confession, the subtle priest both invited him to it, as a work of great merit, and obliged him to secrecy and fidelity therein. Then were Robert Keyes,[3] and the other Wright, gentlemen, and Ambrose Rockwood, and John Grant, and Robert Winter, esquires, admitted into the number. In Michaelmas-term they met again, and then they thought fit to provide a storehouse for the timber which they should use in the mine that they intended to make, and for the powder and other materials; from whence they might fetch it, as occasion served. And such a place they found and took at Lambeth. December the eleventh, they began to work; but, what from the difficulty of the work, (the wall, that they were to make their way through, being three ells thick) what from their want of skill in it, and of being used to such kind of labour, they found that their time would be too short for their enterprise, and they began to despair of success in it.[4] But, when

[1] Guido, or Guy Fawkes, whose name has become inseparably connected with the conspiracy, was a gentleman born, and an officer in the Spanish service. The traitors sent for him from Flanders, as a person little known in London, who might therefore assume the disguise of a servant, without risque of discovery; and as well qualified, by his resolved and desperate temper, to put the last hand to the tragedy, by firing the fatal train.

[2] It is very probable that the idea of using gun-powder was suggested by the fate of Henry Darnly, King James's father, blown up in the Kirk of Field, at Edinburgh. It is singular how nearly the son escaped a fate similar, though so very uncommon.

[3] A man of desperate estate and fortune, concerning whose demeanour the following story is told in Fuller's Church History: "A few days before the fatal blow should have been given, Keies, being at Tichmarsh, in Northamptonshire, at his brother-in-law's house, Mr Gilbert Pickering, a protestant, he suddenly whipped out his sword, and in merriment made many offers therewith at the heads, necks, and sides of several gentlemen and ladies then in his company: it was then taken for a mere frolic, and so passed accordingly; but afterwards, when the treason was discovered, such as remembered his gestures, thought he practised what he intended to do when the plot should take effect; that is, to hack and hew, kill and destroy, all eminent persons of a different religion from himself."

[4] They carried baked meat into the vault, for their support, and were provided with arms, and resolved to defend themselves to extremity, in case of detection. The labour was very severe.

under this irresolution and discouragement, their hopes were revived by two unexpected accidents: For, first, the parliament was adjourned to the fifth of October following; by which means they should have time before them. And, then, they had an opportunity of hiring a vault much more for their turn, than the mine which they had so long employed themselves in. This they came to the knowledge of, upon this occasion: As they were one day busy at their work, they were not a little frighted by an unusual noise on the other side of the wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and to betake themselves to their weapons with a resolution of dying upon the place. But Fawkes, who was sent out to make discovery, returns with joy to tell them that it was only the removing of coals, that were laid in the adjoining vault or cellar, which was now to be let. This they presently hire; thither they brought their stores. By this means they gained a double advantage: First, that their business was brought into a less room, which was more for their ease and safety; and, then, that they were rid of their hard, and, but upon such a cause, to them intolerable labour; for this was a mine, as it were, already, and what was so well situated by its being almost under the royal throne, that they could not have chose any thing more commodious. And now they were at leisure, not so much to think of this design (for that was brought to its head, and what they reckoned themselves sure of) as how to carry on the other part of it. The king and Prince Henry, they did not doubt, would fall in this common calamity; but the duke, being but four years old, they thought, would be absent; of him, therefore, Percy took the charge, and said, he would attend about the chamber till the blow was given, and then in a trice conveigh him away, with the help of two or three, that should be ready on horseback: Which they might the more easily do, as many of the court would be that day upon attendance, and perish with the rest; and the others would by it be put into confusion, and unprovided to make any opposition.[1] As for the Lady Elisabeth, she might be reserved, and her name made use of by them in stilling and composing the minds of the people, and for making good whatever they thought fit to use her authority in; and her they might the more easily gain into their hands, as she was now at the Lord Harrington's, at Comb-Abbey in Warwickshire, whereabouts they might securely be, under the pretence of an hunting-match, and with the first news there surprize her.

In the mean time, was care taken to give notice to those abroad, whom they might trust; and, in March 1605, is Fawkes sent over to Sir William Stanley and Hugh Owen, and with letters from Garnet to Baldwin, the legier jesuit in Flanders. Sir William was absent, but, having first administered the oath of secrecy to Owen, he acquaints him with the plot; who promised to give his utmost assistance, and to dispose Sir William to it, whom he thought it not fit, for the present, to communicate it to, for fear he might be discovered, and fail in a design that he was then about, in the court of England.[2]

To the twenty barrels of powder, laid in at first, they added, in July, twenty more with bars of iron and massy stones, and at the last made up the number thirty-six; over which they laid a thousand billets and five-hundred faggots. And at a meeting at the Bath of Percy and Catesby, it was agreed, that Catesby should take in whom he thought fit; who thereupon engaged Sir Everard Digby, that promised to advance fifteen-hundred pounds towards it; and Mr Francis Tresham, that gave him assurance of two-thousand pounds.

[1] An eminence at Hampstead is still called Traitors Hill, because the conspirators were to assemble there, and watch the effect of the explosion.

[2] A negotiation for obtaining his pardon. Perhaps the conspirators doubted, that, as Sir William had betrayed Deventer to the Spaniards, contrary to his oath and allegiance, he might succumb under the temptation of insuring his peace, and so inform James of the treason.

All things thus being in a readiness, the parliament was again prorogued till the fifth of November; upon which they retired, with a promise of meeting about ten days before: at which time, Catesby being informed by Winter, at a house by Enfield-chace, that the prince was not likely to be present with the king, there was another plot laid to surprise him, if it should so happen.

The time drew very near, and they, that had past so long without discovery, seemed now to be above the fear of it. All things had so happily concurred to further their design, and they had all approved themselves to be so trusty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage their success, than to fear it. But God, that had a reserve of favour for us, and that doth delight in catching the wise in their own craftiness, suffered them to proceed thus far in it, that the detection and overthrow of it might appear to be more from his than man's providence. When Catesby first thought of this, the great difficulty, with him, was about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty; for the blow would know no difference betwixt a catholic and an heretic, betwixt a friend or foe. When the nobles and the commons, those that were a part of that assembly, and those that came to be auditors and spectators only; those that were within, and those that were without the house; when no less than thirty-thousand must perish at once by it, (as Barclay saith it was computed,) it must needs be, that many, whom they wished well to, and that also (if they knew it) would wish well to their cause, must be part of the sacrifice. What an havoc would thirty-six barrels, or nine or ten thousand pounds, of powder make, loaded thus with bars of iron, massy stones, and great pieces of timber? how would it tear the foundations of the strongest buildings, throw down all the tops of the neighbouring houses, and bury all within the ruins of both? What would become of their friends and allies, those that they had received much kindness from; and others, who neither did, nor knew how to do them an injury? How many families must they undo, by the loss of relations, estates, and records which were there deposited? This, and much more, was what they well foresaw, and what they could not foresee without some kind of horror, if they had but one spark of humanity left untouched by their unnatural religion. What must therefore be done? To whom should he resort for counsel, but to his fast friend, father Garnet? To him he opens the case, (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it,) after this manner:

"Whether, for the good and promotion of the catholic cause, (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring,) it be lawful, or not, amongst many nocents, to destroy and take away some innocents also?"

To which the jesuit replies, "that, if the advantage was greater, on the side of the catholics, by the destruction of the innocent with the nocent, than by the preservation of both, it was doubtless lawful:" further explaining himself by this comparison: "that if, at the taking of a town possessed by the enemy, there happen to be some friends, they must undergo the fortune of war, and the general and common destruction of the enemy."

With this answer Catesby was satisfied, and with this answer he satisfied others; telling them it was the resolution of the case given by the provincial.[1]

But yet, though this did thus compose their minds, and what they were generally satisfied with, yet there wanted not one that, having a kindness for the Lord Monteagle, eldest son to the Lord Morley, sent this note to him, by the hands of one of his footboys, that was abroad in the evening of the Saturday was se'night before the appointed time for the meeting of the parliament.

[1] William Parker.

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I beare to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickednes of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your own country, where you may expect the event in safety: for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you shall have burned this letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it: to whose holy protection I commend you."

The letter was without date or subscription; and the hand, in which it was writ, was hardly legible, and the contents of it so perplexed, that the lord knew as little what to make of it, as whence it came: But yet, however, since it respected more than himself, he thought not fit to conceal it, and presently repaired to Whitehall, and put it into the hands of the Earl of Salisbury, principal secretary of state. The Earl commended the lord for his care and fidelity, and told him, that though there seemed to be little in it, yet, because of the reports he had received from abroad, that the papists this session of parliament would be very busy and insolent in their demands for toleration, upon some prospect they had of being in a condition to command it: and also that, because nothing, that concerned the safety of his majesty, and peace of his government, ought to be slighted, he would advise with others of his majesty's council about it. Accordingly, he shewed it to the lord-chamberlain, (to whom it particularly belonged to visit all places, where his majesty either lived, or to which he did resort,) to the lord high admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton; who all were of the same mind with the secretary, and concluded it fit to deliver it to the king at his return from Royston, when he came from hunting, and from whence he was expected the Thursday following.

On the next day after his return, the earl presented him with it, and told him how it came to his hands. After the reading of it, the king made a pause, and then, reading it again, said, that there seemed somewhat in it extraordinary, and what was by no means to be neglected. The earl replied, that it seemed to him to be written by a fool, or a madman; for who else could be guilty of saying, "the danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter?" For what danger could there be in that, which the burning of the letter would put an end to? But the king considering the smartness of the stile, and, withal, what was said before, "that they should receive a terrible blow, and yet should not see who hurt them," did conclude, as he was walking and musing in the gallery, that the danger must be sudden, and like the blowing up by gunpowder; for what else could the parliament be in danger of? or, what rebellion and insurrection could there be, and yet there be no appearance of stir therein? Or, how could they be otherwise hurt, and not see who hurt them? And, as for the phrase, which the secretary particularly offered at, he said, to him it seemed to be of a quite different signification, and that thereby was to be understood the suddenness and quickness of it, which should as soon, or as quickly, be done, as that paper might be burnt.[1] Doubt-

[1] King James's acuteness upon this occasion was by the courtiers and sycophants elevated almost into the effect of divine inspiration. Doubtless fear is a great sharpener of the apprehension, and the king was moreover skilled in the doctrine of the schoolmen, an excellent study for acquiring the art of verbal criticism. It is worthy of notice, that in Cecil's Letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, 9th November 1605, he makes no mention of the king's sagacity, but seems to say, that the Earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, and he himself, were the interpreters of the mysterious letter. See WINWOOD's *Memorials*, Vol. II. page 171. Osborne appears altogether to disbelieve the story of the letter, and avers their conjecture most probable, who supposed intimation of the conspiracy to have been given by the French ambassador. But, independently of this writer's prejudices, his im-

less this was the sense of it, and what he that wrote it did intend, who was no fool, as appears by the other parts of the letter; and yet the discovery of it was extraordinary, being against the common construction, far from what any other did apprehend by it; and therefore it is what even some of the adverse party have looked upon, as God's inspiration.[1] So John Barclay intitles his little book, that he wrote about it, *Series patefacti divinitus parricidii*, &c. And Spondanus, ann. 1605. § 8. saith of the king, that *divinitus evasit*.

The secretary admired the king's great sagacity; and though he seemed to differ from him, whilst in his presence, yet presently conferred with the lords about it, and on Saturday it was resolved, that the houses and rooms thereabouts should be searched. The care of this was committed to the lord chamberlain, who was appointed on Monday to make the search; which accordingly he did, that evening, being accompanied with the Lord Monteagle, that was very desirous of seeing the event. Having viewed this house, they found in a vault under ground, great store of billets, faggots, and coal, brought thither, (as Mr Whinyard told them,) for the use of Mr Percy, and espied Fawkes standing in a corner of the cellar, who said, that he was Mr Percy's servant, and left there by him for the keeping of his house. Upon the naming of Percy, the Lord Monteagle told the chamberlain, that he now vehemently suspected Mr Percy to be the author of that letter, both from his inclination to the Romish religion, and the intimacy that had been betwixt them. How true that lord's conjecture was, I know not, (for bishop Goodman, in his answer to Sir Anthony Weldon's court of King James, saith, that Tresham sent it.) But that circumstance, with what they had discovered, so much increased the suspicion, that, when all was reported by the lord chamberlain to the king, in the presence of the lord-admiral, lord-treasurer, the earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, it was resolved, that farther search should be made, what was under that great pile of fewel, in such a house, where Percy had so little occasion to reside. But, what for avoiding the report of too much credulity, and easiness to receive informations of that kind; what from the care of doing any thing that might redound to the blemish of the earl of Northumberland, whose near relation and great confident this Thomas Percy was, it was resolved to do it under the pretence of making inquisition for some of the king's hangings, that were stolen out of Whinyard's custody. Sir Thomas Knevet, one of the king's privy-chamber, was employed in it, being a person in public office, as a justice of peace, and of great prudence. At midnight he repaired thither, and found Fawkes standing at the door, booted and spurred, whom he presently apprehended. Then, proceeding, he first lighted upon one of the smaller, and after discovered the rest of the barrels; upon which, causing Fawkes to be searched, he found about him three matches, a tinder-box, and a dark lanthorn.[2]

peachment of the common story rests on two very inconsistent propositions. First, Osborne conjectures the letter to Lord Morley (Mounteagle) to have been a device of Cecil to fetch him into the plot, as having a desire to his estate, or quarrel to his person; and, 2dly, he disbelieves the communication, because Lord Mounteagle received no remarkable favour from the court; as if that ought to have the natural consequence of a plot which Cecil had laid for his destruction. According to Wilson, Lord Mounteagle was rewarded with a gift of 200l. yearly to him and his heirs, and an annuity for life of 500l. besides.

[1] Guy Fawkes was of a different opinion. He said, God would have concealed, but the devil discovered the conspiracy. *Vide infra.*

[2] The particulars of the apprehension of this resolute villain are thus narrated by Stowe:—"Sir Thomas Knevet, gentleman of the kinges privie chamber, was selected for that businesse, accompanied with a small number fit for that imployment, went the next midnight, and comming before the entry of the howse, spied Percie's pretended servant standing without the doore, booted and spurred, apprehended him, and having removed some billets and coals, found one of the small barrels of powder, and after that all the rest, being 36 in number, small and great, with other instruments fit for that purpose.

"And, upon the hearing of some noyse, Sir T. Knevet required Mr Edmond Doubleday, esquire, to go up into the chamber to understand the cause thereof; the which hee did, and had there some speech with Fawkes,

Being thus taken in the fact, he both confessed and defended it; adding, "that, if he had happened to be within the house, as he was without, he would, by putting fire to the train, have put an end to their enquiry." Sir Thomas, having had such happy success, immediately returns with joy to the palace, and acquaints the lord-chamberlain and earl of Salisbury with it, who went to the king's bed-chamber; and, with as much haste as joy, the chamberlain told the king, that all was discovered, and the traitor in safe custody. This was about four of the clock in the morning. As soon as the council met, (who were immediately sent for,) the prisoner was taken into examination, and, to the amazement of all, appeared no more dashed by their presence, or the questions put to him, or the condition that he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent; declaring, "that he was not at all sorry for what he had designed, but only that he failed in the execution of it; and that the devil, and not God, was the discoverer." So pertinacious and resolute was he, that he would not own any accomplices, but that he alone was the contriver, and should have been the sole executer of it; and that he was induced to this for conscience-sake, as the king, (being an heretic,) was not his lawful sovereign, but an usurper. Thus stout and resolute did he continue, till he was brought to the Tower, and shewed the rack; upon the sight of which he began to relent, and, after some days examination, disclosed the whole.[1]

The news of this discovery flew like lightning. It was what rejoiced the heart of every good subject, and daunted that of the rebels; and therefore those of them, that were in town, no sooner heard of it, but they betook themselves to flight.

Catesby was gone the night before towards the place appointed for their rendezvous; and Percy set forward at four of the clock in the morning, much about the time that the discovery was made. But one of the Winters, and the two Wrights that had staid behind, staid to hear of their defeat and disappointment; and so made all the haste they could to overtake and meet their confederates, that they might consult what was to be done in so great an exigence.

In the mean time, there was nothing wanting on their part, who were to contribute their endeavours in the country. Sir Everard Digby came to Dunchurch, according to appointment; and so confident were they of success above, that one Grant, a gentleman in those parts, on Monday night, much about the time that Fawkes was apprehended, with other of his associates, broke open the stables of one Benock, a rider of great horses, and took away all that he found for their own service; and with them they repaired to the rest. But all their hopes were soon blasted by the sad news, which they quickly received from those that had made their escape. Desperation begets resolu-

being therewithall very desirous to searche and see what instruments Fawkes had about him; but Fawkes, being wondrous unwilling to be searched, very violently griped M. Doubleday by his fingers of the left hand, through paine whereof M. Doubleday offered to draw his dagger to have stabbed Fawkes, but sodainely better bethought himself, and did not; yet in the heate he strucke up the traytor's heeles, and therewithall fell uppon him, and searched him, and in his pocket found his garters, wherewith M. Doubleday and others that assisted him, they bound him. There was also found in his pocket a piece of touchwood, a tinder-box to light the touchwood, and a watch, which Percy and Fawkes had bought the day before, to try conclusions for the long or short burning of the touchwood, which he had prepared to give fier to the trayne of powder."—STOWE's *Chronicle*, p. 878.

[1] It is said that his confession was obtained by informing him of a particular branch of the plot which had been for obvious reasons carefully concealed from him by his brethren in conspiracy. It had been projected to cast the odium of the assassination upon the puritans in this manner: Mr Pickering of Tichmarsh Grove, a noted puritan, had a horse well known for figure and speed. This horse was brought to London by Keyes, brother-in-law of Pickering, and one of the conspirators. When the train was fired, Fawkes was to retire to St George's Field, where this fleet steed was to stand prepared as if for his escape. But in reality the other conspirators intended to murder him there, and having defaced his body, they were to pass it for that of Pickering, who, having blown up the parliament, was about to escape on his swift horse, but had been slain by some faithful subjects. Thus it was hoped to turn the odium of the plot on the fanatics. When this was told to Fawkes, incensed to see his death was schemed by his friends, he instantly told all he knew. The story, however, seems apocryphal.

tion; and now they are lost, as well as their cause, if they do not speedily find out a remedy; and therefore, with all the haste they could, they dispatched some to call in others to their assistance, and to represent to them the greatness of the danger, that they, and their religion is in, unless they appear in its defence. This Tesmond, (alias Greenwel,[1]) the jesuit, did particularly concern himself in exhorting all to take up arms, and to unite their forces; and for this purpose rode as far as Lancashire.[2] This riding to and fro made a noise in the country, and awakened the people; the loss of Benock's horses came quickly to the ears of some of those gentlemen, that had put them into his hands to manage and fit them for their service. And, for one reason or another, the country was presently up in arms, and upon pursuit of them.

Some of them were taken prisoners, and others of them pursued, by Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, to the borders of that county; but they kept on their course, till they came to Holbeach, in Staffordshire, the house of Stephen Littleton; thither Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, followed them, and, by his trumpeters, commanded them, in the king's name, to surrender; assuring them, that, upon their so doing, he would intercede with the king for them, and doubted not to obtain their pardon. But they, that were conscious to themselves of more than he understood, (for the news had not yet spread so far, nor the king's proclamations, though sent after them, had not yet overtaken them,) bid him defiance, and sent him word, that he must have a greater force, than what he had then the command of, to reduce them. But, whilst the one was preparing for the assault, and the other for their defence, God himself seemed to decide the quarrel; for, by the same means which they contrived to destroy others, they themselves came to suffer: for, having laid some powder to dry before the fire, a coal, upon the mending of it, flew into the pan, and set fire to the rest; thereby not only blowing up part of the roof, and a bag of powder of seventeen or eighteen pounds, that they underset the pan with, which was carried unfired into the court, but so wounding Catesby, Percy, Rockwood, and several of the conspirators, that they were unable to make any further defence.[3] By this time also fire was set to the house, and their case grew so desperate, that they opened the doors, and exposed themselves to the weapons and fury of the people. The three principal of them, *viz.* Catesby, Percy, and Winter, joined back to back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one shot;[4] Catesby dying upon the spot, and Percy not outliving him above two or three days. The two Wrights were slain at the same time; Digby, Rockwood, Thomas Winter, Grant, and Bates, were taken prisoners, and sent up to London; Robert Winter and Littleton endeavoured to conceal themselves in the woods, but were afterwards taken, and committed to the Tower. Tresham continued in London, and seemed ready to find out the traitors, and by that means thought at first to remain undiscovered; but, being suspected, he was afterwards searched for, and apprehended, and sent to the same place.[5] Thus suddenly was that design discovered, which had been so long concealed; thus suddenly was it broken, which they had been some years in contriving: therein verifying that of the psalmist: "The ungodly are sunk down into the pit that they made; in the net, which they hid, is their

[1] Otherwise called Greenway.

[2] He severely censured Hall, *alias* Oldcorne, a brother of the same order, for his timidity on the occasion, calling him a phlegmatic fellow.

[3] This was noticed as a remarkable and providential circumstance. Enough of the powder blew up to disable the conspirators, and yet leave them alive. Had the larger quantity exploded, all must have perished, and the plan of the conspiracy would have been buried with those engaged in it.

[4] It was fired by one John Street of Worcester, who had loaded his piece with two balls, and resting it upon a wall, fired at the conspirators as they rushed out on their desperate sally. One ball killed Catesby, and Percy was mortally wounded by the other. The king granted Street a pension of two shillings a-day for his life, payable out of the exchequer.

[5] He died in the Tower of a strangury.

own foot taken. The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth; the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands."

These persons thus apprehended were carefully examined, (in the doing of which were spent twenty-three days,) and from their several confessions was drawn sufficient matter not only for their own condemnation, but also for the detection of others.

The most considerable of which was Garnet, the provincial of the Jesuits, Hall, Greenwel, Gerard, and Hammond, priests of the same order. The respect that Garnet had to the reputation of their society, and his own safety, had made him to act with so great caution, that he would willingly converse with none about this matter, but those that were of his own order, or Catesby his trusty friend; and, therefore, much of the evidence against him fell with that conspirator. But yet there appeared such presumptions by the acknowledgment of the rest that were taken, and letters that were found, that there was a proclamation issued out, for the apprehension of him and his brethren, declaring it treason for any to harbour and conceal them. Garnet, when the time drew near, and all things were ripe for their design, took a journey to Coulton in Warwickshire, not far from the place of the general rendezvous, where he preached a sermon, and in which he exhorted his auditors to pray for the success of a great action, to be undertaken in the behalf of the catholics, at the beginning of the parliament, as is acknowledged by his apologist,[1] and was confessed by Hall, alias Oldcorn. Whilst at that place he received a letter, November the sixth, from Catesby, to let him know that their design had miscarried, and to desire him that he would use his interest in stirring up the catholics in Wales, to arm and defend themselves. But the wary jesuit provided for his own safety, and, sending Greenwel to them for their assistance and direction, he himself with Hall fled to Mr Abington's house, at Henlip in Worcestershire, where Hall had found a safe retreat for sixteen years together, as an author[2] of theirs informs us. There they lay concealed for some time, but at the last were discovered to be in that place by Littleton, one of the conspirators, as the same author relates, pag. 314, who further saith, that, though the help of carpenters and bricklayers was used, yet they were many days before they could find them out, being in a vault, the way to which was in an upper room, through the half-pace before the hearth, whose wooden border was made like a trap-door, to pluck up and down, and then the bricks were laid in their courses and order again, as we are told by an author of our own.[3]

Hence they were brought to London, and committed to the Tower.

On January the twenty-seventh, the other prisoners were brought to their tryal at Guild hall. The prisoners arraigned were Robert Winter, Esq. Thomas Winter, gent. Guy Fawkes, gent. John Grant, esq. Ambrose Rockwood, esq. Robert Keyes, gent. and Thomas Bates, servant to Catesby. By another indictment was arraigned Sir Everard Digby.

They generally acknowledged the fact, and spake little in their own vindication. Rockwood pleaded, "That it was the intire affection he had for Mr Catesby, which drew him in; and he hoped, as it was his first fact, some mercy would be shewed him." Sir Everard said the same with respect to Catesby, and added, "That he had undertaken it for the zeal which he had to the catholick religion, which he was ready to sacrifice all for; and to prevent those calamities, which he understood that the parliament was prepared to bring upon them of his persuasion." Keyes said, "That his fortunes were sunk, and as good now as at another time, and for this cause rather than another."

They seemed resolved to vindicate the Jesuits, or, at least, to say nothing against them; whether it were that they were not allowed to discourse of the plot with any but such and such particular persons, or whether it were that they thought it to be

[1] *Eudem. Joannis Apologia pro Garneto*, pag. 265. [2] *Hen. Mori Historia Missionis Anglicanæ*, pag. 333. [3] Fowlis's Romish Treasons, pag. 608.

highly meritorious; and this last seems to be not unlikely. When Tresham, not above three hours before his death, in the Tower, did declare upon his salvation, that he had not seen Garnet in sixteen years before; whereas it appeared, both by the confession of Garnet, and Mrs Anne Vaux, Garnet's bosom-friend, that they had been frequently together the two last years past.

On the Thursday following, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Bates, were, according to judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the west end of St Paul's church. And on the Friday, the other four, viz. Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rockwood, and Fawkes, were executed in the palace-yard at Westminster.

Now were Garnet and Hall had in examination, and that several times, from the first of February to March the twenty-sixth. In all which Garnet shewed by the wiliness of his answers, and the confidence he maintained them with, that he deserved the place of Provincial of the Jesuits, being so well versed in all the practices of his Society, that few could exceed him.

The King from the first was resolved to forbear the severity of the rack, much practised in other countries, in the examination of notorious and perverse criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident author[1] of their own, that Garnet was kept waking six days and nights together, to bring him by that new kind of torment (as he calls it) to a confession of his crime; and that Hall was put to extreme torture for sixteen hours space together in the Tower, for the same reason. But[2] a greater than he, one of their own persuasion,[3] doth assure us, that the King, to avoid calumny, did purposely forbear any thing of that kind of rigour, and Garnet himself did publickly own at his tryal, that he had been used, whilst in prison, with great lenity. We know not what effect the rack might have had upon him, for that was a way of tryal he had not been exercised in; but that course which they took, by frequent and cross examinations, by expostulations, and arguments, he was so much a master of, that, in all the twenty-three days spent in it, they would have gained but little information, had they not had some greater advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by others, he had been much more secure, and they more at a loss. And, therefore, to prevent any misunderstanding betwixt him and the others in custody, that their answers might not be inconsistent or repugnant, he writes both to Hall and Mrs Vaux,[4] to let them know after what manner he thought to excuse or defend himself, and what replies to make to some particular enquiries; as if he should be charged with his prayer for the good success of a great action, &c. he would say, it was for the prevention of those severe laws, which those of their church expected would be made against them by that parliament.[5] But it happened that these letters, that were writ by him, came into other

[1] *Historia Missionis Anglican.* pag. 315. 334. [2] Thuanus, An. 1606.

[3] Not Jesuitical, but only Popish.

[4] Mrs Anne Vaux, or Fawkes, probably a relation of the conspirator, was an especial friend of Garnet, and it would seem, from circumstances in his trial, in some degree privy to the gun-powder treason. At his death, Garnet seemed anxious to clear her from a report "that she should be married to him, or worse; and protested that she was a virtuous gentlewoman, and, for him, a pure virgin." Fowlis, however, in his History of Popish Treasons, affirms, that she went by the name of Anne Garnet; and Robert Winter confessed, that they cohabited together publicly at Henlip, in Worcester-shire.

[5] It was urged against Garnet, that upon All Souls day, he caused his congregation to sing the following ancient hymn;—

"Gentem auferte perfidam
Credentium de finibus;
Ut Christo laudes debitas
Persolvamus alacriter."

But he denied that it had any reference to the conspiracy, alleging that it only concerned the success of the catholic religion in general. He seems to have recommended a similar evasion to Hall.

hands than those he intended them for, and did him a worse injury than any account that his sworn friends could have likely given of the same actions, though disagreeing with his. And indeed herein his adversaries did outwit him, and worsted him at his own weapons. For, when they perceived that he obstinately persisted in the defence of his innocency, they took another course to find him out: First, a person was employed as a keeper, that should profess himself to be a Roman catholick, and that should take a great liberty to complain of the King's severity, and of the sufferings their party were made to undergo. By these and the like crafty insinuations, he grew to be a familiar of Garnet's, and at last was entrusted by him with a letter to one and to another. Which yet he did not so much venture upon, but that he wrote sparingly to one, and to the other nothing in appearance but what any one may see, filling up the void places with other more secret matters, written indeed, but written with the juice of a lemon. By this means they found out, that it was not so much his innocency, as the want of proof, that made him so confident. By this they came to understand, that Greenwel and he had conferred together about the plot.

There was also another calamity that befell him by the same contrivance; for now, thinking himself sure of his keeper, he let him know what a great desire he had of conferring with Hall. The decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a way for it. This was done, and they had that freedom; but at the same time there were placed within hearing two persons of such known credit, that Garnet, at his tryal, had nothing to object against them, who took notice of what was said, and made it known to the council. The next day commissioners came to examine them, and in discourse charged them severally with those things that passed betwixt them the day before. This Hall did acknowledge, being convinced by the particulars that they produced; but Garnet did deny it, upon the word of a priest,[1] and with reiterated protestations. And when they told him, that Hall had confessed it, he said, "Let him accuse himself falsely, if he will; I will not be guilty of that folly." But, at the last, when he perceived that the evidence was not to be gainsaid, begged their pardon with no little confusion, and owned the particulars they charged him with; and, a little to save his reputation, told them, That as he denied all, because he knew none but Greenwel could accuse him; so he did deny what he knew to be true, by the help of equivocation.

Now they had gained good evidence against him; his letters first, then his discourse with Hall, and lastly, his own confession, were a sufficient ground for them to proceed and try him upon. And that they began to do within two days after, viz. March the twenty-eighth.

The great thing charged upon him, was, that he was privy to this conspiracy, that he held a correspondence with Catesby, and by him and Greenwel with the rest. And the chief part of his defence was: That what he did know of it was in confession, and what was told him, in that way, he was bound to conceal, notwithstanding any mischief that might follow it; he might dissuade persons from it, but, whether they would be persuaded by him or not, he was obliged not to divulge it.

After a long time spent in his tryal, there was but little taken by the jury, to give their verdict, which was, that he was guilty of the treason; and he accordingly received sentence and was executed the third of May following, at the west-end of St Paul's church-yard.[2]

[1] An oath so sacred in the church of Rome, that, whereas the laity are always sworn upon the holy gospels, a priest is never required to give any other oath than upon the word of a priest,—*In verbo Sacerdotis.*

[2] One Wilkinson, a Papist, picked up as a relique one of the straws or ears of corn stained with Garnet's blood, which was put into a glass case, and gazed upon with such devotion, that at length the devout Catholics imagined they beheld impressed upon it Garnet's face, with a star and a cross on the forehead, a cherubim hovering over the chin, and the whole surrounded by a glory. But heretics alleged, it was only a few lines drawn by a pencil on a grain of wheat, which resembled a human face indeed, but was no more like Garnet's than that of

This is the man whom the Jesuits extol to the clouds, and who is put into the catalogue of their martyrs, as it is to be found at the end of Alegambe's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu.* This person, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, that could by equivocation swear to what he knew to be false, is what one [1] of them bestows this character upon, that there was in him *Morum Simplicitas, et Candor animi minime suspicacis.* This man, who had not the heart to die, and who at the time of his execution was so divided betwixt the hopes of a pardon, and the fear of death, that he could not attend to his own devotions, but one while cast his eyes this way, and another that; now at his prayers, and anon breaking off from them to answer to that discourse which he overheard: This man, I say, is said by Alegambe to go to his death *interritus et exporrecta fronte obtestans,* &c. without any fear, and protesting that he exceedingly rejoiced that he was now to suffer that death which would be an entrance to an immortal life. [2]

The conclusion of all which is, that no Jesuit can be a traitor, and none suffer for treason but he must be a martyr.

The case of Hall was much the same with that of Garnet; he did confess, and it was also proved that they were both together at Caughton, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterwards defended the treason to Humphrey Littleton. The excuses, the discourse, the confessions, were much one and the same, but only that Garnet was the more resolved, and the more obstinate of the two. Now, because as this treason was hatched, and to be executed in the main at London, so because part of it was also to be done in the country, and the chief of the conspirators were there taken, therefore six of them were sent to Worcester, and there executed, viz. Humphry Littleton, [3] John Winter, and this Hall, with three others. Thither, I say, he was carried with them for that reason, and not because his adversaries were ashamed to have his cause heard at London, as a bold author [4] of theirs would have it.

It is no wonder to find these men so concerned to clear themselves of it, when all the world is against them; though this is no more to be done, than to prove that one that kills a king is a good subject, and one, that stirs up his subjects in rebellion against him, is a friend to him.

These were the persons that were taken and suffered for this bloody treason. Others of them escaped beyond sea; of which one, when Dominicus Vicus, governor of Calais, "assured them of the King's favour, and, though they lost their own country, they might be received there," replied, "The loss of their country was the least part of their grief; but their sorrow was that they could not bring so brave a design to per-

any other man who had a beard. These straws were easily multiplied, and the miracle became so celebrated, that Gualterus Paulus, a German Jesuit, presented the world with this anagram on the words PATER HENRICUS GARNETUS, *Pingere cruentus arista,* and with the following gloss upon it:—

Quid petit hic vultus sicca redivivus Arista?
Quid frons? Quid sacris ora locuta notis?
Nominis augurio PINGERE CRUENTUS ARISTA,
Garnete; *agnosco vultum, opus, artificem.*
Spica, tabella; deus, pictor; color, unda cruoris;
Spica crucem; vultum dat deus; astra cruor.

[1] Hist. Mission. Angl. p. 311.

[2] In the account of his execution in the State Trials, Garnet is said to have acknowledged, that the intention of the conspiracy was wicked, and the fact cruel, and that from his soul he would have abhorred it, had it been perpetrated; but he maintained, that he had only a general knowledge of the treason from Catesby, and that under the seal of confession.

[3] Humphry Littleton, called Yellow Humphry, was executed for receiving and concealing Robert Winter and Stephen Littleton, the only two conspirators who escaped after the sally at Holbach. They were discovered by means of a cook, who, wondering at the quantity of victuals which he was directed by Humphry Littleton to prepare, watched him so narrowly, that he discovered the concealed traitors.

[4] *Eudæmon. Joannis Apologia pro Garneto.*

fection." At which the governor could hardly forbear casting him into the sea, as Thuanus relates from Vicus's own mouth. Others there were, whom the government had a great suspicion of, as Henry, Lord Mordaunt, and Edward, Lord Stourton, who, not appearing upon the summons to the parliament, were supposed to absent themselves from some intelligence that they received, were fined in the star-chamber, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure. The like sentence did Henry, Earl of Northumberland, undergo, for having admitted Thomas Percy, his kinsman, to be a gentleman pensioner, without administering to him the oath of supremacy, when he knew him to be a recusant.[1]

This was the end of that plot, and of the persons concerned in it. And it would be happy if they had left none of their principles or temper behind them, a generation whom no favour will oblige, nor kindness retain; whom nothing but supremacy will content, and the most absolute authority can gratify. Whom nothing can secure against, but a sufficient power, or great industry, or constant watchfulness, and scarcely all. And therefore it is fit, not only as a branch of our thankfulness to God, but also as a caution to ourselves, that this deliverance should be celebrated, and the memory of it perpetuated. I shall end with what is said by a great person[2] of our own, some years since.

"Two great deliverances in the memory of many of us hath God in his singular mercy wrought for us of this nation, such as I think, take both together, no christian age or land can parallel. One formerly from a foreign invasion;[3] another, since then, of an hellish conspiracy[4] at home. Both such, as we would have all thought, when they were done, should never be forgotten. And yet, as if this land were turned oblivious, the land where all things are forgotten, how doth the memory of them fade away, and they, by little and little, grow into forgetfulness? We have lived to see eighty-eight almost forgotten (God be blessed, who hath graciously prevented what we feared therein) God grant that we nor ours ever live to see November the 5th forgotten, or the solemnity of it silenced."

The Arraignment and Execution of the late Traitors, with a relation of the other Traitors, which were executed at Worcester, the twenty-seventh of January last past. Printed 1606.

" The following Tract contains a short narrative of the behaviour of these men at the gallows, who were executed for the gun-powder plot, of which I know not whether there is any other protestant relation, and therefore have preserved this, though not very valuable either for its elegance or decency; for it is written in a strain of merriment and insult, which the religion, professed by the author, does not teach.

" However, as one extreme is naturally opposed to another, this pamphlet, in which the cause and sufferings of these wretches are treated with scoffs and derision, may be justly placed in contrast against those writings of their own church in which they are reverenced as martyrs."

[1] Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, was for this misprision thrown into "that den of arbitrary injustice, the Star Chamber," where he was fined L. 30,000, removed from his offices, and committed to the Tower, where he remained fifteen years.

[2] Bishop Sanderson's Sermons, lib. i. *ad populum*, Serm. v. p. 242.

[3] By the Spaniards in the year 1588. [4] Viz. Of which this is the history.

The discourse may be collated with the following account by Stowe, of the execution of the same conspirators: "The next Thursday after, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Graunt, and Bates, according to their judgmente, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the west end of St Paule Church, in London, where all but Graunt died very penitent. Sir Everard Digby protested from the bottom of his heart, he asked forgiveness of God, the King, the Queen, the Prince, and all the parliament, and if that hee had known it first to have been so foule a treason, he would not have concealed it to have gained a world, requiring the people to witness he died penitent, and sorrowfull for this vile treason, and confident to be saved in the merits of his sweete Saviour Jesus, &c. He praied kneeling about half an hour, often bowing his head to the ground; in the same manner they all prayed, but no voice heard, saving now and then, O Jesu, Jesu, save me, and keepe me, which words they repeated many times upon the ladder.

Friday the last of January, in the parliament yard at Westminster, were executed as the former, Thomas Winter, Rookewood, Keys, and Fawkes, which Fawkes was more penitent than any of the rest, and besought all catholiques never to attempt any such bloody act, being a course which God did never favor nor prosper. Keys' obstinacy cohered much with Graunt; they all craved testimonie that they died Romaine catholiques. Their quarters were placed over London gates, and their heads upon the bridge."—STOWE's *Chronicle*, p. 881.

A brief discourse upon the arraignment and execution of the eight traitors, Digby, the two Winters, Grant, Rockwood, Keyes, Bates, and Johnson, alias Fawkes, four of which were executed in St Paul's church-yard, in London, upon Thursday, being the thirtieth of January; the other four in the old Palace-yard in Westminster, over-against the Parliament-house, upon Friday next following.

Not to aggravate the sorrow of the living in the shame of the dead, but to dissuade the idolatrously blinded, from seeking their own destruction, in the way to damnation, I have here briefly set down a discourse of the behaviour and carriage of the eight persons before named, from the time of their imprisonment, to the instant of their death; the nature of their offence, the little shew of their sorrow, their usage in prison, and their obstinacy to their end. First, for their offence, it is so odious in the ears of all human creatures, that it could hardly be believed, that so many monsters in nature should carry the shapes of men: Murder, oh, it is the crying sin of the world, and such an intended murder, as, had it taken effect, would have made a world to cry; and therefore the horror thereof must needs be hateful to the whole world to hear of it.

Men, that saw them go to their execution, did in a sort grieve to see such proper men, in shape, go to so shameful an end; but the end was proper to men of so improper minds, who, to satisfy a blinded conceit, would forget their duties to God and their king, and unnaturally seek the ruin of their native country. They are said to be born unhappy, that are not some way profitable to their country; and then, how accursed are they born, that seek the destruction of the whole kingdom?

Papists will perhaps idly say, it was a bloody execution; but in respect of their desert, in the blood they intended to have shed, it was a merciful punishment: For, if Jezabel, a queen, for seeking the murther of one private man, was thrown out of a window, and fed upon by dogs, how can these people be thought to be cruelly used, that could intend and practise so horrible a villainy, as the death of so gracious a king, queen, and prince, so noble peers, and the ruin of so flourishing a kingdom?

But since my intent is chiefly to make report of the manner of their demeanors, from the prison to the arraignment, and from thence to execution, I will truly set down what I have gathered touching the same. After their apprehension in the country, and being brought up to London, upon the appearance of their foul treason before his ma-

jesty's most honourable council, they were, by their commandment, committed to his majesty's Tower of London, where they wanted nothing, that, in the mercy of a Christian prince, was thought fit, and indeed too good for so unchristian offenders.

For in the time of their imprisonment they seemed to feel no part of fear, either of the wrath of God, the doom of justice, or the shame of sin; but, as it were, with seared consciences, senseless of grace, lived as not looking to die, or not feeling the sorrow of their sins; and now, that no subtle fox, or rather goose, that would fain seem a fox, shall have cause to say or think, that the justice of the law hath not been truly ministred, according to the rules of the divine will, behold here a true report, as I said before, of their behaviour and carriage, from their apprehension to their imprisonment, and from condemnation to their execution. In the time of their imprisonment, they rather feasted with their sins, than fasted with sorrow for them; were richly apparelled, fared deliciously, and took tobacco out of measure, with a seeming carelessness of their crime, as it were daring the law to pass upon them; but the Almighty, and our most merciful good God, first revealed them. His majesty's and his council's careful head apprehended them, the law plainly did descipher them, justice gave judgment on them, and death made an end of them; but to come to their arraignment, and to deliver the manner of their behaviour. After they went from the Tower by water, and came to Westminster, before they came into the hall, they made some half hour's stay, or more, in the Star-chamber, whither being brought, and remaining till the court was all ready to hear them, and, according to the law, to give judgement on them, it was strange to note their carriage, even in their very countenances: some hanging down the head, as if their hearts were full of doggedness, and others forcing a stern look, as if they would fear[1] death with a frown, never seeming to pray, except it were by the dozen upon their beads, and taking tobacco, as if hanging were no trouble to them;[2] saying little but in commendation of their conceited religion, craving mercy of neither God nor the king for their offences, and making their consciences, as it were, as wide as the world; and, to the very gates of hell, to be the cause of their hellish courses, to make a work meritorious.

Now being come into the hall, and upon the scaffold at the bar, standing to answer to their indictments, they all pleaded, Not Guilty, but were all found, Guilty. Digby, without craving mercy or favour of either God or the king, made only five worldly requests; that his wife might have her jointure, his children the lands intailed by his father, his sisters their legacies in his hand unpaid, his debts paid, and for his death, to be beheaded, and not hanged.[3]

Robert Winter, in like manner thinking himself already half a saint for his whole villainy, said little to any purpose, that either made shew of sorrow, or sought mercy, but only made a request to the king for mercy towards his brother, in regard of his offence, as he said, through his only persuasion.

[1] That is, *frighten.*

[2] Sir John Harrington says, "I have seen some of the chief (conspirators), and think they bear an evil mark in their foreheads; for more terrible countenances never were looked upon. His majesty did sometime desire to see these men, but said he felt himself severely appalled at the thought, and so forbare."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, Vol. I. p. 373.

[3] To these five demands it was answered, on the part of Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, severally, that for his wife, children, and relations, the text must be accomplished. "Let his wife be a widow, and his children vagabonds; let his posterity be destroyed, and in the next generation let his light be quite put out. For the payment of his creditors, it was equal and just; but still the king must be first satisfied, to whom he owed so much that all he had was nothing. Lastly, That having laid aside honour and humanity in his actions, he was not to expect to be honoured in the manner of his death, but was to esteem himself happy that it was not embittered with tortures answerable to the heinousness of his guilt."—*State Trials*, Vol. I. p. 244-5. At leaving the bar, Sir Everard said, bowing to the lords, "If I may but hear any of your lordships say you forgive me, I shall go to the gallows the more cheerfully." They answered, "God forgive you, we do." Sir Everard Digby stood high in the opinion of Queen Elizabeth.

His brother said little, but, with a guilty conscience, swallowed up a concealed grief with little shew of sorrow for that time.

Grant, stubborn in his idolatry, seemed nothing penitent for his villainy, asked little mercy, but, as it were careless of grace, received the doom of his desert.

The younger Winter said little, but, to excuse the foulness of his fact, in being drawn in by his brother, and not of his own plotting, with little talk to little purpose, troubled the time the lesser while.

Rockwood, out of a studied speech, would fain have made his bringing up and breeding in idolatry to have been some excuse to his villainy; but a fair talk could not help a foul deed, and therefore, being found guilty of the treason, had his judgment with the rest of the traitors.

Now, after their condemnation and judgment, being sent back to the Tower, there they remained till the Thursday following; upon sledges and hurdles they were drawn into St Paul's Church-yard, four of them, viz. Everard Digby, the elder Winter, Grant, and Bates, of whom I forgot to speak, having no great matter to speak of, but only that, being a villain, and hoping for advancement by the same, he had the reward of a traitor.

Now these four being drawn to the scaffold, made on purpose for their execution: First went up Digby, a man of a goodly personage, and a manly aspect, yet might a wary eye, in the change of his countenance, behold an inward fear of death; for his colour grew pale and his eye heavy, notwithstanding that he inforced himself to speak as stoutly as he could. His speech was not long, and to little good purpose, only, that his belied conscience, being but indeed a blinded conceit, had led him into this offence, which, in respect of his religion, *alias*, indeed idolatry, he held no offence, but, in respect of the law, he held an offence, for which he asked forgiveness of God, of the king, and the whole kingdom; and so, with vain and superstitious crossing of himself, betook him to his Latin prayers, mumbling to himself, refusing to have any prayers of any, but of the Romish catholics, went up the ladder, and, with the help of the hangman, made an end of his wicked days in this world.[1]

After him went Winter up to the scaffold, where he used few words to any effect, without asking mercy of either God, or the king, for his offence; went up the ladder, and, making a few prayers to himself, staid not long for his execution.

After him went Grant, who, abominably blinded with his horrible idolatry, though he confessed his offence to be heinous, yet would fain have excused it by his conscience for religion; a bloody religion, to make so bloody a conscience; but better that his blood, and all such as he was, should be shed by the justice of law, than the blood of many thousands to have been shed by his villainy, without law or justice. But to the purpose: having used a few idle words to ill effect, he was, as his fellows before him, led the way to the halter; and so, after his crossing of himself, to the last part of his tragedy.

Last of them came Bates,[2] who seemed sorry for his offence, and asked forgiveness of God, and the king, and of the whole kingdom; prayed to God for the preservation of them all, and as he said, only for his love to his master, drawn to forget his duty to God, his king, and country; and therefore was now drawn from the Tower to St Paul's Church-yard, and there hanged and quartered for his treachery. Thus ended that day's business.

The next day, being Friday, were drawn from the Tower to the Old Palace in West-

[1] It is said that when the hangman tore the heart from Digby's body, and pronounced the words, "This the heart of a traitor," the mangled criminal had life enough to answer, "Thou liest."

[2] Bates was Catesby's servant.

minster, over against the Parliament House, Thomas Winter, the younger brother,[1] Rockwood, Keyes, and Fawkes, the miner, justly called *the devil of the vault;* for, had he not been a devil incarnate, he had never conceived so villainous a thought, nor been employed in so damnable an action.

The same day, being Friday, were drawn from the Tower to the Old Palace in Westminster, Thomas Winter, Rockwood, Keyes, and Fawkes, where Winter, first being brought to the scaffold, made little speech, but seeming, after a sort, as it were sorry for his offence, and yet crossing himself, as though those were wards to put by the devil's stoccadoes, having already made a wound in his soul, of which he had not yet a full feeling, protesting to die a true Catholick, as he said, with a very pale and dead colour, went up the ladder, and, after a swing or two with a halter, to the quartering-block was drawn, and there quickly dispatched.

Next him came Rockwood, who made a speech of some longer time, confessing his offence to God, in seeking to shed blood, and asking therefore mercy of his Divine Majesty; his offence to the king, of whose majesty he likewise humbly asked forgiveness; his offence to the whole state, of whom in general he asked forgiveness, beseeching God to bless the king, the queen, and all his royal progeny, and that they might long live to reign in peace and happiness over this kingdom. But last of all, to mar all the pottage with one filthy weed, to mar this good prayer with an ill conclusion, he prayed God to make the king a Catholick, otherwise a Papist, which God for his mercy ever forbid; and so, beseeching the king to be good to his wife and children, protesting to die in his idolatry, a Romish Catholick, he went up the ladder, and, hanging till he was almost dead, was drawn to the block, where he gave his last gasp.

After him came Keyes, who, like a desperate villain, using little speech, with small or no shew of repentance, went stoutly up the ladder; where, not staying the hangman's turn, he turned himself off with such a leap, that with the swing he brake the halter, but, after his fall, was quickly drawn to the block, and there was quickly divided into four parts.

Last of all came the great devil of all, Fawkes, *alias* Johnson, who should have put fire to the powder. His body being weak with torture[2] and sickness, he was scarce able to go up the ladder, but yet with much ado, by the help of the hangman, went high enough to break his neck with the fall: who made no long speech, but, after a sort, seeming to be sorry for his offence, asked a kind of forgiveness of the king and the state for his bloody intent; and, with his crosses and his idle ceremonies, made his end upon the gallows and the block, to the great joy of the beholders, that the land was ended of so wicked a villainy.

Thus have I ended my discourse upon the arraignment and execution of these eight traitors, executed upon Thursday and Friday last past, in St Paul's Church-yard, and the Old Palace at Westminster.

Now there is certain report of the execution done on Monday, being the twenty-seventh of January, in the city of Worcester, upon one Perkins, and his man, for the receiving of traitors.[3] God be blessed for it! And continue the justice of law to be executed upon all such rebellious and traitorous wretches, as either plot such villainies, conceal such treasons, or relieve such traitors! For, since the betraying the Lord of heaven and earth, was there ever such a hellish plot practised in the world? If the Pope were not a very devil, and these Jesuits, or rather Jubusites and Satanical Seminaries, very spirits of wickedness, that whisper in the ears of Evahs, to bring a world of Adams to destruction, how could nature be so senseless, or reason so graceless, as to subject wit so to will, as to run all headlong to confusion? Is this a rule of religion?

[1] There were three brethren of the name engaged in the conspiracy, Robert, John, and Thomas.

[2] Yet he is said to have confessed, on the rack being merely exhibited to him.

[3] Perkins was a farmer, who concealed Stephen Littleton and Robert Winter for a few nights in his barn, after their escape from Holbach.

or rather of a legion? Where the synagogue of Satan sat in council for the world's destruction, for the satisfaction of a lousy humour, or bloody devotion, or hope of honour, or to make way to some mad fury to bring the most flourishing kingdom on the earth to the most desolation in the world; to kill at one blow, or with one blast, king, queen, prince, and peer; bishop, judge, and magistrate, to the ruin of the land, and utter shame to the whole world; and left naked to the invasion of any enemy: Is this a holy father, that begets such wicked children? Is this religion, where is no touch of charity? Or, is there any spark of grace in these priests, that so poison the souls, and break the necks of so many people?

Ignorance in the simple, and idolatry in the subtle, take ceremonies for certainties, superstition for religion, envy for zeal, and murder for charity. What can that church be, but hell, where the devil sings such masses? *Servus servorum*, says he, that would be *dominus dominorum;* servants of servants, that would be master of masters. Is not he a cunning herdsman, that can make one painted cow, or printed bull, give him more milk, than many a herd of better kine? Are not these sweet notes to be taken in the nature of the Popish government? Kill princes, sow seditions, maintain bawdy-houses, blind the simple, abuse the honest, bereave the innocent, swear and forswear, so it be for the Pope's profit, the church will absolve you; and, if you miss the mark to hit the mischief you shoot at, you shall be a hanging saint, till you be taken down to the devil. Oh fine persuasions! That infinite sins by numbered prayers, inward curses by outward crosses, an offence against God by a pardon from man, should be believed to be helped! A child cannot conceive it, a wise man cannot digest it, and surely none, but either blind women, or madmen, can believe it. If a man would but a little look into their idolatries, he should see a world of such mockeries, as would make him both laugh at their fooleries, and abhor their villainies. Their kissing of babies, their kneeling to wooden ladies, their calling to saints that cannot hear them, their praying by the dozen, their taking of penance, their pilgrimages to idols, their shavings and their washings, their confessions and their crossings, and their devilish devices to deceive the simple of their comfort: these, with a world of such tricks, as would make a jackanapes a fine juggler. He, that could see them with that clear eye, that can judge betwixt light and darkness, would, if they were his friends, be sorry for them; if his enemies, laugh at them: and, howsoever, or whatsoever, leave them, and say, as he may say, that Papistry is mere idolatry, the Pope an incarnate devil, his church a synagogue of Satan, and his priests the very locusts of the earth.

But let us leave them to their loathsome puddles, and let us be thankful to Almighty God for the clear water of life, that, in his holy word, we receive from the fountain of his gracious mercy; and let us a little look into the difference betwixt the traitorous Papist, that dieth for his villainy, and the faithful Protestant, that dieth for the truth of his conscience in the belief of the word of God.

The traitorous Papist will pull down princes, and subvert kingdoms; murder and poison whom they cannot command; the faithful Protestant prayeth for princes, and the peace of the people; and will endure banishment, but hate rebellion: the proud Papist will shew intemperancy in passion, while the humble Protestant will embrace affliction with patience: the Protestant cries to God for mercy for his sins; the Papist gives authority to sin, when, before the offence, the pardon is purchased.

I say, was it not a strange speech of Digby, through the blindness of his bewitched wit, "That, to bring the kingdom into the Popish idolatry, he cared not to root out all his posterity?"[1]

[1] Sir Everard Digby, who, as well as Catesby and Percy, and several of the other conspirators, was a man of unblemished reputation until this hellish conspiracy, was so utterly blinded by bigotry as to write to his wife, "Let me tell you that if I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it, for all the world, and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal for God's religion."

Oh the misery of these blinded people! who forsake the true God of heaven and earth, to submit their service to the devil of the world; be traitors to their gracious princes, to serve a proud, ungracious prelate; lose their lands and goods, beggar their wives and children, lose their own lives with an open shame, and leave an infamy to their name for ever, only to obey the command of a cunning fox, that, lying in his den, preyeth on all the geese that he can light on; and, in the proud belief to be made saints, will hazard their souls to go to the devil.

But how many millions hath this devil inchanted! And how many kingdoms hath he ruinated! And how many massacres hath he plotted! And how many souls hath he sent to damnation! God for his mercy cut him off, or open the eyes of all them Christian princes, that they may agree together and pull him down. For, during his pride, princes, that are of his religion, will be but as copyholders to his countenance; soldiers, that fight not under his banner, shall be as shake-rags to his army; lawyers, except they plead in his right, shall have but curses for their fees; divines, if not of his opinion, shall be excommunicated out of his church; merchants, that bring not him commodities, shall keep no shops in his sanctuary; nor beggars, that pray not for his monarchy, shall have any alms in his basket. And therefore I hope that God will so wipe off the scales from the eyes of the blind, that both one and other, soldier and lawyer, divine and layman, rich and poor, will so lay their heads, their hearts and hands, and their purses together, that, whereas he hath been long in rising, and could not sit fast, when he was up, he shall take a fall of a sudden, and never rise again, when he is down: To which prayer, I hope, all true Christians will say, Amen.

His Majesties Speech to both the Houses of Parliament, in his Highnesse great Chamber at Whitehall, the day of the Adjournment of the last Session, which was the last day of March, 1607.—Imprinted by Robert Barker, printer to the king's most excellent majesty.

" The chief affair transacted next session, was the intended union of the two kingdoms. Nothing could exceed the king's passion and zeal for this noble enterprise, but the parliament's prejudice and reluctance against it. There remain two excellent speeches in favour of the union, which it would not be improper to compare together, that of the king, and that of Sir Francis Bacon. Those who affect in every thing such an extreme contempt for James, will be surprised to find that his discourse, both for good reason and elegant composition, approaches very near that of a man, who was undoubtedly, at that time, one of the greatest geniuses in Europe. A few trivial indiscretions and indecorums may be said to characterize the harangue, and mark it for his own. And, in general, so open and avowed a declaration in favour of a measure, while he had taken no care, by any precaution or intrigue, to insure success, may safely be pronounced an indiscretion. But the art of managing parliaments, by private interest or cabal, being found hitherto of little use or necessity, had not, as yet, become a part of English politics. In the common course of affairs, government could be conducted without their assistance; and when their concurrence became necessary to the measures of the crown, it was, generally speaking, except in times of great faction and discontent, obtained without much difficulty.

" The king's influence seems to have rendered the Scottish parliament cordial in all the steps which they took towards the union. Though the advantages which Scotland might hope from that mea-

sure were more considerable; yet were the objections too, with regard to that kingdom, more striking and obvious. The benefit which must have resulted to England, both by accession of strength and security, was not despicable; and as the English were by far the greater nation, and possessed the seat of government, the objections, either from the point of honour, or from jealousy, could not reasonably have any place among them. The English parliament indeed seem to have been swayed merely by the vulgar motive of national antipathy. And they persisted so obstinately in their prejudices, that all the efforts for a thorough union and incorporation ended only in the abolition of the hostile laws formerly enacted between the kingdoms." HUME's *England, ad ann.* 1606.

It may be added, that the king, finding that the proceedings in the parliament against Sir Christopher Pigot, for reflecting upon the Scotch nation, were particularly offensive, and that many members began to discontinue attendance, and retire to the country, procured a call of the House to keep them together, until he had tried the experiment of this soothing oration. *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 181.

TO THE READER.

Having received (gentle reader) divers and different copies of his Majesties Speech to this last Session of Parliament in Whitehall, at their recession in the Passion Weeke; my labour hath bene to conferre all these copies together, and with the helpe of some gentlemen that were auditors thereof, to make such an extraction as I here present unto thee. Which though I dare not maintaine to bee a true and full relation of all his Majestie spake, as being farre short both of the life of his Majesties eloquent phrases, and fullnesse of the matter: yet seeing (as I hope) it conteines most of the substantiall reasons and arguments that therein were uttered, and that it is a thing desired by so many, though not rightly related by any, I have taken the boldnesse to present it unto thee, such as it is, being the rather at mine owne suite permitted to print it, for eschewing the wrong that might be done unto thee, by the publishing of so many false copies that begin already to be spread thereof. And thus hoping of thy kinde acceptance of this my well meant labour, I bid thee farewell.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses of Parliament.

My lords of the Higher House, and you knights and burgesses of the Lower House, all men at the beginning of a feast bring foorth good wine first, and after worse. This was the saying of the governour of the feast at Cana in Galile, where Christ wrought his first miracle by changing water into wine. But in this case now whereof I am to speake unto you, I must follow that governour's rule, and not Christ's example, in giving you the worst and sowrest wine last. For all the time of this long session of the Parliament you have bin so fed and cloyed, (specially you of the Lower House) with such banquets, and choise of delicate speeches, and your eares so seasoned with the sweetnesse of long precogitate orations; as this my speech now in the breaking up of this assembly, cannot but appeare unto your taste as the worst wine proposed in the end of the banquet, since I am onely to deliver nowe unto you matter without curious forme, substance without ceremonie, trueth in all sinceritie. Yet considering the person that speaketh, the parties to whom I speake, the matter whereof I meane to speake: it fits better to utter matter, rather than words, in regard of the greatnesse of my place who am to speake to you, the gravitie of you the auditorie, which is the High Court of Parliament; the weight of the matter, which concernes the securitie and establishment of this whole empire and little world. Studied orations and much eloquence upon little

matter is fit for the universities, where not the subject which is spoken of, but the triall of his wit that speketh, is most commendable: but, on the contrary, in all great councels of Parliaments, fewest words with most matter doeth become best, where the dispatch of the great errands in hand, and not the prayse of the person, is most to be looked unto: like the garment of a chaste woman, who is onely set forth by her naturall beautie, which is properly her owne: other deckings are but ensignes of an harlot that flies with borrowed feathers. And besides the conveniencie, I am forced hereunto by necessitie, my place calling mee to action, and not leaving mee to the libertie of contemplation, having alwayes my thoughts busied with the publique care of you all, where every one of you having but himselfe and his owne private to thinke of, are at more leisure to make studied speeches. And therefore the matter which I deliver you confusedly as in a sacke, I leave it to you when you are in your chambers, and have better leysure then I can have, to ranke them in order, every one in their owne place.

Thus much by way of preface. But I proceed to the matter. Whereof I might say, with St Paul, I could speake in as many tongues as you all, but I had rather speake three wordes to edification, then talke all day without understanding. In vaine, (sayth the Psalmist) doeth the builder build the house, or the watchman watch the citie, unlesse the Lord give his blessing thereunto. And in the New Testament St Paul saith, that he may plant, Apollos may water, but it is God onely that must give the increase. This I speake, because of the long time which hath bene spent about the treatie of the Union. For myselfe, I protest unto you all, when I first propounded the Union, I then thought there could have bene no more question of it, then of your declaration and acknowledgement of my right unto this crowne, and that, as two twinnes, they would have growen up together. The error was my mistaking; I knew mine owne ende, but not others feares. But now finding many crossings, long disputations, strange questions, and nothing done, I must needes thinke it proceedes either of mistaking of the errand, or else from some jealousie of me the propounder, that you so adde delay unto delay, searching out as it were the very bowels of curiositie, and conclude nothing. Neither can I condemne you for being yet in some jealousie of my intention in this matter, having not yet had so great experience of my behaviour and inclination in these fewe yeeres past, as you may peradventure have in a longer time hereafter, and not having occasion to consult daily with myselfe, and heare mine owne opinion in all those particulars which are debated among you.

But here I pray you now mistake me not at the first, when as I seeme to find fault with your delayes and curiositie, as if I would have you to resolve in an houres time, that which will take a moneths advertisement: for you all know, that *rex est lex loquens*, and you have oft heard me say, that the king's will and intention being the speaking law,[1] ought to be *luce clarius:* and I hope you of the Lower House have the proofe of this my cleerenesse by a bill sent you down from the Upper House within these fewe dayes, or rather few houres: wherein may very well appeare unto you the care I have to put my subjects in a good security of their possessions for all posterities to come. And therefore that you may cleerely understand my meaning in that point, I doe freely confesse, you had reason to advise at leasure upon so great a cause: for great matters doe ever require great deliberation before they be well concluded. *Deliberandum est diu quod statuendum est semel.* Consultations must proceed *lento pede*, but the execution of a sentence upon the resolution would bee speedie. If you will go on, it matters not though you goe with leaden feete, so you make still some progresse, and that there be no let or needlesse delay, and doe not *nodum in scirpo quærere.* I am ever for the medium in every thing. Betweene foolish rashnesse and extreame

[1] It may be presumed, this, and similar strains of prerogative, sounded more new than pleasant in the ears of the Commons of England.

length, there is a middle way. Search all that is reasonable, but omit that which is idle, curious, and unnecessarie; otherwise there can never be a resolution or end in any good worke.

And now from the generall I will descend to particulars, and will onely for the ease of your memories divide the matter that I am to speake of, into foure heads, by opening unto you, first, what I crave; secondly, in what manner I desire it; thirdly, what commodities will ensue to both the kingdomes by it; fourthly, what the supposed inconveniencie may be that gives impediments thereunto.

For the first, what I crave; I protest before God, who knowes my heart, and to you my people, before whom it were a shame to lie, that I claime nothing but with acknowledgment of my bond to you; that as yee owe to me subjection and obedience: so my soveraigntie obligeth me to yeeld to you love, government, and protection; neither did I ever wish any happinesse to myselfe, which was not conjoyned with the happinesse of my people. I desire a perfect union of lawes and persons, and such a naturalizing as may make one body of both kingdomes under mee your king, that I and my posteritie (if it so please God) may rule over you to the world's end; such an union as was of the Scots and Pictes in Scotland, and of the heptarchie heere in England. And for Scotland I avow such an union as if you had got it by conquest, but such a conquest as may be cemented by love, the onely sure bond of subjection or friendship; that as there is over both but *unus rex*, so there may bee in both but *unus grex et una lex:* For no more possible is it for one king to governe two countreys contiguous, the one a great, the other a lesse, a richer and a poorer, the greater drawing like an adamant, the lesser to the commodities therof, then for one head to governe two bodies, or one man to bee husband of two wives, whereof Christ himselfe said, *Ab initio non fuit sic.*

But in the generall union you must observe two things; for I will discover my thoughts plainly unto you; I study clearenes, not eloquence, and therfore with the olde philosophers, I would heartily wish my brest were a transparent glasse for you all to see through, that you might looke into my heart, and then would you be satisfied of my meaning. For when I speake of a perfect union, I meane not confusion of all things: you must not take from Scotland those particular priviledges that may stand as well with this union, as in England many particular customes in particular shires, (as the customes of Kent, and the royalties of the countie palatine of Chester) do with the common law of the kingdome; for every particular shire almost, and much more every countie, have some particular customes that are as it were naturally most fit for that people. But I meane of such a generall union of lawes as may reduce the whole iland, that as they live alreadie under one monarch, so they may all be governed by one law. For I must needes confesse by that little experience I have had since my comming hither, and I thinke I am able to proove it, that the grounds of the common law of England, are the best of any law in the world, either civill or municipall, and the fittest for this people. But as every law would be cleare and full, so the obscuritie in some points of this our written law, and want of fulnesse in others, the variation of cases and mens curiositie, breeding every day new questions, hath enforced the judges to judge in many cases here, by cases and presidents, wherein I hope lawyers themselves will not denie but that there must be a great uncertaintie, and I am sure all the rest of you that are gentlemen of other professions were long agoe wearie of it, if you could have had it amended. For where there is varietie and uncertaintie, although a just judge may doe rightly, yet an ill judge may take advantage to doe wrong, and then are all honest men that succeede him, tied in a maner to his unjust and partiall conclusions. Wherefore, leave not the lawe to the pleasure of the judge, but let your lawes bee looked into; for I desire not the abolishing of the lawes, but onely the clearing and the sweeping off the rust of them, and that by parliament our

lawes might bee cleared and made knowen to all the subjects. Yea rather it were lesse hurt, that all the approved cases were set down and allowed by parliament for standing lawes in all time to come. For although some of them peradventure may be unjust as set downe by corrupt judges, yet better it is to have a certaine lawe with some spots in it, nor live under such an uncertaine and arbitrarie law, since, as the proverbe is, It is lesse harme to suffer an inconveniencie then a mischiefe. And now may you have faire occasion of amending and polishing your lawes, when Scotland is to be united with you under them: for who can blame Scotland to say, If you will take away our owne lawes, I pray you give us a better and cleerer in place thereof.

But this is not possible to be done without a fit preparation. Hee that buildeth a ship, must first provide the timber; and as Christ himselfe said, No man will build an house, but he wil first provide the materials; nor a wise king will not make warre against another, without he first make provision of money; and all great workes must have their preparation; and that was my end in causing the instrument of the union to be made. Union is a marriage; would hee not be thought absurd that, for furthering of a marriage betweene two friends of his, would make his first motion to have the two parties be laid in bedde together, and performe the other turnes of marriage? must there not precede, the mutuall sight and acquaintance of the parties one with another, the conditions of the contract, and joincture to be talked of and agreed upon by their friends, and such other things as in order ought to goe before the ending of such a worke? The Union is an eternall agreement and reconciliation of many long bloody warres that have bene betweene these two ancient kingdomes. Is it the readiest way to agree a private quarrell betweene two, to bring them at the first to shake hands, and as it were kisse other, and lie under one roofe, or rather in one bedde together, before that first the ground of their quarrell be communed upon, their mindes mitigated, their affections prepared, and all other circumstances first used, that ought to be used to proceed to such a finall agreement? Every honest man desireth a perfect union, but they that say so, and admit no preparation thereto, have *Mel in Ore, Fel in Corde.* If after your so long talke of Union in all this long session of parliament, yee rise without agreeing upon any particular, what will the neighbour princes judge, whose eyes are all fixed upon the conclusion of this action, but that the king is refused in his desire, whereby the nation should be taxed, and the king disgraced? And what an ill preparation is it for the mindes of Scotland toward the Union, when they shall heare that ill is spoken of their whole nation, but nothing is done nor advanced in the matter of the Union itselfe? But this I am glad was but the fault of one, and one is no number; yet have your neighbours of Scotland this advantage of you, that none of them have spoken ill of you (nor shall as long as I am king) in parliament, or any such publique place of judicature. Consider therefore well, if the mindes of Scotland had not neede to be well prepared to perswade their mutuall consent, seeing you here have all the great advantage by the Union. Is not here the personall residence of the king, his whole court and family? Is not here the seate of justice, and the fountaine of government? Must they not be subjected to the lawes of England, and so with time become but as Cumberland and Northumberland, and those other remote and northerne shires? you are to be the husband, they the wife; you conquerours, they as conquered, though not by the sword, but by the sweet and sure bond of love. Besides that, they as other northerne countreys will be seldome seene and saluted by their king, and that as it were but in a posting or hunting journey.

How little cause then they may have of such a change of so ancient a monarchie into the case of private shires, judge rightly herein. And that you may bee the more upright judges, suppose yourselves the patients of whom such sentence should bee given. But what preparation is it that I crave? onely such as by the entrance may shew something is done, yet more is intended. There is a conceipt intertained, and a double jealousie possesseth many, wherein I am misjudged.

First, that this union wil be the crisis to the overthrow of England and setting up of Scotland: England will then bee overwhelmed by the swarming of the Scots, who if the union were effected, would raigne and rule all.

The second is, my profuse liberalitie to the Scottish men more then the English, and that with this union all things shalbe given to them, and you turned out of all: To you shall be left the sweat and labour, to them shall bee given the fruite and sweet; and that my forbearance is but till this union may be gained. How agreeable this is to the trueth, judge you; and that not by my wordes, but by my actions. Doe I crave the union without exceptions? doe I not offer to binde myselfe, and to reserve to you, as in the instrument, all places of judicature? Doe I intend any thing which standeth not with the equall good of both nations? I could then have done it, and not spoken of it: For all men of understanding must agree, that I might dispose, without assent of Parliament, offices of judicature, and others, both ecclesiasticall and temporall. But herein I did voluntarily offer by my letters from Royston to the commissioners, to binde my prerogative.

Some thinke that I will draw the Scottish nation hither, talking idlely of transporting of trees out of a barren ground into a better, and of leane cattell out of bad pasture into a more fertile soil. Can any man displant you, unlesse you will? or can any man thinke that Scotland is so strong to pull you out of your houses? or doe you not thinke I know England hath more people, Scotland more wast ground? So that there is roumth in Scotland rather to plant your idle people that swarme in London streets, and other townes, and disburthen you of them, then to bring more unto you; and in cases of justice, if I be partiall to either side, let my owne mouth condemne me, as unworthy to be your king.

I appeale to your selves, if in favour or justice I have bene partiall. Nay, my intention was ever, you should then have most cause to praise my discretion, when you saw I had most power. If hitherto I have done nothing to your prejudice, much lesse meane I hereafter. If when I might have done it without any breach of promise; thinke so of me, that much lesse I will doe it, when a law is to restraine me. I owe no more to the Scottish men then to the English. I was borne there, and sworne here, and now raigne over both. Such particular persons of the Scottish nation, as might claim any extraordinary merit at my handes, I have already reasonably rewarded; and I can assure you that there is none left, whom for I meane extraordinary to straine my selfe further, then in such ordinary benefit as I may equally bestow without mine owne great hurt, upon any subject of either nation; in which case no kings handes can ever be fully closed. To both I owe justice and protection, which with God's grace I shall ever equally ballance.

For my liberalitie, I have told you of it heretofore: my three first yeeres were to me as a Christmas, I could not then be miserable:[1] should I have been oversparing to them, they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his brethren, or that the king had bene drunke with his new kingdome. But suites goe not now so cheape as they were wont, neither are there so many fees taken in the hamper and petibagge for the great seale as hath bene. And if I did respect the English when I came first, of whom I was received with joy, and came as in a hunting journey, what might the Scottish have justly said, if I had not, in some measure, dealt bountifully with them, that so long had served me, so farre adventured themselves with me, and bene so faithful to mee?[2] I have given you now foure yeeres proofe since my comming, and what

[1] *i. e.* parsimonious. This word *miserable*, and its corresponding substantive *miser*, have, in a manner, exchanged their meanings in ancient and modern times. Spenser always uses *miser*, in the Latin sense of a wretched and impoverished person.

[2] Osburne, with his usual asperity, thus describes the influx of the Scottish into the Canaan of England. " Yet the beggerly rabble attending his majesty, not only at his first coming out of Scotland, but through his

I might have done more to have raised the Scottish nation you all know, and the longer I live, the lesse cause have I to be acquainted with them, and so the lesse hope of extraordinary favour towards them: For since my comming from them I doe not alreadie know the one halfe of them by face, most of the youth being now risen up to be men, who were but children when I was there, and more are borne since my comming thence.

Now for my lands and revenues of my crowne which you may thinke I have diminished, they are not yet so farre diminished, but that I thinke no prince of Christendome hath fairer possessions to his crowne then yet I have, and in token of my care to preserve the same to my posteritie for ever, the intaile of my lands to the crowne hath bene long agoe offered unto you; and that it is not yet done, is not my fault as you know. My treasurer here knoweth my care, and hath already in part declared it, and if I did not hope to treble my revenue more then I have empaired it, I should never rest quietly in my bed. But notwithstanding my comming to the crowne, with that extraordinarie applause which you all know, and that I had two nations to be the objects of my liberalitie, which never any prince had here before; will you compare my gifts out of mine inheritance with some princes here that had onely this nation to respect, and whose whole time of reigne was little longer then mine hath bene already? It will be found that their gifts have farre surpassed mine, albeit, as I have already said, they had nothing so great cause of using their liberalitie.

Secondly, For the manner of the Union presently desired, it standeth in three parts: The first, taking away of hostile lawes; for since there can be now no warres betwixt you, is not reason hostile lawes should cease? For, *deficiente causa deficit effectus.* The

whole reign (like a fluent spring) found still crossing the river of Tweed, did so far justifie the former conjecture, as it was only thought mistaken in relation to time. The dreadful symptoms of that war presaged, still impending England, and the nearer approach manifested in the discontent that appeared in all places amongst every society, to the very court itself, in whose opinion no less than the generality, his too palpable partiality towards his countrymen rendered him no higher place than of a king-in-law, not a prince of any natural affections to the people of this nation. So as his more wise and innocent successor was cast upon this unhappy choice, either to hazard the fidelity of his Scotch subjects, by obstructing this bounty; or that of the English, at whose cost alone it could be continued. All which might easily have been prevented, (and perhaps no less to the king's advantage than the peoples) had the same caution the parliament exacted from Philip of Spain, been taken from James of Scotland, a nation no less distant from the English in nature and affection." OSBURNE's *Traditional Memorials of King James*, p 422. Yet a scarcely less prejudiced author allows, that the Scottish favourites had more obloquy than real advantage by James's favour. The passage is curious, and worthy of being quoted. "They that lived at court, and were curious observers of every man's actions, could have then affirmed, that Salisbury, Suffolk, and Northampton, and their friends, did get more then the whole nation of Scotland (Dunbar excepted,) for whatever others got, they spent here, only Dunbar laid a foundation of a great family, which did all revert into England again, with his daughter's marriage with the house of Suffolk; so in truth, all the water run to their mills.

"It is most true, that many Scots did get much, but not more with one hand, then they spent with the other; witness the Earl of Kelly, Annandale, &c. nay, that great getter, the Earl of Carlisle also, and some private gentlemen; as Gideon Murrey, John Achmoty, James Baily, John Gib, and Barnard Lindley, got some petty estate not worthy either the naming or enjoying; old servants should get some moderate estates to leave to posterity.

"But these, and all the Scots in general, got scarce the tythe of those English getters, that can be said to stick by them, or their posterity; besides, Salisbury had one trick to get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the shell, yet cast all the envy on them; he would make them buy books of fee farms, some one hundred pound per annum, some one hundred marks, and he would compound with them for a thousand pound, which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them pass without any controle, or charge, and one thousand pound appeared to them that never saw ten pound before, an inexhaustible treasure; then would Salisbury fill up this book with such prime land, as should be worth ten or twenty thousand pound, which was easie for him, being treasurer, so to do, and by this means Salisbury inriched himself infinitely, yet cast the envy on the Scots, in whose names these books appeared, and are still upon record to all posterity, though Salisbury had the honey, they poor gentlemen but part of the wax; Dunbar only had his agents, and could play his own game, which they durst not cross; so was the poor king and state cheated on all hands." Sir ANTHONY WELDON's *Court and Character of King James.* Lond. 1689. 12. p. 58, *et seqq.*

King of England now cannot have warres with the King of Scotland; therefore this failes of itselfe. The second is communite of commerce. I am no stranger unto you; for you all know I came from the loines of your ancient kings. They of Scotland be my subjects as you are. But how can I bee naturall liege lord to you both, and you strangers one to the other? Shall they, which be of one alleagance with you, be no better respected of you, nor freer amongst you, then Frenchmen and Spaniards? Since I am soveraigne over both, you as subjects to one king, it must needs follow that you converse and have commerce together. There is a rumour of some ill dealings that should bee used by the commissioners, merchants of Scotland. They be heere in England, and shall remaine till your next meeting, and abide triall, to proove themselves either honest men or knaves.

Thirdly, For the third point, of naturalization, you all agree that they are no aliens, and yet will not allow them to bee natural. What kind of prerogative will you make? But for the *post nati*, your owne lawyers and judges at my first comming to this crowne, informed me, there was a difference between the *antè* and the *post nati* of each kingdome, which caused me to publish a proclamation, that the *post nati* were naturalized (*ipso facto*) by my accession to this crowne.[a] I do not denie but judges may erre as men, and therefore I doe not presse you here to sweare to all their reasons. I onely urge at this time the conveniencie for both kingdomes, neither pressing you to judge nor to bee judged. But remember also it is as possible and likely your owne lawyers may erre as the judges. Therefore as I wish you to proceede herein so farre as may tend to the weale of both nations; so would I have you on the other part to beware to disgrace either my proclamations or the judges, who, when the parliament is done, have power to trie your lands and lives, for so you may disgrace both your king and your lawes. For the doing of any act that may procure lesse reverence to the judges, cannot but breede a loosenesse in the government, and a disgrace to the whole nation. The reason that most mooves mee for ought I have yet heard, that there cannot but bee a difference betweene the *antè nati* and the *post nati*, and that in the favour of the last, is that they must bee neerer unto you, being borne under the present government and common alleageance: but in point of conveniencie, there is no question but the *post nati* are more to bee respected. For if you would have a perfect and perpetuall union, that cannot be in the *antè nati*, who are but few in comparison of those that shall be in all ages succeeding, and cannot live long. But in the *post nati* shall the Union be continued and live ever age after age, which wanting a difference cannot but leave a perpetual marke of separation in the worke of the union; as also that argument of jealousie will be so farre remooved in the case of the *post nati*, which are to reape the benefit in all succeeding ages, as by the contrarie there will then rise Pharaohs which never knew Joseph; the kings my successors, who, being borne and bred here, can never have more occasion of acquaintance with the Scottish nation in generall, then any other English king that was before my time. Be not therefore abused with the flattering speeches of such as would have the *antè nati* preferred, alleadging their merit in my service, and such other reasons which indeed are but sophismes. For, my rewarding out of my liberalitie of any particular men, hath nothing adoe with the general acte of the union, which must not regard the deserts of private persons, but the general weale and conjoyning of the nations. Besides that, the actuall naturallizing, which is the onely point that is in your handes, is already granted to by your selves to the most part of such particular persons as can have any use of it here; and if any other well deserving men were to sue for it hereafter, I doubt not but there would never be a question mooved among you for the granting of it. And therefore it is most evident, that such

[a] The English judges had delivered their opinion, that the *post nati*, i. e. those born since the death of Elizabeth, their allegiance being indiscriminately due to the king, were freely naturalized in either kingdom.

discourses have *Mel in Ore, Fel in Corde,* as I said before; carrying an outward appearance of love to the union, but indeed a contrary resolution in their hearts; and as for limitations and restrictions, such as shall by me be agreed upon to be reasonable and necessarie after you have fully debated upon them, you may assure your selves I will with indifferencie grant what is requisite, without partiall respect of Scotland. I am, as I have often said, borne and sworne king over both kingdomes; onely this farre let me entreat you, in debating the point at your next meeting, that ye be as ready to resolve doubts as to moove them, and to be satisfied when doubts are cleered.

Third, And as for commodities that come by the union of these kingdomes, they are great and evident; peace, plentie, love, free intercourse and common societie of two great nations.[1] All foreigne kings that have sent their ambassadours to congratulate with me since my comming, have saluted me as monarch of the whole isle, and with much more respect of my greatnesse, then if I were king alone of one of these realmes; and with what comfort doe your selves behold Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English, divers in nation, yet all walking as subjects and servants within my court, and all living under the allegeance of your king, besides the honour and lustre that the encrease of gallant men in the court of divers nations carries in the eyes of all strangers that repaire hither? Those confining places which were the borders of the two kingdomes, where heretofore much blood was shed, and many of your ancestours lost their lives, yea, that lay waste and desolate, and were habitations but for runnagates, are now become the

[1] These arguments, however just, were not admitted by James's new subjects.

"The promoters of the Union in the House of Commons, no less than the Chancellor in the House of Lords, did, besides many rebukes and scoffs, meet with some such answers as these: 'That since no lord of a rich manor would accept of the offer of one more poor, upon the condition of inter-commoning, lest he should beggar his best tenants, without making his worst considerable: so,' &c.

"That no people endued with the natural desire of preservation, being happy at that instant, would admit the prince of a beggarly nation to reign over them, how just so ever his claim was, for fear of losing their propriety, as dear as life itself, and so as vigorous to be defended.

"Some corporations explode as foreigners such as are not bred in the place, all those born out of the nation. And if these last objections owned a countenance stern enough in the opinions of so many to face the entrance of James himself, it cannot but raise a doubt how his admittance should make way for the whole nation to follow him.

"He that considers the enmity that hathe ever been between Scotland and England, with their propensity to drive on a feud through many generations, cannot think of our mixing without trembling; there being some affinity in blood, laws, customs, and affection, betwixt the Welch and us, none with, &c.

"If the French, being in our possession, were allowed to export wool, cloth, &c. it was in lieu of wine and other commodities they brought us: But what have the Scots of their own growth but eggs, barnicles, and such drugs for the cure of the jaundice, as may be found under our hedges, though not in so great quantities. Wherefore, since in all communities a reciprocall contribution is required, and without which the body politick cannot flourish, what an irreparable loss should we have sustained through such a conjunction?

"The Romans had many rich cities, nations, and colonies, that were not sharers in the freedom of Rome, looked upon as a special favour, and only communicable at the benevolence of the senate; legible in their story, no less than the Scripture, where though Saint Paul was free born, Claudias Lysias, the chief captain, far above him in dignity, was fain to obtain it for a great summ.

"Though Sicily, Millain, be within the title, no less than jurisdiction of the most Catholick King, yet these have no more power to trade in the Indies, than those unhappy people have to traffick in any part of Castile.

"Nature hath taught every nation a peculiar ingenuity to provide for its own necessities, which, upon the access of another, must be either exceeded and so undone, or go beyond the new comer and ruin him: Therefore, since we had no want of inhabitants of our own, such a beggarly addition must needs be destructive. The Scot, like the poor Swiss, (yet better provided for, and nearer the sun than he,) finds a more commodious abiding under every climate than at home; which, as it makes the Swiss to venture their lives in the quarrel of any prince for money, so this northern people are known to do, or turn pedlars, being become so cunning, through necessity, that they ruin all about them. Manifest in Ireland, where they usually say, none of any other country can prosper that comes to live within the kenning of a Scot.

"If our Saviour Christ, the King of Kings, whose treasure can never be exhausted, said, though in another dialect, It is not meet, that is not just, nor expedient, to give the childrens bread to, &c. can any think it prudent or legal to share the fruits of England with the sons of the locust and the daughters of the horse-leech?"—Osborne's *Works*, 1689, p. 466.

navell or umbilicke of both kingdomes, planted and peopled with civilitie and riches; their churches begin to be planted, their doores stand now open, they feare neither robbing nor spoiling; and where there was nothing before heard nor seene in those parts but bloodshed, oppressions, complaints, and outcries, they now live every man peaceably under his own figgetree, and all their former cryes and complaintes turned onely into prayers to God for their king, under whome they enjoy such ease and happie quietnesse. The marches beyond and on this side Twede are as fruitfull and as peaceable as most parts of England. If after all this there shall be a scissure, what inconvenience will follow, judge you.'

And as for the inconveniences that are feared on England's part, It is alleaged, that the Scots are a populous nation, they shall be harboured in our nests, they shall be planted and flourish in our good soile, they shall eate our commons bare, and make us leane: These are foolish and idle surmisses. That which you possesse, they are not to enjoy; by law they cannot, nor by my partialitie they shall not; for set apart conscience and honour, (which if I should set apart indeed, I had rather wish myself to be set apart and out of all being,) can any man conclude either out of common reason or good policie, that I will preferre those which perhaps I shall never see, or but by poste for a moneth, before those with whome I must always dwell? Can they conquer or overcome you with swarmes of people, as the Goths and the Vandals did Italy? Surely the worlde knowes they are nothing so populous as you are; and although they have had the honour and good fortune never to be conquered, yet were they ever but upon the defensive part, and may in a part thanke their hilles and inaccessible passages that preserved them from an utter overthrow at the hands of all that pretended to conquer them. Or are they so very poore and miserable in their owne habitations, that necessitie should force them all to make incursions among you?

And for my part, when I have two nations under my government, can you imagine I will respect the lesser, and neglect the greater? Would I not thinke it a lesse evil and hazard to me that the plague were at Northampton or Barwicke then at London, so neere Westminster, the seate of my habitation, and of my wife and children? Will not a man be more carefull to quench the fire taken in his neerest neighbours house, then if a whole towne were a fire far from him? You know that I am carefull to preserve the woods and game through all England, nay, through all the isle; yet none of you doubts, but that I would bee more offended with any disorder in the forrest of Waltham, for stealing of a stagge there, which lieth as it were under my nose, and in a maner joyneth with my garden, then with cutting of timber, or stealing of a deare in any forrest of the north parts of Yorkeshire or the bishopricke.[2] Thinke you that I

[1] "For the more assurance of peace and quietness in those borders, the king at his coming to London, with the advice of the whole body of his united counsell, ordained several commissioners and a provost marshall, and after that, as well for prevention of all manner distemperature on either part, as for the orderlie executing of civell justice upon all sorts of offenders, both Scots and English, it was ordayned upon penaltie, that no borderer of Englande or Scotland should weare any manner of weapon, offensive or defensive, except a knife onely, of a certain length, wherewith to cut their meat, neither should they keepe any horses, geldings, or mares, above the value of fortie shillings. Those parts thus restrayned, on the English side, are Tynedale and Ridsdale, in Northumberlande; Eske and Lyme, in Westmerland; and on Scotland side, is East and West Tevedale, bordering uppon Northumberland, Lydsdale [Liddisdale], Amerdale [Annandale], and Ewsdale, bordering uppon Westmerland. This decree was proclaimed three yeares after, by meanes whereof the northerne borders became as safe and peceable as any parte of the intyre kingdome, so as in the fourthe yeare of the king's raigne, as well gentlemen as others inhabiting the places aforesayde, finding the auncient wast ground to bee very good and fruitefull, began to contende in lawe about the bounds, challenging then that for their hereditarie right, which formerlie they disavowed, onely to avoyde charges of common defence."—STOWE'S *Chronicle*, p. 818.

[2] The peculiar strictness of James respecting game, which he here claims as one of his peculiar attributes, was matter of great advantage to those disposed to censure his habits and rules of government:—

"Nay, I dare boldly say, one man might with more safety have killed another, than a rascal deer; but if a stag had been known to have miscarried, and the author fled, a proclamation, with a description of the party,

will preferre them that be absent, lesse powerfull, and farther off to doe me good or hurt, before you, with whome my securitie and living must be, and where I desire to plant my posteritie? If I might by any such favours raise my selfe to a greatnesse, it might bee probable: All I cannot draw, and to lose a whole state here to please a few there, were madnesse. I need speake no more of this with protestations. Speake but of wit, it is not likely; and to doubt of my intention in this, were more then devilish.

For mine owne part, I offer more than I receive, and conveniencie I preferre before law, in this poynt. For three parts, wherein I might hurt this nation, by partialitie to the Scots, you know do absolutely lie in my hands and power; for either in disposition of rents, or whatsoever benefit, or in the preferring of them to any dignitie or office, civill or ecclesiasticall, or in calling them to the parliament, it doeth all fully and onely lie within the compasse of my prerogative, which are the parts wherein the Scottish men can receive either benefite or preferrement by the Union, and wherein for the care I have of this people, I am content to binde my selfe with some reasonable restrictions.

As for the fourth part, the naturalizing, which onely lieth in your hands: It is the poynt wherein they receive least benefit of any; for in that they can obteine nothing, but what they buy by their purse, or acquire by the selfe same meanes that you do. And as for the point of naturalizing, which is the poynt thought so fit, and so precisely belonging to parliament; not to speake of the common lawe, wherein as yet I can professe no great knowledge, but in the civil law, wherein I am a litle beter versed, and which in the point of conjunction of nations should beare a great sway, it being the law of nations; I will mainteyne two principles in it, which no learned and grave civilian will deny, as being clearly to be proved, both out of the text it selfe in many places, and also out of the best approved doctours and interpreters of that law; the one, that it is a speciall poynt of the king's own prerogative to make aliens and citizens, and *donare civitate;* the other, that in any case wherein the law is thought not to be cleare, (as some of your selves do doubt, that in this case of the *post nati* the law of England doth not clearely determine,) then in such a question, wherein no positive law is resolute, *Rex est Judex*, for he is *Lex loquens*, and is to supply the law where the law wants; and if many famous histories be to be beleeved, they give the example for mainteining of this law in the persons of the kings of England and France especially, whose speciall prerogative they alleadge it to be. But this I speake onely as knowing what belongeth to a king, although in this case I presse no further than that which may agree with your loves, and stand with the weale and conveniencie of both nations.

And whereas some may thinke this Union will bring prejudice to some townes and corporations within England: It may be, a merchant or two out of Bristow, or Yarmouth, may have an hundred pounds lesse in his packe. But if the empire gaine, and become the greater, it is no matter. You see one corporation is ever against another, and no private companie can be set up, but with some losse to another.

Fourth, For the supposed inconveniences rising from Scotland, they are three. First, that there is an evili affection in the Scottish nation to the Union; next, the Union is incompatible betweene two such nations; thirdly, that the gaine is small or none. If this be so, to what end doe we talk of an Union? For proofe of the first point, there is

had been presently penned by the attorney-general, and the penalty of his majesty's high displeasure (by which was understood the star-chamber) threatened against all that did abet, comfort, or relieve him. Thus satirical, or, if you please, tragical, was this sylvan prince against all deer-killers, and indulgent to men-slayers. But lest this expression should be thought too poetical for an historian, I shall leave him dressed to posterity in the colours I saw him in the next progress after his inauguration; which was as green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and a horn, instead of a sword, by his side: how suitable to his age, calling, or complexion, I leave others to judge from his pictures; he owning a countenance not in the least semblable to any my eyes ever met with, besides an host, dwelling in Amthill, formerly a shepherd, and so metaphorically of the same profession."—OSBORNE'S *Traditional Memorials*, § 17.

alledged an aversenesse in the Scottish nation expressed in the instrument, both in the preface and body of their act; in the preface, where they declare, That they will remaine an absolute and free monarchie; and in the body of the acte, where they make an exception of the ancient fundamental lawes of that kingdome. And first for the generall of their aversenesse. All the maine current in your Lower House ran this whole session of Parliament with that opinion, That Scotland was so greedy of this Union, and apprehended that they should receive so much benefit by it, as they cared not for the strictnesse of any conditions, so they might attain to the substance; and yet you now say, they are backwards and averse from the Union. This is a direct contradiction *in adjecto;* for, how can they both bee beggars and backwards, in one and the selfe same thing, at the same time?

But for answere to the particulars, it is an old schoole point, *Ejus est explicare, cujus est condere.* You cannot interpret their lawes, nor they yours; I that made them with their assent, can best expound them.

And first I confesse, that the English Parliaments are so long, and the Scottish so short, that a meane between them would do well; for the shortness of their continuing together, was the cause of their hastie mistaking, by setting these wordes of exception of fundamentall lawes in the body of the acte, which they onely did in pressing to imitate word by word the English instrument, wherein the same words be conteined in your preface. And as to their meaning and interpretation of that word, I will not onely deliver it unto you out of mine owne conceipt, but as it was delivered unto mee by the best lawyers of Scotland, both counsellours and other lawyers, who were at the making thereof in Scotland, and were commissioners here for performance of the same.

Their meaning in the word of fundamentall lawes, you shall perceive more fully hereafter, when I handle the objection of the difference of lawes: for they intend thereby onely those lawes whereby confusion is avoyded, and their king's descent mainteined, and the heritage of the succession and monarchie, which hath bene a kingdome, to which I am in descent, 300 yeeres before Christ; not meaning it, as you doe, of their common law, for they have none, but that which is called *Jus Regis;* and their desire of continuing a free monarchie, was onely meant, that all such particular priviledges (whereof I spake before) should not bee so confounded, as for want either of magistrate, law, or order, they might fall in such a confusion, as to become like a naked province, without law or libertie under this kingdome. I hope you meane not I should set garrisons over them, as the Spaniards doe over Sicily and Naples, or governe them by commissioners, which are seldome found succeedingly all wise and honest men.

This I must say for Scotland, and I may truely vaunt it: Here I sit and governe it with my pen; I write and it is done, and by a clearke of the councell I governe Scotland now, which others could not doe by the sword. And for their aversenesse in their heart against the Union, it is true indeede, I protest they did never crave this Union of mee, nor sought it either in private or the state by letters, nor ever once did any of that nation presse me forward or wish me to accelerate that businesse. But on the other part, they offered always to obey mee when it should come to them, and all honest men that desire my greatnesse have beene thus minded, for the personall reverence and regard they beare unto my person, and any of my reasonable and just desires.

I know there are many Piggots amongst them, I meane a number of seditious and discontented particular persons, as must be in all commonwealths, that where they dare may peradventure talk lewdly enough; but no Scottish man ever spake dishonourably of England in Parliament. For here must I note unto you the difference of the two Parliaments in these two kingdoms; for there they must not speak without the chauncellor's leave; and if any man doe propound or utter any seditious or uncomely speeches, he is straight interrupted and silenced by the chauncellor's authority; where as here,

the libertie for any man to speake what hee list, and as long as he list, was the onely cause hee was not interrupted.[1]

It hath bin objected, that there is a great antipathy of the lawes and customes of these two nations. It is much mistaken; for Scotland hath no common law as here, but the law they have is of three sorts.

All the lawe of Scotland for tenures, wards and liveries, seigniories and lands, are drawn out of the chauncerie of England; and for matters of equitie, and in many things else, differs from you but in certaine termes. James the First, bred here in England, brought the lawes thither in a written hand. The second is statute lawes, which be their acts of parliament, wherein they have power as you, to make and alter lawes: and those may be looked into by you, for I hope you shall be no more strangers to that nation. And the principall worke of this union will be, to reconcile the statute lawes of both kingdomes. The third is the civill law. James the Fift brought it out of France, by establishing the session there, according to the forme of the court of parliament of Fraunce, which he had seene in the time of his being there: who occupie there the place of civil judges in all matters of plee or controversie, yet not to governe absolutely by the civill law as in France. For if a man plead that the law of the nation is otherwise, it is a barre to the civill, and a good chauncellor or president will oftentimes repell and put to silence an argument that the lawyers brings out of the civill lawe, where they have a cleare solution in their owne lawe. So as the civill law in Scotland is admitted in no other cases, but to supply such cases wherein the municipall law is defective. Then may you see it is not so hard a matter as is thought, to reduce that countrey to bee united with you under this law, which neither are subject to the civill lawe, nor yet have any olde common law of their owne, but such as in effect is borrowed from yours. And for their statute lawes in parliament, you may alter and change them as oft as occasion shall require, as you doe here. It hath likewise beene objected as an other impediment, that in the parliament of Scotland the king hath not a negative voice, but must passe all the lawes agreed on by the lords and commons. Of this I can best resolve you: for I am the eldest parliament man in Scotland, and have sit in more parliaments then any of my predecessors. I can assure you, that the forme of parliament there, is nothing inclined to popularitie. About a twentie dayes or such a time before the parliament, proclamation is made throughout the kingdome, to deliver in to the kings clearke of register (whome you heere call the master of the rolles) all bils to bee exhibited that session before a certaine day. Then are they brought unto the king, and perused and considered by him, and onely such as I allow of are put into the chancellors hands to bee propounded to the parliament, and none others; and if any man in parlia-

[1] This alludes to the affair of Sir Christopher Pigot, one of the members for Buckinghamshire, "who, when some memorandums about the Union were offered to be read, and a dispute arose, whether all at once or separately, this knight, with a loud voice, and not standing up with his hat off, as the order is, pressed to have them read generally, concurring in this with the opinion of several others. But the House observing his manner of sitting and calling, for order's sake urged him to stand up and speak, if he was desirous to make known his opinion. Upon which he arose, and pretending, at first, to deliver some reasons why he pressed the reading of the remembrances generally; he, afterwards, entered into a bye-matter of invectives against the Scots and Scottish nation, using many words of scandal and obloquy, ill beseeming such an audience, and not pertinent to the matter in hand. As, 'let us not join murderers, thieves, and the roguish Scots with the well-deserving Scots. As much difference between them, as between a judge and a thief. He would speak his conscience without flattery of any creature what so ever. They have not suffered above two kings to die in their beds these two hundred years. Our king hath hardly escaped them; they have attempted him. Now he is come from amongst them, let us free him from such attempts hereafter,' &c. The House, we are informed, were so amazed at his speech, that they stood staring at one another, and took no notice of it for that time, but let it pass without tax or censure."—*Parliamentary History*, Vol. V. p. 178.

The king having called the attention of the House to Pigot's speech by an express message, they were roused from what the royal pedant calls *mæstum silentium*, and after much debate the offending member was expelled from the House, and committed to the Tower. He was discharged from prison at the king's message, but not restored to his seat in the House.

ment speake of any other matter then is in this forme first allowed by me, the chancellor tells him there is no such bill allowed by the king.

Besides, when they have passed them for lawes, they are presented unto mee, and I with my scepter put into my hand by the chancellor, must say, "I ratifie and approove all things done in this present parliament." And if there bee any thing that I dislike, they rase it out before. If this may bee called a negative voyce, then I have one I am sure in that parliament.

The last impediment is the French liberties: which is thought so great, as except the Scots forsake Fraunce, England cannot bee united to them. If the Scottish nation would bee so unwilling to leave them as is said, it would not lye in their hands. For the league was never made betweene the people, as is mistaken, but betwixt the princes onely and their crownes. The beginning was by a message from a king of Fraunce, Charlemaine I take it, (but I cannot certainely remember,) unto a king of Scotland, for a league defensive and offensive betweene us and them against England, Fraunce being at that time in warres with England.

The like at that time was then desired by England against Fraunce, who also sent their embassadours to Scotland. At the first, the disputation was long maintained in favour of England, that they beeing our neerest neighbours joyned in one continent, and a strong and powerfull nation, it was more fitte for the weale and securitie of the state of Scotland, to be in league and amitie with them, then with a countrey, though never so strong, yet divided by sea from us: especially England lying betwixt us and them, where we might be sure of a suddaine mischiefe, but behooved to abide the hazard of wind and weather, and other accidents that might hinder our reliefe.

But after, when the contrarie part of the argument was maintained; wherein allegation was made, that England ever sought to conquer Scotland, and therefore in regarde of their pretended interest in the kingdome, would never keepe any sound amitie with them longer then they saw their advantage; whereas France lying more remote, and clayming no interest in the kingdome, would therefore bee found a more constant and faithfull friend: It was unhappily concluded in favour of the last partie; through which occasion Scotland gate many mischiefes after. And it is by the very tenour thereof ordered to be renewed and confirmed from king to king successively, which accordingly was ever performed by the mediation of their ambassadours, and therefore meerely personall, and so was it renewed in the queene my mothers time, onely betweene the two kings, and not by assent of parliament, or convention of the three estates, which it could never have wanted if it had beene a league between the people. And in my time when it came to bee ratified, because it appeared to bee in *odium tertii*, it was by me left unrenewed or confirmed as a thing incompatible to my person, in consideration of my title to this crowne. Some priviledges indeede in the merchants favour for point of commerce, were renewed and confirmed in my time: wherein for my part of it, there was scarce three counsellours more then my secretarie, to whose place it belonged, that medled in that matter.

It is true, that it behooved to be enterined, as they call it, in the court of parliament of Paris: but that onely serves for publication, and not to give it authoritie: That parliament, (as you know,) being but a judiciall seate of judges and lawyers, and nothing agreeing with the definition or office of our parliaments in this isle. And therefore that any fruites or priviledges possessed by the league with Fraunce is able now to remaine in Scotland, is impossible. For yee may be sure, that the French king stayes onely upon the sight of the ending of this union, to cut it off himselfe. Otherwise when this great worke were at an end, I would be forced for the generall care I owe to all my subjects, to crave of France like priviledges to them all as Scotland alreadie enjoyes, seeing the personall friendship remaines as great betweene us as betweene our progenitors; and all my subjects must be alike deare unto mee; which either he will never graut, and so all

will fall to the ground; or else it will turne to the benefite of the whole island: and so the Scottish priviledges cannot hold longer then my league with France lasteth.

And for another argument to proove that this league is only betwene the kings, and not between the people; they which have pensions, or are privie intelligence givers in France without my leave, are in no better case by the law of Scotland, then if they were pensioners to Spaine.

As for the Scottish guard in France, the beginning thereof was, when an earle of Boghan was sent in aide of the French with tenne thousand men, and there being made constable, and having obtained a victorie, was murthered with the most of the Scottish armie. In recompence whereof, and for a future securitie to the Scottish nation, the Scottish guard was ordeined to have the priviledge and prerogative before all other guards in guarding the king's person.

And as for the last point of this subdivision concerning the gaine that England may make by this union, I thinke no wise nor honest man will aske any such question. For who is so ignorant, that doeth not know the gaine will bee great? Doe you not gaine by the union of Wales? And is not Scotland greater then Wales? Shall not your dominions bee encreased of landes, seas, and persons added to your greatnesse? And are not your landes and seas adjoyning? For who can set downe the limits of the borders, but as a mathematicall line or idæa? Then will that backe doore bee shut, and those portes of Janus bee for ever closed: you shall have them that were your enemies to molest you, a sure backe to defend you: their bodies shall be your aides, and they must be partners in all your quarrels: Two snow-balls put together, make one the greater: Two houses joined, make one the larger: two castle walles made in one, makes one as thicke and strong as both. And doe you not see in the low countreys how availeable the English and the Scottish are being joyned together? This is a point so plaine, as no man that hath wit or honestie, but must acknowledge it feelingly.

And where it is objected that the Scottish men are not tyed to the service of the king in the warres above forty dayes, it is an ignorant mistaking. For the trueth is, That in respect the kings of Scotland did not so abound in treasure and money to take up an armie under pay, as the kings of England did; therefore was the Scottish army wont to bee raysed onely by proclamation, upon the penaltie of their breach of alleagance; so as they were all forced to come to the warre like snailes who carry their house about with them; every nobleman and gentleman bringing with him their tents, money, provision for their house, victuals of all sorts, and all other necessaries, the king supplying them of nothing· Necessitie thereupon enforcing a warning to be given by the proclamation of the space of their attendance, without which they could not make their provision accordingly, especially as long as they were within the bounds of Scotland, where it was not lawfull for them to helpe themselves by the spoile or wasting of the countrey. But neither is there any law prescribing precisely such a certaine number of dayes, nor yet is it without the limits of the king's power to keepe them together, as many more dayes as hee list to renew his proclamations from time to time, some reasonable number of dayes before the expiring of the former, they being ever bound to serve and waite upon him, though it were an hundredth yeere if need were.

Now to conclude, I am glad of this occasion, that I might *Liberare animam meam.* You are nowe to recede: when you meete againe, remember, I pray you, the trueth and sincerity of my meaning, which in seeking union, is onely to advance the greatnesse of your empire seated here in England, and yet with such caution I wish it, as may stand with the weale of both states What is now desired, hath oft before bene sought when it could not bee obteined: To refuse it now then, were double iniquitie. Strengthen your owne felicitie, London must be the seate of your king, and Scotland joyned to this king dome by a golden conquest, but cymented with love, (as I said before) which within will make you strong against all civill and intestine rebellion, as without we will bee

compassed and guarded with our walles of brasse. Judge mee charitably, since in this I seeke your equall good, that so both of you might be made fearefull to your enemies, powerfull in your selves, and availeable to your friendes. Studie therefore hereafter to make a good conclusion, avoyd all delayes, cut off all vaine questions, that your king may have his lawfull desire, and be not disgraced in his just endes. And for your securitie in such reasonable points of restrictions, whereunto I am to agree, ye need never doubt of my inclination: for I will not say any thing which I will not promise, nor promise any thing which I will not sweare; what I sweare I will signe, and what I sign, I shall with God's grace ever performe.

The Conference held the 25th of February, Anno 1606, *betwene the Lords Committees and the Commons, touching the Naturalizinge of the Scots, &c.*

From the Cotton Library.

" The situation of Scotland had been ineffectually regretted, and the removal, or the alleviation of its miseries, was reserved by James for the plenitude of his power, and the harmony promised by the union of the crowns. His recent elevation exempted him from the factious controul of his nobles; and by a judicious application, his revenues were sufficient to invigorate industry, his power to redress the disorders predominant through Scotland. But he proposed, to the Scots as preliminary to every national improvement, to the English as necessary to consolidate a divided empire, that the two kingdoms should accede to an incorporating union, and an equal communication of their respective rights. The measure was first recommended to an English parliament; and in a conference between both Houses, Ellesmere the chancellor procured, with difficulty, the nomination of forty-four commissioners to treat with the Scots.

" When the Scottish parliament assembled at Perth, the nobility, on the first proposition of an union, were alarmed for their privileges, or apprehensive of their future subjection to England. Frequent consultations were privately held, till admonished by the king, that their prompt obedience could alone avert his severe displeasure; when their haste to exculpate themselves by the appointment of commissioners, announced that they were no longer equal to a contest with their absent sovereign. Thirty-six commissioners were chosen to co-operate with those of England, in concerting the union; but, without detriment to the independency, which was reserved entire, or the fundamental laws and constitution of the Scottish monarchy, whose alteration was prohibited. The parliament, secretly averse to the union, affected to consider it as limited to the removal of whatever statutes or local usages might perpetuate the memory of past hostilities, or generate future animosity between the kingdoms.

" The commissioners assembled at Westminster; and after repeated conferences, productive only of minute regulations, their progress was interrupted by debates to which there was no issue. A free interchange of rights, a common legislature, the same laws against state offences, were alone requisite to complete the union. But the commissioners adhered invariably to their national prejudices. The Scots were tenacious of their independence, and unwilling to descend to the subordinate, though securer station of a dependent province of the British empire. To the poverty of a proud aristocracy, commercial privileges were neither an object, nor a recompence for the surrender of their personal importance or share in the legislature; and expecting from the accession alone, they were apprehensive that an union, by diminishing their influence, might impair their claims on the munificence of their sovereign. The commons were yet insignificant, and as the rest of Europe was open to their adventures, insensible to the advantages of a trade with England. The temptation of a colonial trade did not then exist; and the improvement of

their country, from the admission of its rude produce into the English markets, was understood so imperfectly, or so little foreseen, that in the preliminary articles, sheep and black cattle, together with wool, hides, leather, and yarn, were prohibited or reserved by the commissioners from exportation, for the internal consumption of each nation. But the removal of the seat of government to England, while the absence of the court was severely felt and regretted in the metropolis, affected all ranks as a violent and a dangerous experiment, of which the detriment was certain, immediate, and extensive, the beneficial consequences, precarious and remote.

"Nor were the English commissioners less influenced by national prejudices. Instructed, perhaps, by the prodigality of their sovereign, they proposed an uniformity of laws as the basis of an union, and when the Scottish commissioners rejected an ignominious servitude to the laws of England, they refused, on other terms, to communicate their rights to aliens, recently their enemies, and still their rivals. In the next century, their posterity discovered, nor was experience necessary to prove, that if the relative obligations to government are the same, uniformity of religious or municipal laws is not essential to an incorporating union. To obliterate those laws which custom and positive institutions have accumulated, is impracticable except in a conquered country; to substitute a different jurisprudence, unknown to the people, and irreconcilable perhaps with their private rights, would be productive of universal confusion and dismay: but the English commissioners were actuated obviously by a jealous alternative, to reduce a rival state to subjection, or oppose an insurmountable obstruction to an union. The alternative was proposed, as a rapid influx of Scots was apprehended, from a measure which opened the trade of England, the universities, the church, and the most lucrative or dignified offices of government, to the industrious ambition of a favoured nation. Antipathies, which the intercourse of another century was insufficient to eradicate, were entire and vigorous; and the English, engaged in no continental wars, nor ambitious of foreign alliances, were indifferent to the additional strength, the accession of territory, and above all the internal and profound security to be derived from an union, which, in the present century, their apprehension of a separate succession to the two kingdoms was requisite to accomplish." LAING'S *History of Scotland,* Vol. I.

By act of parliament in the first session, *anno* 1*mo*, *Jac. Regis*, certain commissioners of England were appointed to meet with commissioners of Scotland, and to treat for the weale of both kingdoms, and to put their doings in schedules tripartite, to be divided, one to the king, the other to the parliament of England, and the third to the parliament of Scotland. The commissioners of both nations met in the painted chamber at Westminster, *anno* 2*do* *Jac.* and treated long; and in the end made schedules, and delivered them according to the act. The schedule for the parliament of England was delivered by the Lord Ellesmere, lord-chancellor of England, to whom the commissioners had delivered the same for that purpose (himself being one of the commissioners.) The first day of the sessions of parliament holden *anno* 3*tio* *Jac.* the king himself, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, being all assembled in the Upper House of parliament, the consideration of that schedule was by another act made in this session, referred until the next sessions.

The next sessions, being this instant *anno* 4*to* *Jacobi Regis*, the schedule was considered of dividedly by the lords and commons. The material part, consisting of three heads proposed by the commissioners, were:

First, that all hostile laws of either nation, one against the other, might be abrogated, and did enumerate the same.

Secondly, they proposed a clause of commerce and merchandizing by merchants of both nations betwene themselves and with foriners.

Thirdly, that the common law of both nations should be declared to be, that all born in either nation since his majesty was king of both, were mutually naturalized in both; and farther, that an act might be made to naturalize all borne before with certain conditions and restrictions for bearing offices judicature, or having voice in parliament, and with a saving of the king's prerogative.

Upon the two first articles the lords and commons had sundry conferences in the painted chamber, and in effect agreed to give way to the substance of them. But upon the third, the commons could not assent to declare the law, as was proposed: and thereupon, after long debate among themselves, appointed committees to meet with the lords committees; who met the 25th of February 1606 in the painted chamber, at which conference Sir Francis Bacon, appointed by the House to introduce the rest, began in this manner:

That this conference, and the subject thereof, was not in *deliberativo*; but *in judiciali*, not *de bono* but *de vero*, not to consult of a law to be made, but to declare the law already planted, whereunto the commons were drawn by insatisfaction of their judgments, not indisposition of their minds to the happy union intended, to oppose the proposition of the commissioners. And whereas his majesty had by a proclamation expressed the law to be as the commissioners had proposed, the commons did not take themselves prejudicated by the proclamation. First, for that that matter came but *(obiter)* in the proclamation, and was not the principal part or purpose thereof. Then for that the proclamation mentioneth the king to be so informed by divers sages of the law, which is not to be understood judges of the law, but some learned in the laws, whose opinions may the better be opposed; yet the proclamation hath so tempered the tongues of the speakers, that it hath kept down all flashes of heat, which otherwise might have happened in the argument. Howbeit the danger of a declaratory statute being like Janus striking both ways, raiseth in the commons so much fear to assent to the proposition, leaving the proclamation nevertheless to his own effect. *Pour inducement pour les autres speakers, apres pour c'est induction.* He shewed that it was a singular commendation to the laws of England, that it was not insociable, but contented to hear and be advised by other sciences in matter of dependencies upon them; as in cases of exposition of words by grammarians, in matters of matrimony by civilians, in minerals by natural philosophers, in vices and virtues by moral philosophers. Upon which consultation the commons had selected out of themselves divers gentlemen, some for inducement, some for argument in the point of law. Those for inducement were to show the law of nations and of reason, and the stories of other countries, and the civil law elsewhere put in use upon nations. Those for argument were gentlemen of the profession of the common laws of the realm. All which being here ready, he left them to discharge their own proper parts.

Sir Edwyn Sands shewed, that this case was proper to be consulted with the law of nations, which is called *jus gentium;* for there being no precedent for it in the law, *lex deficit*, and *deficiente lege, recurritur ad consuetudinem*, and *deficiente consuetudine, recurritur ad rationem naturalem*, which *ratio naturalis* is the law of nations, called *jus gentium*. The question of difference is thus, whether subjection to one king, make all the people born within that subjection, to be naturalized over all places of that king's subjection; which, as he thought, if it were to be measured by the law of reason and nations, did not; and thereof shewed seven reasons for his opinion.

First, That although, *ab antiquo*, when people were together in one heap irregularly, having one head, their subjection gave to every one equal privileges in all places of their subjection, yet since the world is grown to distribution of people into places, and to discipline in their government, though their subjection still remain in the general to one head, yet the manner of it is locally circumscribed to the places where they are brought forth: and those of one place do not, nor should partake of the discipline, privileges, and birth-rights of the other places, but every one left to his own, as acquired by patrimony by their ancestors of that place, upon reasons, peradventure, now not extant, nor to be exactly understood.

Secondly, this is in use in other nations, who obtain their naturalization by charters,

and for such time, and with such cautions as may be granted unto them, and take it not by the general law of that nation whereunto they are united.

Thirdly, in the time of the old civil Romans, who united unto them divers provinces, they had degrees in naturalizing; for, first, the party had *jus domicilii*, then *jus civitatis*, next *jus tribus*, and lastly, *jus honoris*; whereas, if the law of England should be, that subjection brought all this together, it were a law over liberal, and more bountiful than the laws of this civil state, grounded upon reason and policy.

Fourthly, that Scotland being governed by the civil law, alloweth not English, by bare subjection to their king, to be naturalized within them; and therefore the law of England should be very unequal, if it should allow it unto the Scots here.

Fifthly, this case may give a dangerous example for mutual naturalizing of all nations that hereafter may fall into the subjection of the king, although they be very remote, in that their mutual communicating of privileges may disorder the settled government of every of the particulars; and how many of them may happen is uncertain; for we see that there were many more kings, they came after to two, and are now brought to six only within Christendom.

Sixthly, the Scot shall be in better case by this law of naturalizing than the English in the English nation; for the English pay all impositions and taxes for services of the crown, which the Scots do not with us in England.

Seventhly, All the reasons given for naturalizing, extend as well to them borne before as since the king came to the crowne of England; for the subjection is now all one: therefore the lawe that should make a difference is not reasonable. And because the law is confessed to be, therefore the law must also be, if it retain the same reason that those born after be not naturalized. Nevertheless he concluded, that he held it in reason, that in respect of one subjection the Scots should not be accounted nor dealt withall by our lawes as aliens, although not enabled to the full rights of an English born amongst us.

First, Sir Roger Owen for stories, first shewed, that in all the precedents of the Romans, and in all their varieties of aristocracy or monarchy, there was no naturalizing *ipso jure*, but by charters of grace or constitutions specially, and that by Urinus begun and introduced.

Secondly, the precedent of Spaine and Castile is not to this point; for Allaricus the emperor, first lord of Spain, gave out Castile, and the coming of Castile again is rather a reuniting or a rejointure, then a new union, and therefore they be one naturalized in the other, as they were at the first.

Thirdly, the precedent fresh of France and Scotland, by marriage of the king's mother with Francis the 2d king of France; whereas because the subjection made no naturalizing *ipso jure*, therefore the Scots in France, and the French in Scotland, were naturalized by acts of parliament, and with cautions.

Sir John Bennet, doctor of the civil law, shewed, that the civil law had no resolution of this point *in terminis terminantibus*; but of other unions, lesser than kingdoms, there were rules, which he divided into these heads; one a maxim, the other a distribution. The maxim, *cum duo jura concurrunt in una persona, æquum est ac si esset in diversis*, as one parson of two churches, dean of two deanries, the customs of every place remain still distinct and divided, and cited one example. That the earldom of Flanders and Artois were holden of the king of France, as sovereign, by the duke, of Brabant and Holland, and yet was a free state; the question was, whether this duke, having both the dukedom and earldome, and owing subjection to France only for the earldom, might make a league with the English for his dukedom, without breaking allegiance with France? And this being debated in the parliament of Paris, it was adjudged he might, because he held the earldom as distinct in his person, and owed no subjection to France for his dukedom.

The distribution he made was this, upon the difference of *unum* and *unitum*. There was an union subordinate, that is, when an inferior is united to a superior, as Ireland to England. In this case *privilegia communicantur*. There is an union by incorporation; that is, when they be made *unum*, and not *unitum*, and *privilegia communicantur*, as Wales and England. The third is, when distinct kingdoms are united, and that *unitum* is *secundum quid*, and not *simpliciter*; in which case *privilegia non communicantur*. And so he concluded, that Scotish men were not naturalized in England, and yet he affirmed that it was in the power of the king, by the civil law, to naturalize them, and give them the privileges.

The Earl of Salisbury here interposed, and said, that he was desirous to understand, whether the arguments made were upon the point in question? For, as he conceived, the question now in debate was a legal question of the law of England; and therefore time was to be spent upon argument and discussion of the law of England: And so *sapiens contentio aut prodest aut non obest*.

The Lord Chancellor then spake, and said, that the first man that spake by introduction and inducement of the rest, brought the question to the quick; that is, that it was not a question *de bono* but *de vero*; not what was fit to be done, but what the law already is; which is, what the law of England is. In which question, if it shall be doubtful, it is more then indifferent to declare it as the commissioners have proposed, for three causes.

1. The king's proclamation having divulged it so, it is for his honour to declare it so, if it be not clear otherwise.

2. The opinion of the commissioners whom both Houses trusted.

3. The act of recognition, whereby we have acknowledged the king, king of both kingdoms; and that we both live under one imperial crown.

The Earl of Northampton said, that it appeared by the civilians, that in the civil lawe there was no preeedent *in terminis terminantibus*, and therfor from them we could take no rule in this case; nor in stories or examples of foreine parts, which are appliable and framed to their own particular policies; nor, as this case is, can we be measured or guided by inconveniences that may be forecast, because we are confined to a point of law already received and planted, and are to reason and discuss what law is. Nevertheless he desired leave to use a comparison to them to be commended to their considerations between the union of a body politique and a body natural. The head in a body natural hath his influence into all the members by spirits of life and sense; so hath the head of the body politique, to whom all the members be children in obedience, and brothers one to another. The sinews in a body natural be ligaments that bind together the joints and flesh; so are the laws in a body politique that tie the people in a bond of subjection and civil life. The blood that passeth in the veins of the body natural by continual motion, doth maintain and refresh the spirits of life; so traffique, commerce, and contracts, in a body politique, do support, maintain, and refresh the commonwealth. But of all these there is a superior spirit sent by God, which is the soul to the body of man, by which all our blessedness is infused; so may we well say, that the king's majesty is like the soul, a blessedness sent from God to dwell in both these nations, as a continual spirit of union, them to pacify and temper all bitterness, even as the soul by instinct of reason quieteth the naturall passions of the naturall bodies. Wherefore let us consider how unfit it is to have two spirits or souls in one body, what their opposition may work for distemper and dissolution, what the sweet harmony of one good, virtuous, and religious soul, in every part of the body, may do for consolidating, strengthening, and continuing in the whole body, that prosperous estate of life and health that is to be wished. And therefore in the case, whatsoever may tend to the firme and happy uniting of these two kingdoms, in resemblance of lives and fortunes, is to be inclined to and recommended to your grave considerations.

Dodrige, Sollicitor del Roy, Laur. Hide, Brocke, Carew, and Hedley, professor of the common lawe, and for the same they urged nine reasons or arguments, that those borne since his majesty came to the crowne of England, within Scotland, should not be naturalized in England, which question sprung out of two positions granted, and a third doubtful between both, and this third is *Oculus questionis.*

The first of the two positions is, that in the king's person there is an union of sovereigntie over both nations. The second, that notwithstanding this union, yet the fundamentall lawes of either nation doe remain distinct. The third, which is the doubt betweene both these, is, whether naturalization doe proceed from the king or the lawes; out of this one head all the reasons were derived as followeth.

First, that *Lex* and *Ligeantia* come out of one root, and as it is called *Lex a Ligando*, soe it is called *Ligeance a Ligatione*, which proveth allegiance to be tied to lawes, and consequently the lawes of these two nations being severall, notwithstanding the union of sovereigntie in the king's person, the allegiance of the subjects remaineth still severall, and therefore naturalization being measured by allegiance, must still remaine severall and distinct in either nation as allegiance and lawes doe, and cannot be united and made out in both nations. To inforce this, they cited the statute of 25 of Edward 3. stat. 2. *de Natis ultra mare*, in many places where it mentioneth ligeance is added (out of the ligeance of England) which doth inferre that ligeance is tied to the kingdome, and not to the person of the king.

That *post Nati* in Scotland, are not subjects to the lawe of England, and therefor should not have benefit of the lawes of England.

That every nation hath a precinct wherein the lawes have operation, and naturalization is an act or operation of the lawe, therefore it cannot extend to places out of the precinct of the lawes: Which being granted, it followeth, that as English lawes extend not into Scotland, so to be naturalized by the lawes of England, extends not into Scotland, nor those borne in Scotland.

The 4th and 5th reasons, that the great seale of England, which is the organ by which the lawe is conveyed, is not powerful nor binding in Scotland; therefore those borne in Scotland not inheritable to the lawes of England, nor to be borne subjects of England when they cannot be commanded by the great seale of England.

The 6th, that in subordinate kingdomes, dukedomes, and seigniories, as Ireland, Gascoign, Aquitaine, and Anjou, the great seale of England is passable, and the parliament of England hath power, as is proved, by that a writt of error may be brought in the King's Bench of a judgment in Ireland, and the Parliament of England may make a statute to binde in Ireland, if Ireland be specially named, but without speciall naminge it doth not binde. So 27 Ed. 3. cap. 7. a statute was made to authorize the stewart of Gascoign, to arrest the bodies of such as bargained for wines, elsewhere then in the parts of Burdeaux and Bayon, and to send them to the Tower of London, and an *Habeas Corpus* hath been directed under the great seale of England into Gascoigne, as appeareth by records of the King's Bench. And these islanders doe sende petitions and make proctors to the Parliament of England, as is still put in use to this day. By which it appeareth, that the case is not like betweene England and these kingdomes, and dukedomes, subordinate to England, as it is betweene England and Scotland; Scotland being a distinct kingdome not subordinate, and as auncient as England it selfe. And therefor whereas some have conceived, that when Gascoigne was by marriage united to England, that those of Gascoigne were not aliens to England; and enforce this proposition out of the prior. Shelley's case in 27 Ed. 3. pl. 48. in the book of assize, in that the prior having his lands seized in time of war, for that he was a prior alien, shewed that he was no alien, for that he was born in Gascoigne under the king's allegiance; and thereupon the matter being found true, he had restitution. To that it may be confessed, and yet it matcheth not our case for Scotland, a distinct kingdome, and the rea-

son of that restitution may be the ceasinge of the warres, as well as beinge borne in Gascoigne, for those of Gascoigne were in those times accompted aliens in England, as may appear by the statute 38 E. 3. cap. 11. where it is enacted that the Gascoignes and other aliens should come into England with their wines, which proveth that those of Gascoigne could not bring their wines into England, and that they were then aliens to England, by the words Gascoignes and other aliens.

The 7th, that *Regnum* and *Rex* were relatives, and therefore distinct kingdomes distinct kings As to the kingdomes and the person of the king possessing both kingdomes, possesseth the people and the lawes of them distinctly as the kingdomes are themselves. Therefor the subjection of every people is distinguished to the severall kingdomes, and one subject to the other, nor naturalized within the other, and this is proved by the statute of 14 E. 3. cap. *Statut. per se*, whereof it is declared, that notwithstanding the king of England were king of France, yet the people of England were not subject unto him as king of France, but only as king of England.

The 8th reason, that no man can be borne a subject of two allegiances, nor by birth naturall of two distinct kingdomes, therefor Scotts borne in Scotland not naturalized in England.

The 9th reason, inconvenience ensue in honor, privileges, *et choses de value*, which will be confounded without order, if this commixtion should be planted in both nations without discipline and rule.

The time being thus spent the 25 day of February, the next day was appointed to proceed with the conference: At which time the Lords Committees desired the judges there attending to deliver their advice and opinions concerning the point of the lawe, for which the Lord Chiefe Justice Popham had the night before prayed respite untill this time. Whereupon the Lord Chiefe Justice of England, and Sir Edward Coke, Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Thomas Flemminge, Lord Chief Baron, did openly deliver their opinions and their reasons.

The said Lord Chief Justice Popham making three inducements in commendation of the lawes of England. First, that they had continued as a rock without alteration, in all the varietie of people that had possessed this land, namelie, the Romans, Britaines, Danes, Saxons, Normans, and English, which he imputed to the integritie and justice of the said lawes, every people casting likinge to them, and desirous to continue and live by them. For which he cited Fortescue's Booke of the Lawes of England.

The 2d commendation was that those lawes did cost, which was no lesse than blood, not lawes of blood, or blood lawes, but laws bought and purchased by the blood of ancestors, as appeareth by *Magna Charta*, planted in King Henry 3d time, after a long and bloody warre between the king and the barons of this realme, the stories whereof doe yet live fresh in every chronicle.

The 3d commendation is the proceedings of the lawe, which he divided into three parts: 1st, judgment; 2d, tryall; 3d, testimonies. The judgment so even and so impartial as it gives way to no man's affection, nor imputeth blame to any man, but to say the lawe requireth such judgment is an excuse satisfactorie to all men, for the king and the judges; and therefor the said Lord Chief Justice shewed a resolution in Parliament, when himselfe served as speaker. That whereas it was proposed to have a lawe made, that the judges might use their discretion in appointing tryalls in forreigne counties, in respect the meaner sort of people were overweighed with the power of great men, in some shires that were parties to the suits, it was upon grave advice and consultation denied with this answer, that it were better to live under a certaine known lawe, though hard sometime in a few cases, then to be subject to the alterable discretion of any judge. 2d, The trials of the lawe, for the most part so equal by oathes of twelve, as he protested that he never knewe of the multitude that passed before himself, scarce

two of a hundred passe otherwise then himself should have passed if he had been in their case.

For the testimonies being *viva voce* before the judges in open face of the world, he said was much to be preferred before written depositions by private examiners or commissioners. First, for that the judge and jurors discerne often by the countenance of a witness, whether he came prepared, and by his readiness or slackness, whether he be ill affected or well affected, and by short questions may draw out circumstances to approve or discredit his testimony, and one witness may contest with another where they are *viva voce*, all which was taken away by written depositions in a corner.

For argument the said judges answered with one assent to the first reason of the Commons. That allegiance and lawes are not of æquiparation, for six causes. 1st, Allegiance was before lawes. 2d, Allegiance is after lawes. 3d, Allegiance is where the lawes are not. 4th, Betweene soveraignty and allegiance lawes are forgotten. 5th, Allegiance extends as farre as defence, which is beyond the circuite of lawes. 6th, Allegiance followeth the naturall person, not the politique. *Et aprover ceo Suit dit si beape de People obvie ensemble cy pres qu' ills appoient Roy; La est Allegiance, devant qu' ont ley proclaime on prescribe per que Allegiance deviet la Ley. Si Roy soit expulse per force et autre Usurpe uncor l'Allegiance nest tolle, contra qt. le Ley est tolle.* If the kinge goe out of England with a company of his servants, allegiance remaineth amongst his subjects and servants, although he be out of his owne realme, whereunto his lawes are confined, as is proved by a case in Fleta, who wrote in Ed. 1. tyme; which is thus; King Ed. 1. went in person into France to a marriage; one of his servants in France stole two silver dishes, for which he was apprehended by the searcher. The king required to have him re-delivered, being his subject and of his trayne, and upon dispute in the parliament of Paris, he was sent to the King of England to doe his own justice upon him. Whereupon he was tryed before the Steward and Marshal of the king's house, and executed in France, in a meadow called St Jermyns Mead; which proved that the king's lawes followed his allegiance out of the limit locall of the lawes of England. And even so it is where the King of England sendeth a lieutenant or general with an army royall out of the realme, the army is to be guided by the martiall lawe of England, as the Lord Coke affirmed, who also cited the case of Fleta. If there were not a soveraigne to prescribe lawes, and people of allegiance to obey them, there could be no lawes made nor executed. By which it appears, that betweene soveraignty and allegiance the lawes are begotten; and therefor in nations conquered there are no laws, yet is there present allegiance, and after allegiance gotten it is secondary to deliver lawes to the people of his allegiance. And to prove the allegiance to be tied to the body naturall of the king, not to the body politique, the Lord Coke cited the phrases of divers statutes, mentioning the king our naturall liege soveraigne, and these words naturall subjects in acts of recognition usuall and familiar; and to prove that allegiance extended further then the lawes national, he shewed that every king of divers kingdomes or dukedomes is to command every people to defend any of his kingdomes, without respect of that nation where he is borne: As if the king of Spain be invaded in Portugal, he may levie for defence of Portugal armies out of Spain, Naples, Castile, Milan, Flanders, and the like; as a thing incident to the allegiance of all his subjects, to joyne together in defence of any one of his territories, without respect of extent of the lawes of that nation where he was borne; whereby it manifestly appeareth, that allegiance followeth the naturall person of the king, and is not tied to the body politique respectively in every kingdome. And therefor, whereas the rule of aliens is this, that those born within the king's allegiance are subjects, and those born out of his allegiance are aliens; it is manifest, that Scots born in Scotland since the king of England was king of England and Scotland both, are not born out of the king's allegiance, and so not aliens but subjects, and so to be accompted in England

For further proof of this, the Lord Coke shewed statutes, book cases, and pleadings. For statutes *Prerogativa Regis, cap.* 12. which was made in 17 of Ed. 2. and is a declaration of the prerogative before, wherein it is declared, that the king is to have the escheats of the Normans, and of all other born in parts beyond the seas, whose antecessors were of the faith or loyalty of the king of France and not of the king of England. As it happened of the barony of Monumeta, after the death of John de Monumeta, whose heires were of Britainy and elsewhere; by which declaration the judges did inferre, that out of the allegiance and within the allegiance of the king (*fides* being to be understood allegiance) maketh the odds between an alien and a denizen, and not the place of birth in England or without England. For it is declared, that the king shall have the escheats of such as were born in parts beyond the seas, and whose parents were of the allegiance of the king of France, and not of the allegiance of the king of England. So that although his birth were out of the bounds of the kingdome of England, and out of the reach and extent of the lawes of England, the king was not to have his escheat as an alien: as at that time divers places that were within the limit of France, were in subjection to the kings of England. And for the instance of the barony of Monumeta, they shewed that King Henry 2 had four sons; Henry, Richard, Jeffrey, and John. That Jeffrey was married to the heir of Britaine, and was murthered by John, in which time the case of Monumeta happened, Britaine being not within the allegiance of the king of England, by that marriage of the king's said son.

They shewed, that it was not material whether a kingdome or a dukedome came to the allegiance of the king of England, nor whether by marriage or conquest; for many dukedomes were sometimes kingdomes, and kingdomes were but dukedomes; as Castile, first but an earldome, now a kingdome; Little Brittaine then, after, and now a dukedome; Ireland a dukedome, now a kingdome: But the matter of difference is, Whether they be free and devided states in their lawes and government; and so were both these dukedomes of Aquitaine, Gascoign, Guyon, &c. which have been so much insisted upon, and so is Scotland; and yet all under one allegiance and faith to one king, which unitie in allegiance to one king, taketh away the rule of alien born from them all, howsoever they were united, be it by marriage or conquest; and yet for Gascoigne and Aquitaine, it came by marriage and descent, as Scotland. The next statute is the stat. of 41 E. 3, cap. 10. that the Commons desired in Parliament, that children born beyond seas, within the seigniories of Calice, and elsewhere, within the lands and seigniories that pertain to the king beyond seas, might inherit in England: Whereto the answer is, It is accorded, that the common lawe and the statute upon the same point another time may be holden. The judges examining what statute that was, found it was the statute of 25 Ed. 3. stat. 2. *de natis ultra mare*, which statute contains a preamble and three ordinances. The preamble is a recitall of a doubt, whether children should inherit in England that were born beyond seas out of the ligeance of England. The first ordinance is a declaration of the lawe, that the king's children wheresoever born are inheritable in England: The second is a constitution particular for some named, and which the king shall name, which were born beyond the seas, out of the allegiance of England, to inherit in England: The third is a new lawe, that children from henceforth, born out of the allegiance of the king, whose fathers and mothers, at the time of their birth, be, and shall be of the faith and allegiance of the king of England, shall inherit in England, &c. Out of this they did inter, that the third ordinance only did touch the point now in question; which ordinance, nevertheless, came not to the question proposed; for that ordinance is for persons born beyond seas, and out of the king's ligeance, whose parents were English; whereas our question is, for persons born in Scotland, which is within the faith and allegiance of the king; and so much the odds is, as the words import, *viz.* out of the allegiance and within the allegiance, so as that statute directs not the controversy; and

therefore it must be common lawe that doth it, whereto the statute 42 Ed. 3. doth refer concerning those born at Calice and other seigniories beyond seas, that pertain to the king, which persons having been expounded to inherit in England, it must needs be taken, that they inherit by the common law, and not by the statute 28 H. 6. cap. 5. against extortions used by searchers amongst merchants. The merchants of Gascoigne, Guyon, Ireland, and the Isles, are called the king's liege people. The books and judgments cited by the judges were 27 E. 3. in the Booke of Assis. 48 pl. in the case of the prior of Shelley, who being a prior alien, and his temporalities seazed in time of war, shewed that he was not an alien, for that he was born in Gascoigne, within the allegiance of the king, which plea was found true by verdict, and thereupon his temporalities were restored: and the same case came again in question in the Common Pleas, in a *Quare impedit*, because in his restitution he had no special word of advowsons, whether the king might not present to the advowsons of the priory, notwithstanding the restitution; for that also the restitution was, that the king of his grace did restore, &c. so it was of grace, not of right; but the Book is, that the king should not present: and the reason alledged, because the seizure was by wrong, the prior being no alien; and so a restitution in that case, by which the king doth not give but do right, needs not contain special mention of advowsons, neither the recital of the king's grace, could stop the justice of the court examining the cause to say it was not of right. For concurrency with this book they cited the case of 11 Hen. 4. fol 26. That two husbands and their wives parceners brought an assise; and the one was summoned and severed The tenant pleaded to her that was severed, that her husband was an alien, and borne out of the realme, and also the ligeance, and not made denizen; but in the end, in respect of the severance, and that the plea was in disablement of him that was severed, the writ was awarded good: yet the note speciall of the cause is the manner of the plea, *viz* alien born out of the realme, and also the allegiance; whereof it is inferred, that allegiance is further then the realme, and not confined to the circuit of the lawes of the realme. 14 H. 4. fo. 19. b. One challenged a juror for that he was an alien, and the manner of his challenge is, that he was not a liege to the king, because that he was borne out of the ligeance, and shewed that he was a Flemminge, and the jurors found that he was borne in Flanders, but had lived of a child in England, and was sworne to the king in a leet; nevertheless the court would not allowe him to be sworne: But the note of the case is, the manner of the challenge, *viz.* not a liege to the king, because he was borne out of his ligeance. So Littleton in his Chapter of Villenage sheweth him to be an alien that is borne out of the king's allegiance; and this distinction of allegiance *quatenus* king of England, and *quatenus* king of Scotland, or *quatenus* duke of Ireland, Aquitaine, Gascoigne, &c. is never heard of in the booke of our lawe.

For pleading, they shewed the president in the Booke of Entries to be, that he that disableth an alien must alledge affirmatively, that he is an alien; and yet that sufficeth not, but he must alledge further, that he was born *extra obedientum Domini Regis*, and not that alone, but also he must assigne a place where he was borne *infra obedientiam* of some other king, as in 9. E. 4. fol. 7. in the assise of Bagott, in the office of clarke of the crowne in the Chancery, the tenant pleaded, that Bagott was an alien, in this manner, *Dicit quod idem Joh. Bagott est Alienigena genitus extra ligeantiam domini regis Anglie, viz. apud Poitiers, infra regnum Francie adversarii et magni inimici domini regis Anglie;* which course of pleading cannot be held with those of Scotland; for that Scotland is not out of the king's allegiance; neither is the king of Scotts enemy to the king of England; but he is also king of England, whereof both nations do and must take notice.

And whereas it hath been urged, that the tryall of an alien must be within England; so that he which will destroy the plea of an alien against himself, must assigne a place

in England of his birth, and cannot assigne a place in Scotland; this is easily answered, and proveth nothing on the other part: For if a deed be made in Ireland, or in Gascoigne, or in the Isles, you must assigne the making of it in some countie of England, to the end a tryall may be had by jury, which is not but of England. Nevertheless, you may give in evidence the making of it in Ireland, or the Isles. So is the case of 13 H. 4. pl. 10. for an obligation made in Gascoigne; and so it is in 32 H. 6. fol. 26, in debt upon a bond made in the bishoprick of Durham, being a county palentine, and there the reason of this case debated, and Browne citeth it to be adjudged, that if the defendant alledge the plaintiffe to be a Scott, born at Saint Johnston in Scotland, out of the ligeance, this is a triall where the writ is brought; but if the plaintiffe will reply, that he was borne at London, within the allegiance, the defendant must rejoyne, that the plaintiffe was borne at St Johnston in Scotland, without that, that he was borne in London, and the issue shall be tried in London; so two affirmative issues allowed for necessitie of trial: but evidence of his birth in any place within the king's dominions, is sufficient to maintaine the issue, althoughe, for form of pleading, it be laid to be at London. In which case of 13 H. 4. it is put by Irby, that a liegeman of England, in Scotland, was killed by another liegeman in Scotland, and his wife brought her appeale in England, in the court of the Lord-Constable of England.

Then the judges examined what was given to Scotts if they should be naturalized. First, they being not enemies, if they be aliens, they are to be protected in their bodies and goods, and may bring personal actions; if they buy land, the king, if he will, may seize it: But for dignities of honour, or voices in parliament, as barons, Scottish men cannot have in England, so long as the lawes stand distinct; and therfor they cited the case of 11 E. 3. *tit. breve* 473, where the writ was brought against the Earle of Richmond, who alledged that he was duke of Britaine, and not so named in the writ, and prayed that the writ might abate; but the judges allowed not his plea, because the dukedome of Britaine is a foreign dignitie, of which we take no notice in England; yet Edmond Bayliol assigninge the same case in abatement of a writ, for that he was not named king of Scotts, the exception was held good; for that a king is in notice of all countries, and so is a knight, but not baronies, earldomes, dukedomes, and the like. Nevertheless, 39 E. 3. fol. 35. *in titulo de breve* 517, a writ was abated for not naminge the defendant Earl of Angus, although it be a dignitie in Scotland; but the reason is shewed to be, for that he had alway a writ to attend at the parliament of England; and by this the judges said, that the ninth objection being matter of inconvenience in places of honour, was answered, with this addition, that no naturalizing could make them barons of parliament of England, for their dignities in Scotland; neither did naturalizing give any man a place in parliament, (except he were chosen,) or give him any lands or goods except he could purchase them.

For the matter of the great seale, the judges shewed that the seal was alterable by the king at his pleasure, and he might make one seale for both kingdomes; for seales, coin, and leagues, are of absolute prerogative to the king without Parliament, not restrayned to any assent of the people. But for further resolution of this point, how far the great seale doth command out of England, they made this distinction: That the great seal was current for remedials, which groweth upon complaint of the subjects; and thereupon writs are addressed under the great seal of England, which writs are limited their precincte to be within the places of jurisdiction of the courts that must give their redresse of the wrong, and therefor writts are not to goe into Ireland, nor the Isles, nor Wales, nor the counties palantine, because the king's courts there have not power to hould plea of lands or things there. But the great seale hath a power preceptorie to the person, which power extendeth to any place where the person may be found. And for this the Lord Coke citeth Nicholas Ludlowe's case in 4 Ed. 3. in the Tower Record, *Rot. Claus.* 21.; that Ludlowe being at Rome, a command under

the great seale was sent to him to return. See Bartlowe's case in Queen Marye's time, and Sir Francis Englefield's in Queen Elizabeth's time. The privy seale went to command them to return into the realme, and not coming, their lands were seised, as appeareth by my Lord Dyer's Report of both those cases.

So the case before of 39 E. 3. fol. 35. a Parliament writ was currant into Scotland, to the Earl of Angus. And 14 H. 8. a habeas corpus into the Isle of Man, which habeas corpus is a preceptorie writ to have the body of his subject, and may be directed into Scotland, or any place where the king hath ministers, otherwise how shall the king come by the person of his subject, whom he would command? so as where remediall writts run not, yet preceptories under the great seale doe, and therfor the position of the great seale, not to be currant in Scotland, holdeth for remedialls, not for preceptories; and this doth answer the objection that the great seale is currant in subordinate kingdomes or dukedomes, and not in all places of the king's dominions in distinct kingdomes. And as to the rule taken by the civilians, *Cum duo jura concurrunt in una persona, æquum est ac si esset in diversis,* that holdeth not in things personal but reall, and therefor a marquesse that is a baron and an earle, cannot by the statute of 21 H. 8. have more chaplains then his best dignity alloweth, and not for every dignity.

And as to the objection, that none can be borne a natural subject of two kingdomes, they denied that absolutely; for although locally he can be born but in one, yet effectually the allegiance of the king extendeth to both.

And as to the objection, that *Rex* and *Regnum* be relatives, and therefor the allegiance of a king can extend but to that kingdome, they answered that *Rex* and *Regnum* be not so relatives as a king can be a king but of one kingdome; for that were *proprium quarto modo,* viz. *omni solo et semper,* which clearly holdeth not, but that his kingly power extending to divers nations and kingdomes allowe him generall subjection, and are equally born to the benefit of his protection. And although he is to governe them by their distinct lawes, yet any one of the people coming in to the other is to have the benefit of the lawes, wheresoever he cometh, but living in one, for his livelyhood in one, he is not to be taxed in the other; because lawes ordain taxes, impositions, and charges, as a discipline of subjection, particularised to every particular nation.

And so these three judges delivered their opinions openly, and the rest were read, and did affirme the same to be all their opinions, but only Justice Walmsley, who differed in the point.

The rest were Warburton and Danyell, of the Common Pleas; Fenner, Williams, and Tanfeild, of the King's Bench; Snigg and Altham, barons of the Exchequer. [1]

[1] This great national question was afterwards tried in Chancery, in what was called the case of the *Post Nati.* The question is thus stated in Lord Chancellor Ellesmere's speech in the Exchequer Chamber, printed in 1609, and republished in the *State Trials,* Vol. XI.

"Robert Caluine, sonne and heire apparant of James Lord Caluine of Colcrosse, in the realme of Scotland, an infant of three years of age, borne in the said realme of Scotland, maketh title by his bill to a messuage and garden, with the apurtenaunces, in the parish of St Buttolph, without Bishopsgate in the citie of London; and complaineth against John Bingley and Richard Griffin for detaining the evidences concerning the same messuage and lands, and taking the profits thereof.

"The defendants pleade, that the plaintife is an alien; and that in the third yeare of his majesties raigne in England, and in the nine-and-thirtieth yeare of his majesties raigne in Scotland, hee was borne in the realme of Scotland, within the ligeance of his said majestie of his realme of Scotland, and out of the ligeance of our soveraigne lord the king of his realme of England.

"And the defendants say further, that at the time of the birth of the complainant, and long before, and ever sithence, the said kingdome of Scotland was, and still is, ruled and governed, by the proper lawes and statutes of the said kingdome of Scotland, and not by the lawes and statutes of this realme of England; and therefore the defendants demaund judgement, whither the complainant ought to be answered to his said bill, or shall be received to prosecute the said suite against the defendants, being for and concerning the title of inheritance and evidence touching the same."

Lord Coke in his report of this case observes; "This case was as elaborately, substantially, and judicially argued by the lord chancellor and by my brethren the judges, as I ever read or heard of any; and so, in mine

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY.

(This was destroyed by the Fire there.)

Faustina, C. II. 12. Fol. 61.

Advertisements of a loyal Subject to his gracious Soveraign, drawn from the Observations of the Peoples Speeches.

This Tract has been termed by the former editor of this collection, "A libel against several proceedings of state." I am at a loss to discover the reason of so harsh a censure. It does not seem to have been printed, and so could hardly be designed, under colour of giving advice to the sovereign, to point out subjects of complaint to the people. And the theme, though not a very court-like, is yet too true an enumeration of the many errors of policy incidental to James's situation and character. The inclination which he early displayed to truckle to Spain; his affectation of personally hearing the cause of every petitioner, to the interruption of the regular course of justice; his injudicious prodigality to the Scottish nobles; his neglecting to cultivate the affections of the English common people; his permitting, or rather encouraging slights upon the memory of Elizabeth, were certainly judicious topics for the "advertisements of a loyal subject;" and it would have been well if the "gracious sovereign" could have profited by them. The style has certainly a considerable portion of acidity, but the concluding paragraph, recommending the revival of the decayed name of Great Britain, seems to indicate an enlightened and liberal spirit in the writer.

It is said that your magistie will not continewe the protection of the Lowe Countries.[1] They bee the only yoke-fellowes as it weare of your religion; and althoughe doubtles your magisties high wysedome will heare and see all inconveniences, yet the simple gospellers morne for your resolution; and God graunt your magistie repent not these dissentiones, or els destructiones; for if the Spaniard prevaile against those for-

opinion, the weight and consequence of the cause, both *in præsenti et in perpetuis futuris temporibus*, justly deserved; for though it was one of the shortest and least that ever we argued in this court, yet was it the longest and weightiest that ever was argued in any court, the shortest in syllables, and the longest in substance; the least for the value, (and yet not tending to the right of that least,) but the weightiest for the consequence, both for the present and for all posterity. And therefore it was said, that those that had written *de fossilibus* did observe, that gold, hidden in the bowels of the earth, was, in respect of the mass of the whole earth, *parvum in magno*; but of this short plea it might be truly said (which is more strange) that there was *magnum in parvo*." The judgement was thus entered on record: "Whereupon all and singular the premises being seen, and by the court of the lord the now king here diligently inspected and examined, and mature deliberation being had thereof; for that it appears to the court of the lord the now king here, that the aforesaid plea of the said Richard Smith and Nicolas Smith, above pleaded, is not sufficient in law to bar the said Robert Caluine from having an answer to his aforesaid writ; therefore it is considered by the court of the lord the now king here, that the aforesaid Richard Smith and Nicolas Smith to the writ of the said Robert do further answer."

The Union provided specially for all future questions of this nature.

[1] The king did not utterly abandon the cause of the United States; but his example, as well as persuasions, induced them to consent to a twelve years truce with Spain.

saken men, his forces by sea are more than trebled, peace will inrich him, wealth will add to his pride, his pride will increase, his hatred to your religion and people, and the pope, the firebrand of dissention, even then when you are dispoyled of your best ayde, will discover his wonted malice against us. The pretended title of the Infanta is not unknowne to your magistie, yet shall not want the antichristian furtherance; the Spaniard is his dearest child, your kingdome shall by his unholie holines be given *fortiore.* Alas! they shall have noe worke at home, it will bee but sporte for them to warr upon you. *Principiis obsta, sero Medicina paratur.*

It is saide, that if your magistie discontinewe the leage with the States, the French are readie to entertaine the bargaine. There is a certaine antipathie betweene them and us, and that is hard to judge, whether the Spaniard or the French will prove worse neighbours unto you. Your true subjects therefore pray you to keepe them both at the staffes ende.

It is saide, that your magistie doth receave an infinit nomber of petitions;[1] and the poore foolish people think the king hath leasure to attend every private busienes. Rid your hands betymes of such importunities; and except your magistie see great cause to the contrarie, referre them to the ordinarie course of justice, ordained for the ending of all differences. But if anie complaine truely agains the chief officers, of what place or dignitie soever they bee, heare them yourself, gratious soveraigne, make but one or two examples of justice, and wee shall find a goulden chaunge suddenlie. But yet the lawe *Talionis* must be put in ure, and the unjust accuser must be severely punished. It is said your magistie giveth much. Liberalitie in a prince is a necessarie vertue; but your cofers are said not to be soe full, as that they need emptyinge, nor your estate in soe great securitie, that it maie endure a leane treasurie. After two or three years triall of your neighbours, confederates, and there affections, and the better understanding of your owen forces and occasions, your magistie shall better decerne out of what plentie, in what manner, and to whome to give Your subjects have bine of late yeares charged with manie subsidies, and without doubt wonder, that your highnes doth not remytte the remaynder of the taxes and subsidies still behind; they saie, it hath byne the custome of kings at there entrance unto the crowne so to doe; and there hope in that case is deceeved. They praye you not to followe the opinion of King Rehoboam's young councellors, not to suffer the long use of taxes and subsidies to turne unto an habite; for they vowe in defence of your magistie, the gospell, and the state, they will be prodigall of their lives and liveinge. They saie, that some bee advanced to places of justice altogether unfitt for them, in that they are ignorant of our lawes and custumes. Our advancements to those of the gowen were wont to be as those of the field, from an ould souldier to a lieftenaunt, from a lieftenaunt to a captaine, and soe orderlie everie place in the campe. Now indeed in the danger this is some difference; for an unskilfull generall can seldome offend more than once, and his lyfe and all payes for that. But such a magistrate by a thousand ignorants maie peradventure inrich himselfe, and wrong a nomber of poore people.

[1] This seems to have arisen from James's vanity, as well of his outward splendour as of his sharp wit, both which petitioners were expected to admire. Lord Thomas Howard thus counsels Sir John Harrington:—

"I will advise one thing; the roan jennet, whereon the king rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised, and the good furniture above all, what lost a man much notice the other day. A noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the king mounting the roan, delivered his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given. The noble departed, and came to court the nexte day, and got no answer again. The lord treasurer was then pressed to moove the king's pleasure touching the petition. When the king was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, 'Shall a king give heed to a dirty paper, when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrops?' Now it fell out, that the king had new furniture when the noble saw him in the courte-yard, but he was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good knight, our noble failed in his suit."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, I. 394.

It is said, that the mastershipe of the rowles shall be executed by a deputie; the is held for a wyse and honorable gentleman but the deputie now spoken of is not of honest fame; and God forbid that soe good a king should make soe badde a president as to suffer a chief place of justice to bee performed, or rather abused, by a deputie, or that the should make sale of your majesties fayre gift. The place was in a manner executed before such weare the judges by deputy, which *pro tempore* weare comysyoners. But the due use of the afternoone, which the master of the rowles did usuallie spend to hear and to end manie causes, was a chief want, whereof the client complayned, which course, it is said, the master nowe being cannot followe, by reasone of his more neare and necessarie imployments about your majestie.

It is said, that the respecte at the courte of the Scottish, by all the attendant officers there, is soe partiall, that the English find themselves much disgraced; the meanest of that countrie maie enter the presence, and were not with one controled; but the Englishmen very unseasonably I wis are kept out. The fault is not said to be your majesties, but is the foolish grose claving of some of the English. But your majestie must provide least such discretion [1] breed an undiscreet emulation betweene us, who ought, as we professe but one God, and one king, soe to have but one harte. And your English subjects ought not to be disgraced; for it must be confessed, right noble kinge, that the kingdome and people of England made you great; many offices have bine taken from the English, and given to the Scottish; and some that have served the state with good commendation, which now you must esteeme done to yourself, remayne unthought of, and unrewarded. [2]

It is said, that your majestie purposeth to alter the manner of government, and that fault was found with common lawe and customes of England, and especiallie our trialls by oath of 12 men, which is without doubt the beste and equalest course, and in itselfe lest capable of corruption; every alteration, even in a privat familie, much more in kingdomes, breedeth hurts. Doubtles there be abuses even in the courts at Westmaster, and cheiflie in the arbitrarie courts: But yet hade your majestie but once purified a feawe of the cheefest officers, howe suddenlie would your majestie, with one experience, give the highest allowance to our common lawes and statutes, which bee ever fitted with the occurrents and natures of the people of this kingdome. [3]

[1] For difference.

[2] The following passage from Osborne may pass as a bitter commentary upon that in the text:—

"Now though there did no degrees of comparison appear between those northern adjectives, not able to subsist without England, who, like their ancestors, did exchange a wilderness for a Canaan, yet much more mischief resided in the power of some than others; amongst whom now fresh in my memory are the Lords Roxborrow, Felton, Carlisle, and Dunbar, that during the reign of this king lay sucking at the breasts of the state, nor were some of them weaned long after his death; the last of which swallowed at one gulp, together with the chancellorship of the exchequer, all the standing wardrobe, wherein were more jewels, pearles, rich robes, and princely apparell, than ever any king of Scotland (if all of them put together) could call his own before; all of which have been since rated by the officers at an incredible sum, whose servants did use to shew them for money, it appearing none of the least rarities in London before this great dissolution. And for James Hayes, after Earl of Carlisle, though of no more noble extraction than the immediat son of a Scotch merchant, an appellation some under a stall would scorn to patronise, it is known he did bestow more trimming in the varnish of a wainscot carcass, than any of his master's ancestors did in the clothing themselves and their whole families. Nor was the honour of Amthill a small present made at one time to the Earl of Kelly, especially by a prince that had never been able to match it, but through the benevolence, if I may not rate it at the folly of a nation, of whose ruine he became the first and principal instrument. Yet as if these ancient standards, and so by consequence the more tolerable, because companions in his lower condition, had not been enough to eclipse the glory of England, this ungratefull prince (if I may call him so that cannot in justice deserve from one born under Queen Elizabeth a better title) to make our miseries hereditary, called up Robert Carre from a poore page, and to the dishonour of our ancient nobility, raised him to as high a title, and as great an estate (three hundred thousand crowns being rated to the crown upon his fall) as most earls of England: But there appears so many leaves lying between his advancement and ruine, as I am not at this time prepared to remove."—Osborne's *Traditional Memorials of King James*, p. 461.

[3] James had upon several occasions rashly and injudiciously expressed a preference of the civil law to the common law of England, as being more suitable to his notions of regal authority, and to his love of subtle dispu-

It is said, that your majestie, of an ingenious and riall nature, not delighting in our popular salutations, doe passe by great tropes of your commons with a kind of kinglie negligence, neither speaking nor looking upon them. The poore sort of people are bolde with your majestie; they prate of the manner of there late queene, whoe when she was publicly abroad, would often stay and speake kindlie to the multitud, discovering her riall accepture of their joyfull acclamations; and manie tymes alsoe saying, that her subjects hungrie eies might have there fyll in beholding there soveraigne. Your majestie must needs therefore in some sort satisfie there jealous affections. The poore rascales, soe farr as they dare, will be angry with you.[1]

It is said, that your majesties followers, as well English as Scottish, doe proclaime open sale of the most noble and auncient order of knighthood; whereby some, contrary to your highnes intent, of unworthy condition, have, for bribery, bine unworthily made knights, to the dishonour of your riall majestie, and the disgrace of other noble vertuous knights.[2]

The kingdome and people of England made you great; manie offices have bine taken from the English, and given to the Scottish, and [from] some that have served the state with good commendations, which now you must esteeme done to yourselfe.

The plebes, I wotte not what they call them, but some there bee who most unnaturally and unreverentlie, by most egregious lies, wound the honour of our deceased soveraigne, not onlie touching her government and good fame, but her person, with sundry untruthes, and the foolish *indigesta Moles*,[3] your commons of London, I should say some of them, for doubtles all are not soe lewd, have put out the name where that was ingraven, and paynted under the armes of the kingdom. And it is sayd, that they are about to alter certaine monuments, once dedicated to her, as loth belyke to be at anie new cost with your majestie. Suerlie these slanders be the doings of the papists, ayming thereby at the deformation of the gospell. Wee will therefore praie your majestie, truelie magnanimous, to provide for the preservation of famous memorie by all good meanes.

tation. In 1610, according to Wilson, "the king expressed himself to the parliament, desiring their assistance, assuring them he had no intention to alter the government, though he wished the laws might be rectified. But his king-craft (as he calls it) failed in striking at the common law, and he was convinced in it how dangerous it was to give too much knowledge to the people. The two great hammers of the state, the churchman and lawyer, that work the people to obedience upon the two anvils of conscience and policy, beat him to the understanding of it; so that ever after he joined with them, and that three-fold cord was not easily dissolved. But the times not being ripe yet to produce any thing but obedience, they after this lesson settled themselves to make dyvers good lawes, which they purchased at the rate of a subsidy and a fifteen."—Wilson, *apud* Kennet, II. 682.

[1] James, from habit, and perhaps from associations of terror, hated the bustle of a promiscuous multitude. In his progress from Scotland, he issued a proclamation discharging the general concourse of the populace, who rushed to view their new sovereign. He bore with some patience his triumphal entry into London; but afterwards, on public occasions, he was so incensed at the crowds which they collected, as to disperse his liege subjects both with frowns and curses.

[2] "At this time the honour of knighthood, which antiquity preserved sacred, as the cheapest and readiest jewel to preserve virtue with, was promiscuously laid on any head belonging to the yeomandry, (made addle through pride and contempt of their ancestors pedigree,) that had but a court-friend, or money to purchase the favour of the meanest able to bring him into an outward room, when the king, the fountain of honour, came down, and was uninterrupted by other business; in which case it was then usual for him to grant a commission for the chamberlain or some other lord to do it: But experience soon informed the empty Scot, that as his airy treasure was inexhaustible, so it might be turned to great profit, seeing the shoals of base and ignorant trouts that gaped after it (the cause, access to the king was made daily more difficult); by this rendering the temple of honour a common theatre, into which the basest were suffered to enter for their money."—Osborne's *Traditional Memorials*, p. 468.

[3] Camden gives an instance in point. "The king taking his journey from Theobald's, is receaved by Sheriff Swinnerton, whose chaplain R. M. did cast some sharp reflections upon the administration under Elizabeth; after that he is received by the lord mayor and citizens, and is conducted to the Charter-house, where he promiscuously created eighty knights."—Camden's *Annals of James I. apud Kennet*, II. p. 641.

King James himself did not put on mourning for Elizabeth, nor suffer any of his household to do so.

It is said, that manie auncient and poore officers at court be displaced, and there places given to your countriemen, the Scotts. Indeed, to say true, it is meet that your majesties true servants should bee for your majesties nearest imployment; nor is it anie dishonour to the English nation, that your good servants be preferred, soe that your majestie leave not the well-deserving disgraced. The people are rightlie tearmed a beaste of manie heads, soe manie men soe manie minds. Yet such is the worke of God, I heare everie man loveth and reverenceth your majestie. Let therefore the admirable name of your majesties coming to soe opulent a kingdome be ever before your eies. God is chieflie to be honoured, religion to be more and more advaunced, and the commonwealth to be cherished, which consisteth chiefly of home-borne men. It weare good we could forgett all difference of names, and repayer the almost decaied name of Great Britain. Doubtlesse unto soe wise a prince a worde is inough, and therefore poore I have allwaies in my privat conference mayntained your majesties just title, soe farr as I durst, will here end, blessing my God that I see these happie daies, wherein the kingdoms, so long disjoyned, be now united in one riall person, whose posteritie I would soe obey God as they shall continewe kings of this land, untill the desolution of the universall.

A Record of some worthie Proceedings: in the Honorable, Wise, and Faithfull House of Commons in the Parliament holden in the Yeare 1611.

Justitiæ est suum cuique tribuere.

Printed in the Yeare 1641.

These "worthy proceedings" took place in a parliament which James was reluctantly compelled to summon in 1610, to relieve by subsidies those wants which his own prodigality, the diminution of the crown revenues, and the increased expence and luxury of his court, had brought upon the Exchequer. As there was never a king more fond of talking of his authority, or more injudicious in the steps intended to augment his real influence, his majesty was pleased to address the commons, whom it was his business to have soothed and conciliated, in a high strain of prerogative. He told them indeed graciously, that though the heart of the king was in the hand of the Lord, yet he would lay it open before his whole people. But they had little reason to congratulate themselves upon so generous a communication of sentiments, which his majesty would have done more wisely to have reserved for his privy council; for the House were given to understand, that as it was blasphemy to circumscribe the omnipotence of the Almighty, so it was sedition to enquire what the king might do in the fulness of his power. This, however, was waved as speculative doctrine; since, for his own part, James declared he was contented to rule consonant to law, reason, and custom. Then followed some strictures on the common law of England, and an encomium on the Code of Justinian, highly "unsavoury to the nostrils of the House of Commons." Lastly, to use the words of Wilson, he cautioned the House of Commons against three things:

"The First, That they meddle not with the main points of government, that is his craft, *Tractent fabrilia fabri.* To meddle with that were to lessen him, who hath been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of seven years here; therefore here needs no Phormios to teach Hannibal.

"Secondly, He would not have such ancient rights as he hath received from his predecessors accounted grievances; that were to judge him unworthy to enjoy what they left him.

"And lastly, That they should be careful not to present that for a grievance, which is established by a law; for it is very undutiful in subjects, to press their king where they are sure to be denied. Complaints may be made unto them of the High Commissioners, let the abuse appear then, and

spare not, there may be errors among them; but to take away the commission, is to derogate from him; and it is now in his thoughts to rectify it in a good proportion.

"Then he shews the emergent cause of his great expences, since his coming to the crown, which makes him desire a supply from them, confirming what the lords formerly delivered; wherein he said, his purse only laboured, now his desires are taken notice of both at home and abroad, his reputation labours as well as his purse; for the world will think it want of love in them, or merit in him, that both lessened their hearts, and tied up their hands towards him."

This oratory did not seem at first to be altogether cast away. The House of Commons began seriously to provide for the king's pecuniary distresses, and at the same time for relieving the subjects of the remnants of feudal bondage. These were the oppressive tenures of grand and petty serjeanty, knight's service, and the arbitrary rights of wardship and custody of lands, flowing out of the feudal system; but which, in the altered state of society, were instruments of vexation to the crown's vassals, without being of any real service to the crown. The royal right of purveyance also, in the arbitrary mode in which it had been exercised by James himself, and his predecessors, had become intolerably oppressive. These considerations gave rise to the proposal of an agreement between the crown and parliament, called the Great Contract, by which it was provided, that tenures, with their dependants, purveyance, &c. should be abolished, and in exchange a regular revenue settled upon the crown. There was some dispute about the amount of this commutation. The commons offered ninescore thousand pounds, which his majesty declined, as referring to the number of the Muses, whose followers were always beggars. Eleven score thousands he would best have affected, that being the number of the Apostles, (Judas being left out) yet, as a medium, he was contented with ten score, that being the number of God's commandments, which tend to virtue and edification. Hume observes, that this pleasant conceit was, for its goodness, the best paid wit that ever was in the world; for it actually moved the commons to vote 200,000l. as the revenue to be settled on the crown.

But, notwithstanding this fair commencement, the Great Contract was not brought to an issue. It is difficult to discover the reason of the failure, as nothing seemed left unfinished but to settle a fund from which it should be paid. Various disputes had arisen in the mean while between the king and the commons. They had proceeded to the investigation of sundry branches of the royal prerogative. The authority ascribed to royal proclamations; the ecclesiastical power, a branch of jurisdiction not communicated to the parliament, being exercised by the king, as head of the church; the high commission court, the frequent grants of monopolies, were all examined, and reported to be grievances. Thus, the king and his parliament gradually got into further discord; till at length he dissolved them, and issued a proclamation, in which he charges them with leaving undone the weighty matters for the relief of the subject, which he and the kingdom had expected at their hands.

The following record appears to have been published in the name of some person residing abroad; and is expressly intended, as the introduction tells us, to vindicate the parliament from the aspersions contained in the royal proclamation. It was reprinted in 1641, when the dissention between Charles and his parliament had paved the way for civil war. This tract is of more importance, since the proper records of parliament of the period do not exist.

Contents.

1. A Preface to true Englishmen.
2. A memorable Speech in Parliament.
3. A Petition for the Parliaments Libertie.
4. Particulars of the Great Contract.
5. Petitions for Grace in celestiall Causes.
6. Grievances in temporall Matters.

To all true hearted Englishmen dwelling in their Native Soile.

Howsoever (my deare countrey-men) it is mine hap to abide on this side the seas; yet I cannot but hearken after the prosperitie of my gracious soveraigne, and naturall

countrey; especially in the parliament time. I am not (indeed) in any such eminent place, as where I may be sure to have a perfect relation of all remarkable affairs: yet by my diligent indeavour I obtaine (in time) more probable intelligence, then many of you doe. Of which the love of my country compelleth to make present use, occasioned by a publication (for not one word thereof is in the king's name) dated 31. December, 1611. wherein the worthiest House of Commons that ever was, is covertly traduced for spending long time, and great charges, and yet failing an earnest expectation of a good conclusion for the ease and freedome of his majesties subjects [1] I could not therefore but indevour to prevent (as I may) the heart-burning which (I feare) that publication may occasion betweene the king and his commons, and 2. to make it appeare, that no House of Commons had ever a greater zeale for the ease and freedome of the subjects then the late House had. The former, by demonstrating that the said covert imputation is not the king's, but the penman's. For whereas proclamations (indeed) speake in the first person, as thus, Our subjects; and, Wee are resolved, that publication speaketh in the third person thus, His majestie's subjects; and, His majestie is resolved. Therefore it was not penned by his majestie. Againe, How can close suggesting the said imputation to be the cause of disolving the parliament agree with that which is expresly said, That his majestie, for many good considerations knowne to himself, determined to dissolve, &c. Doth not this shew, that the over large preamble of that publication is the penman's, and onely the body thereof was by the king's direction? Moreover, in a proclamation dated the 24. of September, 1611. his majesty findeth fault with former proclamations, in regard of their penning. Which sheweth, that when his majestie hath signified his minde touching the substance of a proclamation, he doth not alwaies review the penning thereof. Therefore it may be supposed, that hee did not peruse the penning of the publication. So that I thinke it may be well concluded, that the said imputation is not the king's, but the penman's.

As for the zeale of the commons in parliament for the ease and freedome of the subjects, let that appeare by that which is here published. Onely I suppose it not amisse to remember, that in the session of the late parliament, there passed these billes in the House of Commons. 1. An act for the better observing and keeping holy the Sabbath day, or Sunday. 2. An act against such, as comming to church, doe refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper. 3. An act for the providing of a learned and godly ministerie. And 4. An act to inable suspended and deprived ministers to sue, and prosecute their appeales. I remember these, because that worthy knight, or burgesse (whose speech is here recorded) doth not speake of them; intending (belike) to mention no other billes, but such as passed in the House of Commons, in the fourth, that is, the last session of parliament. I say, the last, because the fifth cannot be accompted a session, seeing nothing was concluded therein; the speaker, sundry mornings before the House met together, adjourning the same from day to day, till the parliament was pro-

[1] The proclamation in question is thus given by the continuator of Stowe's Annals: "Whereas the king's most excellent majestie hath continued this parliament together, longer than hath bin usual, or might well have stood either with his important affaires of state, or with the publicke business of three whole termes spent in the two last sessions; or with the occasions of the country, where the service and hospitalitie of many persons of qualitie hath beene missing, and divers shires, cities, and burrough townes, have beene burdened with allowances made to the knights and burgesses whom they imployed; besides the particular expense of the nobilitie and others attending that service. And all this in expectation of a good conclusion of some of the weighty causes, which have been there in deliberation, not only for the supply of the necessities of his majestie's estate, but for the ease and freedom of his subjects, in many thinges proposed by his majesty in parliament, far differing and surpassing the favors and graces of former times, both in nature and value. His majesty hath now resolved, (for preventing of further trouble of all those that would prepare themselves to be here against the time limited by the last prorogation) to declare by these presents that they shall not need to give their attendance at the day appoynted, for any service to be done as members of this parliament; because his majesty (for many good considerations known to himselfe) hath now determined to dissolve this parliament, by his commission under his great seal of England. Dated at Whitehall, 31st December, 1610."

rogued, and there dissolved. Well, I pray God, that whensoever we shall have an other parliament, counties, cities, and burroughes, may not be moved by letters from such common-wealths-men, as the pen-man of the said publication is feared to be, to chuse such knights and burgesses, as will have lesse zeale for the ease and freedome of the subjects, than had the knights, and burgesses of the late parliament.

A Memorable Speech in the House of Commons, 1611.

Master Speaker,

I perceive we are all much troubled, by the evill successe which we have had in the Great Contract[1] concerning tenures and purveiance, after our long travel and much time spent therein, and in other causes of good importance; so as many have taken occasion thereby to say of us, that although there was never a more honourable assembly, in the commons house of parliament, of godly, wise, and learned men, then at this time, that yet there did never lesse fruit appeare of their labour to the world at any time before, then now; which fruitlesse labour, if it might be truly imputed unto us, it might worthily grieve us all. But I hope that in seeking out meanes of redresse, or relief in this case, I shall make it appeare to all, that will rightly weigh of the things, that if furtherance had beene given by others, whome it concernes, to our labours and good endeavours, many abuses had beene reformed, and much good done to the common-wealth of England.

But as it is true, which that great wise lord, who hath the chiefe charge of the treasure of the realme, said unto us at our last meeting with the honourable lords of the Upper House of Parliament, in the painted chamber at Westminster, touching the great contract, *viz.* that hee did well perceive, that wee had a great desire to have effected that great contract; that the king's majesty had willingly given his assent to the same, and that yet neverthelesse it proceeded not, wherein they could not finde the impediment, but that God did not blesse it: so is it likewise true of the rest of our proceedings in parliament, that God hath not blessed the same with good successe; which troubled me at the first, until I did further consider of many other parties of the realme, and many other callings, and societies of the realme, to whom God hath given as little blessing, as to the parliament-house. For it did appeare plainly to us in this House, upon the treatie and examinations of the grievances of the church and commonwealth, that the merchants of England, who were a calling of very great use in this realme, for the wealth, strength, and credit thereof, and as it were the legs of the commonwealth, whereon it goeth, had not received such blessing of late, yea, in their merchandizing, as in former times, although they labor as much, and adventure as much as in former times they did. And that likewise the clothiers, being a trade whereby many thowsand subjects are maintained, although they labor in their calling as much at this time, as ever before they did, doe of late find so little fruit of ther labour, as that many of them are decayed, and many of them also have given over that trade to the great hinderance of the realme.

And also the like is fallen to the marriners and ship-wrights of this realme, which number is greatly decayed, and with them the serviceable ships and shipping very much weakned, which threatneth a decay of the walls and strength of the realme, which by good shipping and good marriners is well defended.

And I find also, that God hath not blessed the treasure of the realme, for it is gone from us, as if God had blown upon it, to turne it out of the land, so as prince and people want.

And I finde also in the calling of lawyers, that there is not the like increase of their labors, as in times past, except it be some fewe favorites: and I thinke that divers

[1] See its purport, p. 154.

knights, citizens, and burgesses, now here present about mee, could say the like of divers sorts of men in their countries, cities, and burroughs, if they list to speak; whereupon I do assuredly thinke, that for some publique sinnes of the land, God hath a quarrell to the land, whereby he doth withdraw his ordinary blessings; which publique sinnes this great councell of the realme ought first to seeke out, and as much as in our power to redress the same, that God beeing thereby reconciled unto the land, an happy blessing might insue to all the estates thereof, which to effect, you shall see what we for our parts have done to obteyne Gods loving countenance to the land, as a shield, by removing the publicke sinnes thereof, which as a thicke cloud doth keepe from us Gods sun-shining grace.

First we did see, and consider, that the precious name of God, which wee ought to regard more then our lives, is not by the lawes of England so tenderly regarded, and preserved, as the name of all sorts of people in the land; for if some evill wordes be used against the king, it is high treason, for which the offender shall dye. And if some evill words bee used against noble men, it is punishable by the statute *de scandalum magnatum*. And that for some evil wordes used by any private person against another, an action of the case doth lye, at the common law, to punish the offender, and to recompence the partie wronged. But for abusing the holy name of God, and tearing him in peeces by wicked oathes, there is no punishment by the lawes of the realme, whereby both men, women, and children, increase in that sinne greevously, every day, without punishment or checke; wherefore to prevent that sinne, wee did, at two severall sessions of parliament, make two several bills, which did passe our House of Commons, to be made lawes for punishment of such offenders. [1]

And to take away that crying sinne which doth most provoke God, and most greeve the subjects, *viz.* the depriving, disgracing, silencing, disgrading, and imprisoning, such of Gods messengers (being learned and godly preachers) as he hath furnished with most heavenly graces to call us to true repentance, for no other cause, but for not conforming themselves otherwise then by subscription limited in the statutes made in the 14. yeare of the late Queen Elizabeth of famous memorie, therby making the lawes of the church and common-wealth to jarre; which to reforme, we made a law for subscription agreeing to the intent of the foresaid statute, which every wise man will approve, and willingly subscribe unto, whereby much peace and unitie would grow in the church and common-wealth, and be an occasion, that many subjects might be well taught the meanes of their salvation, who now want sufficient knowledge of the word of God to ground their faith upon.

And to take away another grosse sinne, which is made lawful by act of parliament, whereby the land is made guiltie thereof, *viz.* concerning none residents, and plurality of benefices, we did passe a bill in the last sessions of parliament, and have another bill concerning that offence ready to passe, being twise read, and agreed upon at the committees, whereby we abrogate so much of the statute of the 21 year of King Henry the 8. as did inable none residents, or the taking of more benefices than one with cure of soules; for by the provisions in that statute, the kings chaplaines may have as many benefices, as they can get without stint, and some others may have foure benefices, with cure at one time, in severall counties, and some two benefices, and yet bee resident upon none of them, so long as he attendeth upon his lord, or master, which is a thing intolerable in a christian common-wealth.

And for that some scandalous ministers of evill life doe bring a great slander to all

[1] James himself was a habitual swearer: "He would make a great deal too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one string higher, verging in blasphemy; but would, in his better temper, say, he hoped God would not impute them to his sins, or lay them to his charge, seeing they proceeded from passion. He had need of great assurance, rather than hopes, that would daily make so bold with God." DALYELL'S *Fragments of Scottish History*, p. 87.

the rest, being many godly and learned preachers, wee did make a good law to remove such scandalous ministers from their place.

And where by the lawes of God, and the lawes of this realme, the ecclesiasticall persons should, in their government, use onely the spirituall sword by exhortation, admonition, and excommunication, which are the keyes of the church to exclude impenitent sinners, and to receive into the church the penitent and faithfull persons, and to leave the temporall sword to the temporall magistrate, which was alwaies so used in England untill the second yeare of King Henry the Fourth, at which time popish prelates, following the example of the man of sinne at Rome, obtained a statute without the free consent of the subjects (as is set forth by Mr Foxe, and in some sort, appeareth by the record of the Tower) by which statute they got the temporall sword into their hands, which statute was since, by several acts of parliament, made voide with great disgrace, and yet by colour of that temporall authoritie once, by a short space by them used, some ecclesiasticall persons doe use both swords, to the great griefe and trouble of the subjects, and with those two swords, they doe also use the oath *ex officio*, which began first in England, by that statute of the second yeare of King Henry the Fourth, being contrary to the lawes of England, and (as I verily thinke) contrary to the lawes of God.

Wherefore wee, to reforme those great abuses, made two good lawes; the one to abridge the force of the ecclesiasticall commission in many points; the other to abrogate, and to take away the power of ecclesiasticall persons, to minister the oath *ex officio* being a very hatefull thing, and unlawfull.

And for that among the canons, late made by the clergie of England in that convocation, it was thought, that some of their canons did extend to charge the bodies, lands, and goods of the subjects of the realme, further then was lawfull, and meet, wee therefore made a good law to make voide such canons, as doe charge the bodies, lands, and goods of the subjects, unlesse that the same canons were confirmed by parliament.

And as we had care of the church, so had wee care of the common-wealth, touching impositions laid upon the subjects goods, and merchandize, and other things; and therefore after long travell taken by us in searching ancient records in the Tower of London, and in other places, and after great dispute made hereupon, in open House, by many learned lawyers, we found it cleare in our opinion, that impositions laid upon merchandize, or other goods of the subjects of this realme, by the kings majestie, without the free consent of the subjects in parliament, was not lawfull, and therefore wee did make and passe a bill, by the generall consent of the House of Commons, intended by us all to be a law, thereby to declare that by the lawes of England, no imposition could bee lawfully laid upon goods, or merchandize of the subjects of England, without the consent of the subjects in parliament.

And because that many subjects were greatly troubled by purveyance, and cart-taking, notwithstanding the good lawes in that behalfe made to restraine the same, a bill was preferred by some member of the House, for reformation of that abuse, at the beginning of the last sessions of parliament; which bill, by all likelihood, had long since passed the House of Commons, if the matter of purveyance had not beene comprehended in this great contract, which matter of great contract being now ended, a new bill concerning purveyance and cart-taking is in my hands, now presently to be delivered into the House to receive such proceeding therein, as shall bee thought meet.

And touching wardship and tenures, because it is thought a heavie law, and grievous to the subjects, after the death of the father to have the sonne and heire within age taken from the mother and kindred, to bee bought and sould, and with the heire also to take all the lands and tenements of the father, that should many times maintaine both the heire and the rest of the children, for the onely benefit of the gardian; therefore wee made a very large offer to free the land thereof, which we laboured ear-

nestly to effect, but God hath not blessed it, nor brought to good effect any of those good intended lawes, above by me mentioned, although we much desired the same, and had done therein as much as pertained to us to do, which if they had beene well effected, and passed as lawes and statutes, and that all such grievances, concerning the church and common-wealth, as we carefully commended unto his majestie in writing (whereof the copies doe remaine in this House) had procured such amendment of things, as we expected, it had made England so honorable and happie in the government thereof, as ever was kingdom in this world (as I thinke.) And which, when the same shall bee well effected, will (as I thinke) make both king and subjects more happie, then ever they were. For if all these things so concurred together, as we wished and laboured for, what would wee not give to supply the king's wants, and to support him in a most royall and princely state. But *rebus sic stantibus,* as is before declared, without reformation of those things, which were by us so earnestly sought, wee cannot give much to supply the king's wants, because wee know no certainty of that which should remaine to us after our gift, so as, in mine opinion, the good proceeding of this parliament hath not beene hindred by us, which is all I meane to say at this time.

The particulars to bee contracted for, in consideration of two hundred thousand pounds, per annum, to be paid unto his Majestie.

1. Wardships, and tenures, with their particular dependences, shall be utterly taken away.
2. The maxime, *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi,* shall be no longer of any effect.
3. All the king's patents shall be expounded for the good of the patentees, and according to the true meaning.
4. No forfeiture shall bee taken by the king, or his patentee, for non-payment of rent.
5. Any subject shall plead the general issue (not guilty) upon information of intrusion.
6. All penall lawes, and informations, shall be ordered for the best ease of the subject.
7. All manner of purveyance taken by prerogative, cart-taking, compositions, and commissions therefore, and præ-emption (except of time) shall be utterly taken away, and no clerke of the market shall set price on any victuall, nor any other shall do the same.[z]

[z] These abuses of purveyance and receipts in kind arose from the ancient state of manners, "when," in the glowing language of Burke, "the royal purveyors sallying forth from under the Gothic portcullis, to purchase provision with power and prerogative, instead of money, brought home the plunder of an hundred markets, and all that could be seized from a flying and hiding country, and deposited their spoil in an hundred caverns, with each its keeper." *Speech on Œconomical Reform.* Yet the prudence of Elizabeth rendered tolerable this, like many other grievances which were clamorously complained of in the reign of her successor. "For as wisdom and secresie appeared in her council chamber, so hospitality, charity, and splendour, were dilated over the whole court; where, upon the least acquaintance, all strangers, from the nobleman to the peasant, were invited to one table or other, (of which she kept abundance, wherever she removed from one standing house to another, unless she returned to Whitehall at night,) the least considerable suiting with three, four, or five hundred pounds *per annum* expence; and for bread, beer, and wine, (commonly called by the name of Budge,) though the purveyors that brought it in were called to strict accounts, such as issued them out were rarely questioned, but in case they sold it: And by this generosity, the ordinary sort of people were so endeared, as I have known some brag of their entertainment at court twenty years after; such like dogs seldom biting those that have once fed them, though with the same meat they have been at the pains to catch themselves; it coming all out of the countryman's barns or yards, the wine being little when custom was abated." OSBORNE's *Historical Memoirs,* in his *Works,* p. 380.

8. All prefines, and postfines, to be due upon alienation, by fine and recovery, shall be taken away.

9. Debts shall be paid to the subjects before any advantage be taken, by the king, of forfeitures upon outlawries, or attainders of felons, or traitors.

10. That clause in the statutes of 34. and 35. of Henry 8. touching alteration of lawes in Wales, shall bee repealed.

11. Every subject that hath possessed land by the space of sixty yeares, where the king, in that time, hath not had the possession, or profit thereof, by the space of one yeare, shall bee free from the king's claime. And if the king, within that space, hath been seised of any rent, out of the same lands, then that rent onely shall remain to the king.

12. Old debts due to the king before tenne years last past, shall be forgiven.

13. The king shall expresse the cause of Demurrer, in pleading against any of his subjects.

14. Fees of all courts to bee paid by the subjects, shall be expressed in a booke in print.

15. All lawes absolute, that are penall, shall be reduced to one law.

16. No protection against law shall bee granted by the king.

17. Any thing doubtfull in any of these articles shall be explained by our selves.

18. Any other matter, which at our next meeting, we shall conceive to bee for the ease of the subjects, and shall not detract from the king, in point of soveraignty or profit, shall be essential in this contract.

To the King's most excellent Majestie.

Most gracious soveraigne, whereas we your majesties most humble subjects the commons assembled in Parliament, have received first by message, and since by speach, from your majestie, a commandment of restraint from debating in Parliament, your majesties right of imposing upon your subjectes goods exported, or imported, out of, or into this realme, yet alloweing us to examine the grievances of these impositions in regard of the quantitie, time, and other circumstances of disproportion thereto incident: We your said humble subjectes nothing doubting, but that your majestie had no intent, by that commandement, to infringe the ancient and fundamentall right of the libertie of Parliament, in point of exact discussing of all matters concerning them, and their possessions, goods, and rights whatsoever; which yet wee cannot but conceive to bee done, in effect, by this commandement, doe with all humble dutie make this remonstrance to your majestie.

First, we hold it an ancient, generall, and undoubted right of Parliament, to debate freely all matters, which do properly concerne the subject, and his right, or state: which freedome of debate being once foreclosed, the essence of the libertie of Parliament is with-all dissolved.

And whereas, in this case, the subjects right on the one side, and your majesties prerogative on the other, cannot possibly be severed in debate of either, wee alledge, that your majesties prerogatives of that kind concerning directly the subjects right and interest, we daily handled and discussed in all courts at Westminster, and have been ever freely debated upon all fit occasions, but in this, and all former parliaments without restraint. Which being forbidden, it is impossible for the subject either to know, or maintaine, his right and propertie to his owne lands and goods, though never so just and manifest.

It may further please your most excellent majestie to understand, that wee have no mind to impugne, but a desire to informe ourselves of your highnes prerogative in that

poynt: which, if ever, is now most necessarie to be knowne. And though it were to no other purpose, yet to satisfie the generalitie of your majesties subjects, who finding themselves much grieved by these new impositions, doe languish in much sorrow and discomfort.

These reasons, dread soveraine, (being the proper reasons of parliament) doe plead for the upholding of this our ancient right and libertie. Howbeit, seeing it hath pleased your majestie to insist upon that judgement in the exchequer, as being direction sufficient for us, without further examination, upon great desire of leaving your majestie unsatisfied in no one point of our intents and proceedings, we professe touching that judgement, That we neither do nor will take upon us to reverse it: but our desire is to know the reasons whereupon the same was grounded. And the rather, for that a generall conceipt is had, that the reasons of that judgement may be extended much further, even to the utter ruine of the ancient libertie of this kingdome, and of the subjects right of propertie to have lands and goods. Therefore the judgement it selfe, being the first and the last that ever was given in that kind, for ought appearing unto us, and being onely in one case, and against one man; it can bind in law no other then that person, and is also reversable by writ of error granted heretofore by act of parliament. And neither hee, nor any other subject, is debarred by it, from trying his right in the same, or like case, in any of your majesties courts of record at Westminster.

Lastly, we nothing doubt, but your intended proceeding, in a full examination of the right, nature, and measure of these new impositions (if this restraint had not come betweene) should have beene so orderly, and moderately caried, and applied to the manifold necessitie of these times, and given your majestie so true a view of the state, and right of your subjects, that it would have beene much to your majesties content, and satisfaction (which wee most desire) and removed all causes of fears and jealousies from the loyall hearts of your subjects, which is (as it ought to bee) our carefull indeavour. Whereas contrarywise, in that other way directed by your majestie, wee cannot safely proceed, without concluding, for ever, the right of the subject; which without due examination thereof, we may not doe.

We therefore, your highness loyall and dutifull commons, not swerving from the approved steps of our ancestors, most humbly and instantly beseech your gracious majesty, that without offence to the same, we may (according to the undoubted right, and libertie of parliament) proceed in our intended course of a full examination of these new impositions, that so we may cheerefully pass on to your majesties busines, from which this stop hath, by diversion, so long with-held us. And wee your majesties most humble, faithfull, and loyall subjects, shall ever, according to our bounden dutie, pray for your majesties long and happie raigne over us.

Delivered by 20. *of the Lower House of Parliament the* 24. *of May* 1610.

PETITIONS.

Most gracious and dread soveraigne, sith it hath pleased Almightie God, of his unspeakable goodnesse and mercie towards us, to call your majestie to the government of this kingdome, and hath crowned you with supreme power, aswell in the church, as in the common-wealth, for the advancement of his glorie, and the generall benefite of all the subjects of the land. Wee doe with all humilitie present, at the feete of your excellent majestie, our selves, and our desires, full of confidence in the assurance of your religious minde and princely disposition. That you will be graciously pleased to give life and effect to these our petitions, greatly tending (as undoubtedly wee conceive) to the glorie of God, the good of his church, and safetie of your most royall person, wherein wee acknowledge our greatest happines to consist.

1. Whereas good and provident lawes have beene made for the maintenance of Gods true religion, and safetie of your majesties most royall person, issue, and estate, against jesuites, seminarie priests, and popish recusants. And although your majestie, by your godly, learned, and judicious writings, have declared your princely and christian zeale, in the defence of the religion established, and have very lately (to the comfort of your best affected subjects) published to both houses of parliament your princely will and pleasure, that recusants should not be concealed, but detected and convicted; yet for that the lawes are not executed against the priests, who are the corrupters of the people in religion, and loyaltie, and many recusants have already compounded, and (as it is to be feared) more and more (except your majestie in your great wisdome prevent the same) will compound with those that beg their penalties, which maketh the lawes altogether fruitlesse, or of little or none effect, and the offenders to become bold, obdurate, and unconformable: your majestie therefore would be pleased, at the humble sute of your commons in this present parliament assembled, in the causes so highly concerning the glorie of God, the preservation of true religion, of your majestie and state, to suffer your highnesse naturall clemencie to retire it selfe and to give place unto justice, and to lay your royall command upon all your ministers of justice, both ecclesiasticall and civill, to see the lawes made against jesuites, seminarie priests, and recusants (of what kind and sect soever) to be duely and truely executed, without dread, or delay. And that your majestie would bee pleased likewise to take into your owne hands the penalties due for recusancie, and that the same bee not converted to the private gaine of some, to your infinite losse, the imboldning of the papists, and decay of true religion. [1]

2. Whereas also divers painfull and learned pastors, that have long traveiled in the worke of the ministrie, with good fruit and blessing of their labours, who were ever ready to performe the legall subscription appointed by the statute of 13. Elizab. which onely concerneth the confession of the true christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments, yet for not conforming in some points of ceremonies, and refusing the subscription directed by the late canons, have been removed from their ecclesiasticall livings, being their freehold, and debarred from all meanes of maintenance, to the great griefe of sundry your majesties well affected subjects; seeing the whole people, that want instruction, lye open to the seducements of popish and ill affect persons: wee therefore most humbly beseech, your majestie would be graciously pleased, that such deprived and silenced ministers, may, by licence or permission of the reverend fathers, in their severall diocesses, instruct, and preach unto their people in such parishes, and places, where they may be imployed: so as they apply themselves, in their ministery, to wholsome doctrine, and exhortation, and live quietly, and peaceably in their callings, and shall not by writing, or preaching, impugne things established by publick authority. [2]

3. Whereas likewise through pluralitie of benefices, and toleration of non-residencie in many, who possess not the meanest livings with cure of soules, the people in diverse

[1] To this the king replied, that his care on this subject was sufficiently set forth by his late proclamation following on the death of the king of France.

[2] The king, who heartily hated the Puritans, whom he was wont to call Protestants scared out of their wits, gave the following negative to this supplication: "There hath never been hitherto any particular church in this world (for ought that we have read or heard) that hath allowed such ministers to preach in it, as have refused to subscribe to the doctrine and discipline settled in it, and maintained by it; and hereof the reformed churches in France do yield a fresh example, who have and do daily require subscription to the articles of their synods, though very many in number; nevertheless, in our own princely judgment, we ever intended to make some distinction between the persons and dispositions of the deprived and silenced ministers, in regard of better hope of conformity in some than others, although they be in the same degree offenders by our lawes; so we shall be pleased, when we know the numbers, the names and qualities of these for whom this petition is made, to take such order in that behalf, as in our most princely wisdom we shall hold most fit and convenient for the good and peace of the church."——*Parliamentary History*, v. 245.

places want instruction, and are ignorant, and easy to be seduced, whereby the adversaries of our religion gaine great advantage, and although the pluralists, and non-residents doe frame excuse of the smalnesse of some livings, and pretende the maintenance of learning, yet wee finde by experience that they, coupling many of the greatest livings, doe leave the least helpless, and the best as ill served, and supplied with preachers, as the meanest. And where pluralists heaping up many livings into one hand, doe by that meanes keepe divers learned men from maintenance to the discouragement of students, and the hinderance of learning, and the non-residents (for seeking, or absenting themselves from their pastoral charges) do leave the people, as a prey unto the popish seducers; it might therefore please your most excellent majestie for remedy of these evils in the church, to provide, that dispensations for pluralitie of benefices with cure of souls may be prohibited, and that toleration of non-residencie may bee restrained. So shall true religion bee better upheld, and the people more instructed in divine and civill duties.[1]

4. And for asmuch as excommunication is the heaviest censure for the most grievous offences which the church doth retayne, yet exercised upon an incredible number of the common people by the subordinate officers of the jurisdiction ecclesiasticall, most commonly for very small causes, grounded upon the sole information of a base apparitour, in which case the parties, before they can bee discharged, are driven to excessive expence for matters of very small moment, so that the richer breake through more haynous offences, and escape that censure, by commutation of penance, to the great scandall of the church government, in the abuse of so high a censure, the contempt of the censure it selfe, and grievance of your majesties poor subjects.[2]

Wherefore your majesties dutifull Commons most humbly beseech your highnes, that some due, and fit reformation may be had in the premisses.

GRIEVANCES.

To the King's most excellent Majestie.

Most gracious soveraigne, your majesties most humble Commons assembled in parliament, being moved, as well out of their duty and zeale to your majesty, as out of the sense of just griefe, wherewith your loving subjects are generally through the whole realme at this time possessed, because they perceive their common and ancient rights and libertie to bee much declined, and infringed in these late yeares; doe with all duty and humilitie present these our just complaints thereof to your gracious view, most instantly craving justice therein and due redresse. And although it bee true, that many of the particulars, whereof we now complaine, were in some use in the late queenes time, and then not much impugned, because the usage of them, beeing then more moderate, gave not so great occasion of offence, and consequently not so much cause

[1] The king answered, that though no christian king detested more than he the greedy keeping up of benefices, and neglect of the cure, yet he could not abridge any of his loving subjects of that granted to them by the express laws of the realm. But he promised he would lay strict charge upon the bishops, to see that the constitution appointing pluralists to maintain able curates on the benefices where they did not reside, should be more strictly enforced.

[2] To this last particular the king returned the following answer: "Touching the grievances found in the execution of the commission, we know that there is no commission nor court, either of ecclesiastical or temporal jurisdiction, but may be subject more or less to abuse in the execution of their authority; nevertheless it is our part to have our ear open to receive complaints of that kind, especially from our parliament, when we shall find them to be just; and therefore our purpose is to see such reformation to be made of all abuses in the execution of the said commission, as may best procure the ease of our subjects from charge or vexation, and such punishment to be inflicted on pursuivants and other inferior ministers, which shall be offenders, as may repress such misdemeanors in time to come."—*Parliamentary History*, v. 249.

to inquire into the right and validitie of them: yet the right beeing now more throughly scanned, by reason of the great mischiefs and inconveniencies which the subjects have thereby sustained, we are very confident, that your majestie will be so far from thinking it a point of honour, or greatnes, to continue any grievance upon your people, because you found them begun in some of your predecessors times, as you will rather hold it a work of great glory to reforme them; since your majesty knoweth well, that neyther continuance of time, nor errours of men, can or ought to prejudice truth or justice; and that nothing can bee more worthy of so worthy a king, nor more answerable to the great wisedome, and goodnesse which abounds in you, then to understand the griefes, and redresse the wrongs, of so loyall and well-deserving a people. In this confidence (dread soveraigne) wee offer these grievances (the particulars whereof are hereafter set downe) to your gracious consideration, and wee offer them out of the greatest loyaltie and dutie that subjects can bear to their prince. Most humbly and instantly beseeching your majestie, aswell for justice sake (more then which, as we conceive, in these petitions we doe not seeke) as also for the better assurance of the state, and generall repose of your faithfull and loving subjects, and for testimonie of your gracious acceptation of their full affections, declared aswell by their joyfull receiving of your majestie, at your happie entrance into this kingdome, which you have been often pleased with favour to remember; as also by their extraordinarie contributions granted since unto you, such as have never been yeelded to any former prince, upon the like termes, and occasions, that we may receive to these our complaints your most gratious answer: which we cannot doubt but will be such, as may be worthie of your princely selfe, and will give satisfaction, and great comfort to all your loyall and most dutifull loving subjects; who doe, and will ever pray for the happie preservation of your most royall majestie.

New Impositions.

The policie and constitution of this your kingdome appropriates unto the kings of this realme, with the assent of the parliament, aswell the soveraigne power of making lawes, as that of taxing, or imposing upon the subjects goods, or merchandizes, as may not, without their consents, be altered, or changed. This is the cause, that the people of this kingdome, as they ever showed themselves faithfull and loving to their kings, and ready to aide them in all their just occasions, with voluntarie contributions; so have they beene ever carefull to preserve their owne liberties and rights, when any thing hath been done to prejudice or impeach the same. And therefore when their princes, occasioned eyther by their warres, or their over-great bounty, or by any other necessitie, have without consent of parliament, set impositions, either within the land, or upon commodities, eyther exported or imported by the marchants, they have, in open parliament, complained of it, in that it was done without their consents. And thereupon never failed to obtaine a speedy and full redresse, without any claime, made by the kings, of any power or prerogative in that point. And though the law of propertie bee originall, and carefully preserved by the common lawes of this realme, which are as ancient as the kingdome it selfe; yet these famous kings, for the better contentment and assurance of their loving subjects, agreed, that this old fundamentall right should bee further declared and established by act of parliament. Wherein it is provided, that no such charges should ever bee laid upon the people, without their common consent, as may appeare by sundry records of former times. We therefore, your majesties most humble commons assembled in parliament, following the example of this worthy care of our ancestors, and out of a dutie of those for whom wee serve, finding, that your majestie, without advise or consent of parliament, hath lately, in time of peace, set

both greater impositions, and farre more in number, then any your noble ancestors did ever in time of warre, have, with all humility, presumed to present this most just and necessarie petition unto your majestie, that all impositions set without the assent of parliament may bee quite abolished and taken away; and that your majestie, in imitation likewise of your noble progenitors, will bee pleased, that a law may be made during this session of parliament, to declare that all impositions set, or to be set upon your people, their goods, or merchandizes, save onely by common consent in parliament, are, and shall bee voide. Wherein your majestie shall not onely give your subjects good satisfaction in point of their right, but also bring exceeding joy and comfort to them which now suffer, partly through the abating of the prise of native commodities, and partly through the rising of all forraigne, to the overthrow of merchants and shipping, the cause of a generall dearth and decay of wealth among your people, who will be thereby no lesse discouraged, than disabled, to supply your majestie, when occasion shall require it.

Commission Ecclesiastical.

Whereas by the statute 1 Eliz. cap. 1. intituled, An Act restoring to the Crown the auncient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical, &c. power was given to the queene and her successors, to constitute and make a commission in causes ecclesiasticall, the said act is found to be inconvenient, of dangerous extents in divers respects. First, for that it inableth the making of such a commission as well to any one subject borne, as to more. Secondly, for that whereas by the intention and words of the said statute, ecclesiasticall jurisdiction is restored to the crowne; and your highnes, by that statute, inabled to give only such power ecclesiasticall to the said commissioners, yet under colour of some words in that statute, whereby the commissioners are authorised to execute their commission according to the tenour and effect of your highnesse letters patents, and by letters patents grounded thereupon, the said commissioners doe fine and imprison, and exercise other authoritie not belonging to the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction restored by that statute, which wee conceive to bee a greate wronge to the subject; and that those commissioners might as well by colour of those words, if they were so authorized by your highnesse letters patents, fine without stint, and imprison without limitation of time, as also according to will and discretion, without any rules of law, spirituall or temporall, adjudge and impose utter confiscation of goods, forfeiture of lands, yea, and the taking away of limme and of life itselfe; and this for any matter whatsoever parteyning to spiritual jurisdiction, which never was nor could be ment by the makers of that law. Thirdly, for that by the said statute, the king and his successors may (however your majestie hath bene pleased out of your gracious disposition otherwise to order) make, and direct such commission into all the counties and dioceses, yea, into every parish of England, and thereby all causes may bee taken from ordinarie jurisdiction of bishops, chancellors, and arch-deacons, and lay men, solely be inabled to excommunicate, and exercise all other censures spirituall. Fourthly, for that every petty offence, partaining to spirituall jurisdiction, is, by colour of the said words, and letters patents grounded thereupon, made subject to excommunication and punishment by that strange and exorbitant power and commission, whereby the least offenders, not committing any thing of any enormous or high nature, may be drawne from the most remote places of the kingdome to London or Yorke; which is very grievous and inconvenient. Fiftly, for that limit, touching causes subject to this commission, being onely with these words, viz. "such as perteine to spirituall or ecclesiasticall jurisdiction;" it is very hard to know, what matters or offences are included in that number. And the rather because it is unknowne, what ancient canons or lawes spirituall

are in force, and what not: from whence ariseth great incertaintie and occasion of contention.

And whereas upon the same statute a commission ecclesiasticall is made; therein is grievance apprehended thus. First, for that thereby the same men have both spirituall and temporall jurisdiction, and may both force the party by oath to accuse himselfe of an offence, and also inquire thereof by a jurie; and, lastly, may inflict for the same offence, at the same time, and by one and the same sentence, both a spirituall and temporall punishment. Secondly, whereas, upon sentences of deprivation, or other spirituall censures, given by force of ordinarie jurisdiction, an appeale lyeth for the partie grieved; that is here excluded by expresse words of the commission. Also here is to be a tryall by jury, yet no remedy by traverse, nor attaint. Neither can a man have any writ of errour, though a judgement or sentence be given against him, amounting to the taking away of all his goods, and imprisoning him during life, yea to the adjudging him in the case of præmunire, whereby his lands are forfeyted, and he out of the protection of the lawe. Thirdly, that wheras penal lawes, and offences against the same, cannot be determined in other courts, or by other persons, then by those trusted by parliament with the execution thereof, yet the execution of many such statutes (diverse whereof were made since 1 Eliza.) are commended and committed to these commissioners ecclesiasticall, who are either to inflict the punishment conteined in the statutes being premunire, and of other high nature, and so to inforce a man upon his owne oath to accuse and expose himselfe to these punishments, or els to inflict other temporall punishments at their pleasure. And yet besides, and after that done, the partie shall be subject in the courtes mentioned in the acts, to punishments by the same acts appointed and inflicted, which wee thinke very unreasonable. Fourthly, that the commission giveth authority to inforce men called into question, to enter into recognisance, not only for appearance from time to time, but also for performance of whatsoever shall be by the commissioners ordered, and also, that it giveth power to enjoyne parties defendant or accused, to pay such fees to ministers of the court, as by the commissioners shall be thought fit.

And, touching the execution of the commission, it is found grievous these wayes among other. First, for that lay men are by the commissioners punished for speaking (otherwise then in judicial places and courses) of the symonie and other misdemeanours of spirituall men, though the thing spoken be true, and the speach tending to the inducing of some condigne punishment. Secondly, in that these commissioners usually appoint and allot to women discontented at, and unwilling to live with their husbands, such portions and allowances, for present maintenance, as to them shall seem fit: to the great encouragement of wives to be disobedient and contemptuous against their husbands. Thirdly, in that the pursuivants, or other ministers, imployed in the apprehension of suspected offenders in any things spirituall, and in the searching for any supposed scandalous books, use to break open mens houses, closets, and deskes, rifeling all corners and secret custodies, as in case of high treason, or suspicion thereof. All which premisses, among other things considered, your majesties most loyall and dutifull Commons, in all humblenesse, beseech your majestie, that, for the easing of them aswell from the present grievance, as from the feare and possibilitie of greater in tymes future; your highnesse would vouchsafe your royal assent and allowance to, and for the ratifying of the said statute, and the reducing thereof, and consequently of the said commission, to reasonable and convenient limits, by some act to be passed in this present session of parliament.[1]

[1] This grievance was thus answered in the king's speech: "Touching the inconvenience and dangerous extent of the statute 1 Eliz. cap. 1. our approved care for the well ordering of the ecclesiastical courts and causes, ought to banish from the conceits of our loving subjects all needless and imaginary fears; nevertheless, we are pleased

Proclamations.

Amongst many other points of happinesse and freedom, which your majesties subjects of this kingdome have injoyed under your royall progenitors, kings and queenes of this realme, there is none which they have accounted more deare and pretious then this, to be guided and governed by the certaine rule of the law, (which giveth both to the head and members, that which of right belongeth unto them,) and not by any uncertaine or arbitrary forme of government. Which, as it hath proceeded from the originall good constitution and temperature of this estate, so hath it beene the principall meanes of upholding the same in such sort, as that their kings have beene just, beloved, happie, and glorious, and the kingdom it selfe peaceable, flourishing, and durable so many ages. And the effect, aswell of the contentment, that the subjects of this kingdome have taken in this forme of government, as also of the love, respect, and dutie which they have, by reason of the same, rendred unto their princes, may appeare in this, that they have, as occasion hath required, yeelded more extraordinarie and voluntary contributions to assist their kings, then the subjects of any other knowne kingdome whatsoever. Out of this root hath growne the indubitable right of the people of this kingdome: not to be made subject to any punishment, that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies, or goods, other then such as are ordained by the common lawes of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in parliament. Neverthelesse, it is apparent, both that proclamations have been of late years much more frequent then heretofore, and

to assure them by our royal promise, that our ecclesiastical commissions shall not be directed to singular persons, but to such a number of commissioners, and them so selected, as the weight of such causes doth require; and that no definitive sentence be given or pronounced by such our commissioners under the number of seven of them sitting in court, or five at the least, and that only in case of necessity. And, further, that we shall not take advantage, by any power given us by that statute, to grant forth any forms of commissions extending further than to imprisonment and reasonable fine. And likewise, that we shall restrain such our several commissions to the number of two, the one for the province of Canterbury, and the other for that of York; besides, we are resolved to establish an order touching the use and practice of our said commissions, as that none of our loving subjects shall be drawn from remote places either to London or York, except it shall be for such exorbitant offences as are fit to be made exemplary, and for the enumeration of ecclesiastical causes in particular; and as it is a matter full of difficulty, so it is needless, as we suppose, considering that they are already so limited and confined, that no ancient canons or spiritual laws are in force, that are either contrary to the laws or customs of this realm, or tend to the damage or hurt of our prerogative royal.

"For the grievances apprehended in the commission: First, a sovereign being *mixta persona*, and having authority as well in causes ecclesiasticall as temporal, it was with great wisdom ordained, matters of the church being many ways impugned, and the censures of it grown into contempt, that there should be a commission, consisting as well of temporall as ecclesiasticall persons, who might have power for one offence at one time, and by one sentence, to inflict as there should be cause, both a spiritual and temporal punishment. But as to the enquiry by juries, it hath not for many years been practised, and we are content that hereafter it be omitted in our commission: And concerning appeals, the use hath always been to exclude them in commissions of this nature; and yet if any of our subjects shall be justly grieved with any sentence given by our commissioners, we shall be content, as we find just cause, to grant unto them a commission of review: Also, for the execution of divers statutes aimed at in your grievances, although it hath been from time to time committed, in some sort, unto our commissioners; and that every such commission hath been stiled and penned by the attorney-general, with the advice of the chiefest temporal judges, assisted with our learned council, shall confer together, concerning the exceptions by you taken, to the end that hereafter our said commissioners may have no further power to intermeddle with the execution of any part of the said statute, than it shall be found fit for our service, necessary for the suppressing of popery and schism, and no ways repugnant to the laws and policy of this our kingdom. But for making any innovations in the forms and proceedings heretofore used by our said commissioners, we know no cause to depart therein from the example of our progenitors, nor from that which the laws of this our kingdom hath approved; and touching fees, since it is a court by statute erected, and no fees in the statute expressed, it was very fit that the commissioners should have authority to limit and appoint to every officer his reasonable fees, and we will commend the further care thereof to some principal persons of our commission to take a view of them; and also reform what they find amiss, so to establish such as shall be moderate and reasonable."—*Parliamentary History*, V. 249.

that they are extended, not only to the libertie, but also to the goods, inheritances, and livelihood of men; some of them tending to alter some points of the law, and make a new; other some made, shortly after a session of parliament, for matter directly rejected in the same session; other appointing punishments to be inflicted before lawfull triall and conviction; some containing penalties in forme of penal statutes; some referring the punishment of offenders to the courts of arbitrary discretion, which have laid heavie and grievous censures upon the delinquents; some, as the proclamation for starch, accompanied with letters commanding inquirie to be made against the transgressors at the quarter-sessions; and some vouching former proclamations to countenance and warrant the later, as by a catalogue here under-written more particularly appeareth. By reason whereof there is a generall feare conceived, and spread amongst your majesties people, that proclamations will, by degrees, grow up, and increase to the strength and nature of lawes: whereby not onely that ancient happinesse, freedom, will be much blemished, (if not quite taken away,) which their ancestors have so long injoyed; but the same may also (in proces of time) bring a new forme of arbitrary government upon the realme: And this their fear is the more increased by occasion of certeyne bookes lately published, which ascribe a greater power to proclamations then heretofore hath been conceived to belong unto them; as also of the care taken to reduce all the proclamations made since your majesties raigne into one volume; and to print them in such forme as acts of parliament formerly have beene, and still are used to bee, which seemeth to imply a purpose to give them more reputation and more establishment than heretofore they have had: We therefore, your majesties humble subjects, the commons in this parliament assembled, taking these matters into our considerations, and weighing how much it doth concerne your majestie both in honour and safety, that such impressions should not be suffered to settle in your subjects mindes, have thought it to appertaine to our duties, as well towards your majestie, and to those that have trusted and sent us to this service, to present unto your majesties view these feares and griefes of your people, and to become humble suiters unto your majestie, that henceforth no fine, or forfeyture of goods, or other pecuniarie or corporall punishment, may bee inflicted upon your subjects, (other than restraint of liberty, which wee also humbly beseech may be, but upon urgent necessity, and to continue but till other order may bee taken by course of law,) unless they shall offend against some lawe or statute of this realme in force at the time of their offence committed. And, for the greater assurance and comfort of your people, that it will please your majestie to declare your royall pleasure to that purpose, either by some law to be made in this session of parliament, or by some such other course (whereof your people may take knowledge) as to your princely wisedome shall seeme most convenient.

Proclamations importing Alterations of some Points of Law, and making new.

The 11 of January, 1 Jac. f. 57, forbiddeth choosing of knights and burgesses bankerupts, or outlawed; and commandeth choyce of such as are not onely taxed to subsidies, but also have ordinarily paid and satisfied the same, f. 59. If returnes be made contrary to the proclamation, they are to be rejected as unlawfull and insufficient, f. 60.

25 August, 5 Jac. 5. 151. That the proclamation shall be a warrant to any officer or subject to seise starch, and to dispose or destroy any stuffe, &c. and restraineth all men not licenced to make starch, f. 154.

2. A proclamation made shortly after parliament for matter directly rejected the precedent session.

1 March, 2 Jac. f. 102. A proclamation for building with brick, after a bill to that end rejected.

3. Proclamations touching the freehold and livelihood of men.

16 September, 1 Ja. f. 41. Raising and pulling downe houses authorised, and prohibition to build them againe at any time, f. 42. 12 Oct.; 5 Ja. f. 160. forbidding building and taking away the materials; and appointing the owners land to be let by other men at what price they please, f. 161.

4. Proclamations referring punishment to be done by justices of peace, maiors, bailives, constables, and other officers; or seisure by persons who have no authoritie to require, heare, and determine of those offences. So it is to be inflicted before lawfull trial and conviction.

8 Jan. 2 Ja. f. 72. A proclamation for folding wooles. 23 Aug. 5 Ja. f. 151. Seisure of starch, &c. f. 154.

5. Proclamations penned with penalties in forme of penall statutes.

4 No. 1 Ja. f. Paine of confiscation of goods, f. 56. 18 Jan. f. 2. Ja. 72. Ten dayes imprisonment and standing in the pillory, f. 72. Justices of peace to forfeit 20 pounds, if they see not the proclamation of foulding wooles executed, f. 75.

23 Aug. 5 Ja. f. 151. Forfeiture of one moitie of starch, &c. seized, &c. 154.

6. Punishment of offenders in courts of arbitrary discretion, as Starre-chamber.

1 Mar. 2 Ja. f. 102. Proclamation for building, f. 103. 12 Oct. 5 Ja. 159. Proclamation for building, f. 160. 5 July, 6 Ja. f. 177. Proclamation for starch, f. 180. 25 July, 6 Ja. f. 180. Procl. for building, f. 181.

7. Proclam. former become presidents, and vouched in latter proclam.

18 June, 2 Ja. f. 75, avoucheth 5 E. 6. and 4 Eliz. f. 73; 25 July, 6 Ja. f. 180, mentioneth former proclam. against buildings, and explaineth and qualifieth them, f. 181.[1]

Stay of Writts of Prohibition, &c.

Your majesties Commons in this session of parliament assembled, doe cheerefully acknowledge the spring and fountain of the publique justice of this state to bee originally in your majestie, from whom the benefit thereof is conveyed, and derived into every member of this politique body by your highnes writs. Amongst which none are more honourable for the support of the common justice of the realm, then the writts of prohibition, *habeas corpus, et de homine replegiando:* Which writts ever have been held, and found to be a chiefe meanes of relief unto the poore distressed, and oppressed subjects of this kingdome, and can be no inconvenience at all; seing they are no way conclusive against any man, and doe draw no benefit to the procurers, but rather a fruitlesse charge, if they be obteined upon any unjust ground, or pretence. In the free granting of, and proceeding upon some of which writts, especially that of prohibition, there hath been of late observed to bee some obstruction, by reason, that upon the complaints, and importunitie of some who desire the support of inferiour courts against

[1] To this grievance the House received the following reply: "Although we know well, by the constitution of the frame and policy of this kingdom, proclamations are not of equal force and in like degree as laws; yet, nevertheless, we think it a duty appertaining to us, and inseperably annexed to our crown and legal authority, to restrain and prevent such mischief and inconveniences as we see growing in the commonwealth, against which no certain law is extant, and which may tend to the great grief and prejudice of the subjects, if there should be no remedy provided until a parliament; which prerogative our progenitors have in ancient, as well as later times, used and enjoyed. But if sithence the beginning of our reign, proclamations have been more frequent than in former times, or have exceeded further than is warranted by law, we take it in good part to be informed thereof by our loving subjects, and take it to heart as a matter of great consequence; and therefore we will have concurrence with our privy council, and with our judges and learned council, and will cause such our proclamations as are past to be reformed where cause shall be found; and for future time will provide, that none be made but such as shall stand with the former laws and statutes of the kingdom, and such as in cases of necessity our progenitors have, by their prerogative royal, used in times of the best and happiest government of this kingdom."—*Parliamentary History*, V. 250.

the principall courts of the common law, (wherewith your majestie hath been greatly troubled) you have taken into your royall consideration the severall extents of the jurisdiction of the said severall courts. Since which time the said writs have been more sparingly graunted, and with stricter cautions then anciently hath been accustomed. It is therefore most humbly desired, that it may please your majestie (whose glory is never more conspicuous, then when the poorest of the commonalty are blessed with influence of the ancient beames of justice) to require your judges, in the Courts of Westminster, to grant the said writts, in cases wherein such writts doe lye, and by law grantable: and in such sort, as that such persons, whose bodies being either committed to prison, or their causes like to receive great prejudice by proceedings against them, in times of vacation, may not be debarred nor deferred from having the speedy reliefe and benefit of those writts, more then in former times.[1]

Four Shires.

For asmuch as the exercise of authoritie over the counties of Glocester, Hereford, Wigorne, and Salop, by the president and councell of Wales, by way of instructions, upon pretext of a statute made in the 34. yeare of the raigne of King Henry the 8. is conceived not to bee warranted by that or any other law of this realme of England. And for that in the second session of this present parliament, there did a bill passe the House of Commons, whereby it was declared, that the true intent and meaning of that before mentioned statute, was not thereby to subject these countries to that kinde of government by instructions. And yet notwithstanding the inhabitants of those counties are since utterly discouraged, and in effect debarred from triall of the right of that kind of jurisdiction over those counties, by the ordinary course of the common lawes of this land; by reason of prohibitions, which were heretofore frequently granted, (upon suggestion, that those counties are not part of Wales or of the marches of the same, which is the very point in question) are now become very hard to be obtained, except in cases, where those of that councell doe exceede the instructions set downe to them by your majestie. As also for that, in cases where actions have beene brought at the common law, whereby that question might have come to decision, the plaintifes have beene stopped, sometimes by injunctions out of your majesties Court of Chancery, from their proceedings, sometime before, sometime after judgments, and sometime also by imprisonment. The precedent of which proceedings doth concerne all your majesties loyall dutifull subjects of this kingdome, aswell in respect of the stopping of the free course of justice; as also by reason that if that kind of jurisdiction were at first extended over those 4 counties, and bee now still continued without warrant of law: the consequence of this example may, in future times, give countenance to the erecting of like jurisdictions in other places of this realme. And for asmuch as your majestie was pleased to command all the judges to consider of this question, and that they thereupon bestowed very many dayes in hearing the cause argued by learned counsaile on both sides; and in viewing and considering of great numbers of records produced before them, concerning this cause; whereby they have (no doubt) throughly informed themselves of the right.

It is therefore the most humble petition of the Commons in this present parliament assembled, that your most excellent majestie will be pleased to command, that the judges may deliver their opinion upon that so exact, and deliberate hearing, which was had before them, concerning the right of the aforesaid jurisdiction over those 4 counties by force of that statute. And that the opinion which they shall deliver therein,

[1] To this the king replied generally, that it was his pleasure that the writs of *Habeas Corpus* and *De homine replegiando*, should be issued according to law.

may be in such sort published, as that all your majesties subjects whome it may concerne may have meanes to take knowledge thereof. And that your majestie will vouchsafe to declare it by your most princely pleasure, that any of your majesties subjects who may have occasion thereof may trye his, or their right in that point by due and ordinarie course of the common lawe, either by suing out of prohibitions, or any other your majesties writts without restraint. And that if the said jurisdiction over those 4 counties shall appeare to your majestie, by the opinion of the judges or otherwise, not to be warranted by law, that then your majestie bee pleased out of your most princely and gracious favour towards all your loyall and dutiful subjects, to order the ceasing of the said jurisdiction over those counties, to the great comfort of the inhabitants of those counties, and the rest of your majesties subjects of all the kingdome.[1]

New Drapery.

Complaint was made, in all humble manner, the second session of this present parliament, of many disorders, outrages, and oppressions committed upon occasion of letters patents granted to the Duke of Lenox, for the searching and sealing of stuffes, and manufactures, called by the name of New Drapery: which patent we held in all, or the most parts of it, to bee questionable, and in many apparently unlawfull; and the execution thereof wee found stretched by the farmers, and deputies, beyond the extent of the said letters patents, as appeares in the particulars set downe in the said grievance. To which it pleased your majestie to give this gratious answer, that the validitie of the said patent should be left to be judged by the law. And whensoever any abuse arising in the execution thereof should appeare, it should be severely punished. Which was, for that time, to our good satisfaction; yet finding, by divers complaints made now in parliament, that not onely the said letters patents are still in force, and the validitie of them undecided by judgment; but disorders in the execution of them are so farre off from being reformed, that they multiply every day, to the grievance of your majesties subjects. And those of the poorer sort, who exercising these manufactures are subject to much oppression, to the great hindrance of some, and utter undoing of many, as hath appeared in the particularities of the complaints presented unto us. Our humble desire is, that your majesty will be pleased, according to your former resolution, to give order, that this cause, which hath thus long hung in suspence, be speedily brought to judgment; and that before all the judges, because it concernes all the subjects of the land. And, in the mean time, that the execution of the said letters patents, so far forth as they concerne the new draperies, may be suspended till judgment be given; whereby your subjects, who doe in all humilitie present this grievance unto your majesty, may be relieved, and have no occasion to reiterate their complaints.[2]

License of Wines.

Whereas by ancient and late statutes, it hath been enacted, that wines should be re-

[1] The king declined to redress this grievance. The jurisdiction of the Council of Wales over the four counties, was, he observed, a settled state of government established by his predecessors, and administered since the 34th of Henry VIII. by as grave and learned judges as the land ever had. Therefore, he contented himself with engaging to erect no like courts or provincial councils in other parts of the realm, unless by the authority of parliament.

[2] Answered. "The king hath received no knowledge of the abuse of the said patent; and if such complaint is made in his courts of justice, he doubts not justice will be done. Also, there is now a suit depending, and ripe for judgment, on the validity of the patent, wherein his majesty will require the court to proceed with all expedition."

tayled at such low rates and prices, as for these fifty yeares last past they could not be affoorded. And for redresse thereof it was ordeined by a statute, in the fift year of the late Queene Elizabeth, that (those former lawes notwithstanding) wines might be sold at such prices as by proclamation from time to time to be made by consent of divers great officers, should be published and set downe; which proclamation, neverthelesse, the late queen, and your most excellent majestie, have been drawn to forbear, upon the earnest sute of certein persons, who therein only intended their private gaine: By reason whereof, both great summs of money in fines, rents, and annuall payments have been gotten, and raised unto the said persons, and their assigns, and great dammage and prejudice hath likewise fallen and lighted upon your people, not only by inhancing the prices of wines, licencing over-many tavernes, and appointing of unmeet persons, in unfit places to keep the same; but also by reason that corrupt, mingled, evill, and unwholesome wines have been uttered and sold, to the great hurt of the health of your highnesse people; one man sometimes ingrossing all the licences designed for that place. Whereupon complaint being made to your majesty, amongst other grievances of your people, in the second session of this present parliament, your highnesse was pleased to answer, that your grants in that behalfe were no other than such as were warrantable by the law. Whereas the grievance was the greater, for that all lawes concerning the sale of wines, being intended, and conceived to be repealed, there were neverthelesse, by the oversight of them which were trusted in that businesse, casually omitted, and left unrepealed, certaine absolute lawes, impossible to be observed; as namely, one made in the time of King Edward the First, commanding wines to be sold at twelve pence the sexterne, and one other made in the 28 of King Henry the Eight, prohibiting all persons, under penalty, to sell any French wines above eight pence the gallon, and other wines, as sacks, and sweet wines, above twelve pence the gallon; and one branch of a statute made in the seventh yeare of King Edward the Sixt, prohibiting men to sell any wines by retaile in their houses. Whereupon your majesty hath been induced and drawne to ground new patents of dispensation, and to grant the benefit thereof unto the lord admirall; whereby the like discommodities and inconveniences have sithence insued unto the common wealth, as formerly did arise and grow upon the other repealed lawes, whereof, in the former petitions of your subjects, exhibited unto your majesty in the said second session, your highnesse never had any direct and cleare information. May it therefore please your most excellent majesty, at the humble request of your Commons, (who have taken into consideration the great charges and expences, which the said lord admirall hath been at, in your majestie's service, and have considered likewise the present licences and grants for valuable consideration unto many hundred of your highnesse subjects, which without great losse to the said grantees, cannot be suddenly made voide) out of your princely wisdome and goodnesse, wherein you have professed not to extend, and straine your prerogative royall against the publique good of your people, for the particular gain of any private persons, to vouchsafe, that from hence forwards, there may no more grants of that nature be made unto any of your subjects whomsoever. But that the said statute of 5. Elizabeth, for the apprising of wines, to be published by proclamation, as time and occasion shall require, may be put in execution. And that your majesty will likewise vouchsafe to grant your royall assent to a bill of repeale of the said obsolete statutes, and all other, whereupon any such *Non obstantes*, and dispensations might be grounded upon. In which statute of repeale, proviso shall be made for the indemnitie of all such, as under your majestie's great seale have already procured license for such sale of wines.[1]

[1] Answer, "The law, though old, as they affirm, was still in force; and it seemeth the Commons, if they will remember some of their late proceedings, would be loth to disclaim making use of old laws. Nevertheless, at their prayer (saving the patent which they themselves acknowleage to have been made in favour of so great a

Alehouses.

Whereas, by the lawes of this your majestie's realme of England, no taxes, ayds, or impositions of any kinde whatsoever, ought, or can be laid, and imposed upon your people, or upon any of their goods, or commodities, but only by authoritie and consent of parliament. Which being undoubtedly the ancient and fundamentall law of the land, is yet, for more abundant clearnesse, expresly declared in sundry acts of parliament, made and inacted in the time of sundry your majestie's progenitors, the noblest and most prudent kings of this realme. Your Commons with just griefe, doe complaine unto your majesty, of the late tax, and imposition laid, and imposed yearely upon such, as are allowed to keepe victualing houses, or sell ale and beere by retaile. Which imposition not being taxed by assent of parliament, but commanded and directed onely by letters and instructions; your Commons are perswaded that the same proceeded rather upon misinformation, then by the direction and judgement of your owne most noble and royall heart. Wherefore your said Commons knowing the griefe of your people in this behalfe, doe (according to their duties) in all humilitie informe and signifie unto your majestie: first, that the said taxation being singular, and without example, is in it self a president of dangerous consequence, and (as your people feare) may easily (in time) bee extended further; as to badgers of corne, makers of malt, drovers of cattell, and such like, who in such sort are to bee licenced by justices of peace, as those persons are, upon whom, at this time, this present charge and taxe is laide.

Secondly, such houses being often times (at the best) the harbours of idlenesse, drunkennesse, whoredome, and all maner of felonies, the licences are now (the honester sort, in most places, refusing to undergoe the new charge,) rented and taken by the looser, and baser sort of people, who have no conscience how they gaine: by reason whereof all manner of vice and evill behaviour is likely every day to encrease: neither can justices of peace conveniently prevent the same: for that the persons licenced under the late contribution, affirme, with clamour, that they have a toleration for a yeare, and that such persons are not friends unto the crowne, that seek to suppresse them, and thereby to diminish your highnesse revenewes. Thirdly, many justices of peace, (being sworne to execute their office) which for this particular they conceive to be, that alehouse keepers formerly licensed, are not to bee suppressed without just and reasonable cause, cannot bee satisfied touching their said oath, but are much distracted and perplexed what to doe (the late instructions notwithstanding) against such persons, as otherwise being not knowne to be of evill behaviour, only refuse to pay this late taxed and imposed summe of money. In consideration whereof, your humble Commons most instantly beseech your most excellent majestie, that the former letters and instructions may be countermanded, or stayed, and all further directions and proceedings in that kinde forborne. [1]

Sea-coale.

Among many resemblances, which are observed to be betweene naturall and politique bodies, there is none more apt, and naturall than this; that the diseases of both

person, and of so great desert,) his majesty is content a law be past for restraining any such license in the time to come."

[1] The king represented, that this tax had been imposed to prevent the multiplication of ale-houses, by the favour of licenses, and was rather to be regarded as a measure of policy, than a means of revenue. It was also warranted by the opinion of Lord Popham, and the other judges, to be a thing within the king's authority. But as it seemed to breed among his loving subjects a jealousy of imposing payments upon them within the land, he agreed it should be laid down, and no more levied.

doe not, at one instant, commonly seise upon all parts; but beginning in some one part, doe, by tract of time, and by degrees, get possession of the whole, unless by applying of wholesome and proper remedies, in due time, they be prevented. Which, as it is in many things very visible, so it is in nothing more apparent, then in this matter of impositions; which beginning at the first either with forraigne commodities brought in, or such of our owne, as were transported, is now extended to those commodities, which growing in this kingdome, are not transported, but uttered to the subjects of the same; for proofe whereof, wee doe, with all humilitie, present unto your majesties view the late imposition of 12. pence the chalder of seacoale rising in Blith and Sunderland, not by vertue of any contract, or grant (as in the coales of New Castle,) but under a meere pretext of your majesties most royall prerogative: which imposition is not onely grievous for the present (especially to those of the poorer sort, the price of whose onely, and most necessary, fewell is thereby, to their very great giefe inhaunced,) but dangerous also for the future; considering that the reason of this president may be extended to all the commodities of this kingdome. May it therefore please your most excellent majestie, who is the great and soveraigne physition of this state, to apply such a remedie as this disease may be presently cured, and all diseases for time to come, of like nature, prevented.[1]

The Coppie of a Letter written by the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere to the Kinge, desiring to be discharged from his Office, thorough his Infirmity and Weakness to supply the same. Anno 1612. *MS.*

Sir Thomas Egerton of Dodlesten, in Cheshire, was, for his excellent parts and legal knowledge, made by Queen Elizabeth successively, her solicitor-general, her attorney-general, master of the rolls, and lord-keeper of the great seal, which last offices he held at the same time. His influence with the unfortunate earl of Essex was such, that when he wrote to that fiery nobleman a letter upon his disgrace; persuading him, with great strength of reason, to submit himself to the queen, he won from him a respectful, though not an acquiescent answer. But he had afterwards like to have suffered for his adventuring so far upon the earl's regard, as to go to him at Essex-house when he had assembled his followers for his last desperate effort. Essex imprisoned the lord-keeper, with three of the privy-council who attended; and until his hopes had failed of raising the city, they ran some risque of their lives. Sir Ferdinando Gorges then set them at liberty. Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, James not only maintained Sir Thomas Egerton in his high office, but raised him to the peerage by the title of Lord Ellesmere, and constituted him lord high chancellor of England. In 1515-16, the lord chancellor was engaged in a well-known struggle with the celebrated lord-chief-justice Coke, concerning the disputed jurisdiction of the courts of chancery and king's bench. In the interval, he appears, from several letters in the Cabala, to have been very ill. Sir Francis Bacon thus writes to the king on the 15 February, 1615: "Your worthy chancellor, I fear, goeth his last day. God hath hitherto used to weed out such servants as grew not fit for your majesty, but now he hath gathered to himself a true sage or salvia out of your garden: but your majesties service must not be immortal." Lord Ellesmere recovered in some measure after this attack; but finding himself unfit for the labours of

[1] An apology was made by the king for levying this duty, stating, that it had been conceived that Blyth and Sunderland were members of Newcastle, and so within the composition; but it appearing that they were distinct, he consented that the imposition should be abolished.

his office, shortly after bringing the affair of the disputed jurisdiction to a hearing and conclusion, he craved to be discharged by his sovereign. The following letter is not the only one which he addressed to James on this subject. There is another preserved, which runs in these words:

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"I find, through my great age, accompanied with griefs and infirmities, my sense and conceipt is become dull and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgement weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice and speech failing and faltering, and in all the powers and faculties of my mind and body great debility. Wherefore *conscientia imbecilitatis*, my humble suit to your most sacred majesty is, to be discharged of this great place, wherein I have long served, and to have some comfortable testimony under your royal hand, that I leave it at this humble suit with your gracious favour: so shall I with comfort number and spend the few days I have to live, in meditation and prayers to God, to preserve your majesty, and all yours, in all heavenly and earthly felicity and happiness.

"This suit I intended some years past *ex dictamine rationis et conscientiæ*: love and fear stayed it; now necessity constrains me to it: I am utterly unable to sustain the burthen of this great service; for I am come to St Paul's desire, *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.* Wherefore I humbly beseech your majesty most favourably to grant it.

Your majesty's most humble and loyal
poor subject and servant,
THO. ELLESMERE *Canc.*"

The king granted the suit of this venerable judge and statesman, and honoured his retirement with the dignity of Viscount Brackley. He intended to have made him an earl, but was prevented by his death, which happened 15th March, 1616-17. His son was raised to the dignity of earl of Bridgewater by James, in veneration of the memory of his faithful servant.

The letter, with the circumstances above mentioned, tend to disprove the scandalous assertion of Sir Anthony Welldon, that Buckingham, in order to vex Lord Ellesmere in his very last agony, sent Bacon, his successor, whom he hated, for the seals, which the old man's spirit could not brook, but sent them by his own servant to the king, and shortly after yielded up the ghost. *Court of King James.*

Most gratious Soveraigne,

Your royall favour hath placed, and continued me many yeares in the highest place of ordenarye justice in this your kingdome; and hath most gratiouslye borne with my many, but unwillinge errors and defects, accepting insteade of sufficiencye, my zeale and fidelity, which never failed. This doth encourage, and stirre in me, an earnest desire to labor and serve still; but when I remember St Paules rule, "let him that hath an offyce wayte on his office;" and do consider withall, my great age, and many infirmities, I am dejected, and doe utterly faint; for I see, and feele senceiblye, that I am not able to performe those duties that I ought, and the place requires; and thereupon I doe seriouslye examine myselfe, what excuse or answer I shall make to the Kinge of all kinges, and Judge of all judges, when he shall call me to accompte; and then my owne conscience shall accuse me, that I have presumed so long to undergoe, and weilde so great and mightie a charge, and burthen, and I behold a greate clowde of witnesses ready to give evidence against me.

1. Reason telleth me, and I find by experience, that *senectus est tarda, et obliviosa et insanabilis morbus.*

2. I heare the counsell and precepts of many reverende sages, and learned men; *senectuti debetur otium solve senescentem mature,* &c.

3. I reade in forreigne lawes, that oulde men were made *(emeriti et rude donati)* and one severe lawe that sayth, *sexagenarius de ponte;* whereupon they were called *Depontanei.* And Plato, lib. 6. *de legibus,* speakeing of a greate magistrate, which was

præfectus legibus servandis, determineth thus, *minor annis* 50, *non admittatur; nec major annis* 70, *permittatur in eo perseverare;* and to this lawe, respecting both myne office, and myne yeares, I cannot but yield; but leavinge forreigne laws, the statute *anno* 13 Edw. I. speaketh plainly, *homines excedentes* 70 *annorum, non ponantur in assisis, et juratis;* so as it appeareth, that men of that age are, by that lawe, discharged of greate paynefull, and carefull, especiallye judiciall offices.

4. Besides, I finde manye examples of men of great wisdom and knowledge, and judgment, meete and worthie to be followed; of which, leaveing all other, I will remember that of William Warham, arshbishopp of Canterbury, and chancellor of England, who, after longe service, was, upon humble suite, discharged of the office of chancellor of England, in regard of his greate age. Seeing then such a clowde of witnesses against me, which in my private soliliquies, and meditations, are daylie and continuallie represented to my viewe, and mine owne conscience more than a thousand witnesses, concurring with them; pardon me, my most gratious soveraigne, to conclude with good oulde Barzillaus, *quot sunt dies annorum vitæ meæ, quare servus tuus sit oneri domino nostro regi, obsecro ut revertar, servus tuus, et morior*, &c. And soe I moste humblie beseech your most sacred majestie gratiouslye to regarde the greate age, infirmities, and impotencye of your most devoted, obedient, loyall, and faithfull poore servante, lett me not be as Domitius after was; *maluit deficere quam desinere;* but with your princelye favour, give me leave to retire myselfe from the careful service of this great office, and from the troubles of this world, and to spend the small remnant of this my life in meditation and prayer; and I will never cease to make my humble supplications to Almighty God, to blesse and prosper your majestie, the queene, the prince, and all your royal issue, with all heavenly and earthly felicitye, which is the last and best service your poore aged, weake, and decayed servant can do for you.

THO. ELLESMERE, CANC.

A True Accompt of the most Triumphant and Royall Accomplishment of the Baptism of the most Excellent, Right High, and Mighty Prince Henry Frederick, by the Grace of God, Prince of Scotland, and now Prince of Wales. As it was solemnized the 30. day of August, 1594.

This, and the Tracts immediately following, relate to the history of "England's Darling," as he was termed, Henry, eldest son of James I.

The noble and most potent prince of Scotland was born in the castle of Striviling, upon Tuesday, the 19. day of February, 1594; upon which occasion the king's majestie sent for the nobles of his land, and to all the capitall burrows thereof, to have their advise, how he should proceed for the due solemnization of his royal baptisme, and what princes he should send too; when they were all compeired with great diligence and good will, he proponed unto them, that it was necessary to direct out ambassadours to

France, England, Denmarke, Low Countries, the Duke of Brunswicke his brother-in-law, and to the Duke of Magdelburgh, the queene's majestie's grand-father, and to such other princes as should be thought expedient. Likewise, he thought the castle of Striviling the most convenient place for the residence of this most noble and mightie prince, in respect that he was borne there; as also, it was necessary, that sufficient preparation might be made for the ambassadours that should be invited to come, for honour of the crown and countrey. And besides all this, because the chappell royall was ruinous, and too little, concluded, that the old chappell should be utterly rased, and a new erected in the same place, that should be more large, long, and glorious, to entertain the great number of straungers expected. These propositions at length considered, they all, with a free voluntarie deliberation, graunted unto his majestie, the summe of an hundred thousand pounds money of Scotland. Then was there ambassadours elected, to pass in France, England, Denmarke, the Low Countries, and other places before mentioned, who were all dispatched with such expedition, and their legacies tooke such wished effect, that first there came two famous men from the king of Denmarke, the one Christianus Bernekow, the other, Stenio Bille, these came to Leyth the 16. of July. The next day after them, came Adamus Crusius, ambassadour for the duke of Brunswick, and Joachimus Bessevitius, ambassador for the duke of Magdelburgh, who is grand-father to the noble princesse Anne, by the grace of God queene of Scotland. Thirdly, the 3. day of August, there came ambassadors from the states of Holland and Zeland, the baron of Braderod, and the treasurer of Zeland, called Jacobus Falkius.

There was also a nobleman directed from England, to wit, the earle of Cumberland, who even when he had prepared himself richly, and honourably in all respects for his voyage to come into Scotland, and divers noblemen and gentlemen of renown, prepared and commanded for his honourable convoy, it pleased God to visit him with sickness; and in that respect another nobleman was chosen to supply his place, which was the Earle of Sussex, &c. And he, in consideration of his short and unexpected advertisement, made such diligence in his voyage, and magnificence for his own person and honourable convoy, as was thought rare and rich by all men; whereby it fell out, that betwixt the sickness of the one nobleman, and the hastie preparation of the other, the time was so farre spent, that the very prefixt dayes of the baptisme were sundrie times delayed.[1] And because the ambassadour of England was so long a comming; and the ambassadours of Denmarke, Brunswicke, and Magdelburgh, were feared to be hindered in their voyage by the sea, by reason of the neare approaching of winter; they desired daily of the king's majestie, dureing their remaining in Edenburgh, to have some prefixed day to be nominate and certainly kept, that immediatly thereafter, they might be dispatched, which he granted at the last, although he had divers great impediments to the contrary. The first was, because the chappell royall and castle of Striviling was not fully compleit in all such necessaries, as was requisite, although he had the supply of the greatest number of artificers in the whole country, convened there of all craftes for that service, and his majesties owne person dayly overseer, with large and liberall payment; but the chiefest cause, was the long absence of an ambassadour from England, which his majestie greatly respected for many causes; and last of all, expecting that some ambassadour should have come from France, which fell not out as was looked for. But when the ambassadour was come from England to Edenburgh, foorthwith, his majestie dis-

[1] There is reason to think, that this delay was in some degree intended by Queen Elizabeth. A christening, and that in the house of her legal successor, was, next to a marriage, the most unpleasing solemnity to a princess who grasped, like Macbeth, a barren sceptre. She seems, therefore, to have studied to shew James's dependence upon her favour, by causing the ceremony to be delayed, on account of the absence of her ambassador. And Surrey was instructed, that in case the king of Scotland should direct the baptism to proceed before his arrival, he should not enter Scotland, nor suffer the queen's gifts to be sent thither.

patched one of the gentlemen of his highness's chalmer, to request him to repaire towards Striviling the next day with all possible diligence, (which was the 28. day of August) because he would have had the baptisme administered the day following. But neither were the propines sent by the queen of England, neither her ambassadours owne cariages as then come. Therefore the baptisme was delayed untill the 30. day of August, as ye shall hear particularly hereafter.

But in the meane time, it is to be understood, that all these noble ambassadours before expressed, were honourably sustained upon the king's majesties owne proper costes, during the whole time of their residence in Scotland, save only the ambassadour of England, whose whole expences were defrayed by his soveraigne the queen of England. And because the rest of the ambassadours were repaired to Striviling by his majetsie's direction, long before the coming of the English ambassadour, his highness bestowed the time with them in magnifique banketting, revelling, and dayly hunting with great honour.

The king's majestie, purposing further to decore by magnificence this action, committed the charge thereof to the lord of Lendores, and Mr William Fowler, who, by their travels, diligence, and invention, brought it to that perfection, which the shortnesse of time and other considerations could permit. So they having consulted together, concluded that those exercises that were to be used for decoration of that solemnitie, were to be divided both in field pastimes, with martiall and heroicall exploits, and in household, with rare shewes and singular inventions.

The field to be used at two severall daies; the first to be of three Turkes, three christian knights of Malta, three Amazones, and three Moores. But by reason of the absence, or at the least the uncertain presence of the three last gentlemen, who should have sustained these personages, it was thought good, that the number of that maske should consist of nine actors, nine pages, and nine lackies; which comming from sundry parts, and at divers times, together with the diversitie of their apparel, should bring some noveltie to the beholders.

The place most expedient for this action was the valey near the castle,[1] which being prepared for that purpose, both with carier and scaffold, after the comming of the queene's majestie, with her honourable and gallant ladies, together with the honourable ambassadors, the field being beset by the brave yonkers of Edinburgh, with their hagbutes, during the whole time of that pastime.

Then three christians entered the field with sound of trumpet, who were the king's majestie, the earle of Mar, and Thomas Erskine, (gentleman of his majestie's chalmer) who made up this number.

A little after followed three apparelled like Turkes, very gorgeously attired; and these were the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Home, and Sir Robert Ker of Cesfurde, knight.

Last of all came in three Amazones, in women's attire, very sumptuously clad, and these were the Lord of Lendores, the Lord of Baclewch, and the abbot of Holy Roode House. So all these persons being present, and at their entrie making their reverence to the queene's majestie, ambassadours, and ladies, having their pages ryding upon their led horse, and on their left armes, bearing their maister's imprese or device.

The king's majesties, was a lyon's head with open eyes, which signifieth, after a mistique and hierogliphique sense, fortitude and vigilancie; the words were, *timeat et primus et ultimus orbis.* The second was a dog's collar, all beset with iron pikes; the words were these, *offendit, et defendit.* The third of that christian army, was a

[1] A level plain beneath the rock on which Stirling castle is situated, was the usual scene of these knightly festivities. A rocky eminence, from which the fair dames might conveniently behold the tourney, is still called the Ladies Hill.

windmill, with her spokes unmoving, windes unblowing on every side; with these words, *ni sperat immota.*

The second faction did carie these; a heart half in fire, and half in frost; on the one part Cupid's torch, and on the other, Jupiter's thunder; with these wordes, *hinc amor, inde metus.* The other page a zodiacke, and in the same, the moone farre opposite to the sunne; with these wordes, *quo remotior, lucidior*; that is to say, the farther, the fairer. The third of this partie, carried painted foure coach-wheeles, the hindmost following the foremost, and yet never overtaking them; with these wordes, *quo magis insequor.*

The last three pages, bare in their targets, these impresses following, a crown, an eye, and a portcullis; the crown betokening the power of God, the eye his providence, and the portcullis his protection, with these wordes, which were composed in Anagrame, of Walterus Scotus, the laird of Bacleugh's name, *clausus tutus ero.* The second page of this party, carried on his targe, the portraiture of an hand, holding an eell by the tail, alluding to the uncertainty of persons, or of times, with these wordes, *ut frustra, sic patienter.* The last was this, a fire in sight of the sun, burning, and not perceived, with this sentence, *oblector lumine victus.*

And every lackie, carrying in his hand his master's launce. They began their pastime by running at the ring and glove; the lawes whereof were these:

1. First, that all the persons of this pastime compeare masked, and in such order as they come into the field, so to run out all their courses. 2. Secondly, that none use any other ring, but that which is put up; and use no other launce, but that which they have brought for themselves. 3. Thirdly, he that twice touches the ring, or stirres it, winneth as much as if he carrieth away the ring. 4. Fourthly, he that lets his launce fall out of his hand, is deprived of all the rest of his courses. 5. Fifthly, that every one run with loose reins, and with as much speed as his horse hath. 6. Sixthly, that none after his race, in uptaking of his horse, lay his launce upon his shoulder, under the pain of losse of that which he hath done in his course. 7. Seventhly, he that carrieth not his launce under his arme, loseth his course. 8. Eightly, that none untill his three courses be ended, chaunge his horse, if he be not hurt, or upon some other consideration moved to change him. These lawes being seen and approved by the actors, the queene's majestie, signified unto them, that he who did run best, should have for his rewarde, a faire and a rich ring of diamonds: and he also, who on that same side, had best fortune in running, he should be acknowledged with another as fair as the first. The proof hereof, being made, the victorie fell to the duke of Lennox, who bringing it to his side and partie, had the praise and prise adjudged to himself. Thus the first dayes pastime was ended, with great contentment to the beholders, and commendation of the persons enterprisers.

The second dayes pastime was extended, by reason that the artisans were imployed in other businesse, who should have followed forth that invention given them; and seeing the grace of that exercise consisted in embosserie, and the craftesmen apt for the same, otherwise and necessarily busied, it was left off; which, if it had been brought to effect, this countrey had not seen, nor practised a more rarer; for what by the bravery and strange apparell of the persons themselves, and by the divers shapes of the beasts that should have been born and brought there in sight, had been commendable and wonderfull; by reason that such beastes, as lyon, elephant, hart, unicorne, and the griphon, together with the camel, hydre, crocodile, and dragon (carrying their riders) had carried also with it by the newes of that invention, great contentment and commendation of that exercise. But I say, some arising letts, impeded this invention; and all things were cast off, that might have farther decored this solemnity, through other urgent occasions.

And when all the ambassadours were convened together, and all necessary materials readie, the chappell royall of the castle of Striviling was richly hung, with costly tapestries: and at the north-east end of the same, a royall seat of estate prepared for the king's majestie: and on his right hand, was set a faire wide chaire, with the due ornaments pertaining thereto, over which, was set the armes of the king of France.

Next thereunto, was a princely travers of crimson taffeta, for the ambassadour of England: and over his head, the armes of England: on the desk before him, lay a cushion of red velvet: There stood attending on him, two gentlemen ushers, appointed by the queene of England for that present service.

Next unto him, sat Mr Robert Bowes, ambassadour ordinary for the queene of England: On the desk before him, was laid a cloth of purple velvet, and a cushion sutable thereunto.

Then sat the ambassadour of the noble prince, Henricus Julius, duke of Brunswick, and before him on the desk, was laid a cloth of green velvet, with a cushion of the same; and over his head, the arms of his prince.

Next unto him, sat the ambassadours of the Low Countries, with a long fair cloth, spred on the desk before them of blewe velvet, and two cushions sutable thereunto, and over their heads the arms of their countries.

On the king's left hand, was placed nearest his majestie, the two ambassadours of Denmark, with a large broad cloth spred on the desk before them of purple velvet, and the arms of Denmark over their heads.

Next unto them sat the ambassadour of the noble Prince Udalricus, duke of Magdelburgh, with his prince's arms over his head.

In the middest of the chappell royall within the partition, where the king's majestie, the ambassadours, and prince with his convoy were placed, there was a new pulpit erected: the same was richly hung with cloth of gold: All the pavement within this partition, was prince-like laid with fine tapestry.

Under the pulpit was another desk, wherein sat in the midst, Mr David Cunninghame, bishop of Aberdeen, Mr David Lindesay, minister of Leyth, and John Duncanson, one of the ordinary ministers to the king's majestie: before whom was set a table, covered with yellow velvet.

And when all things were in readiness, as was requisite, there was placed a hundred hagbutters (being onely the yonkers of Edinburgh, bravely apparelled) in order, betwixt the prince's utter chalmer doore, and the entry to the chappell royall, on both the sides of the passage.

Then the king's majestie, with his nobles and counsellers attending on him, entred the chappell, and there sat downe in his royall seate of estate.

All the ambassadours likewise were sent for, and convoyed to the prince's chamber of presence, where the prince was lying on his bed of estate, richly decored, and wrought with broidered worke, containing the story of Hercules and his travels.

This bed was erected on a platforme, very artificially, with a foote pace of three degrees ascending to it: the degrees being covered with tapestrie, all wrought with gold, and a large cloth of lawne, covering both the bed and the degrees, which reached forth a great space over the floor.

Then the old countesse of Mar, with reverence past to the bed, she tooke up the prince, and delivered him to the duke of Lennox, who presently rendred him likewise to the ambassadour of England, to be borne to the chappell royall.

The master of the ceremonies, addressing himself to a table in the said chalmer, curiously ordered, whereon stood those ornaments of honour which were to be born to the chappell before the prince, with due reverence delivered them to certaine noblemen, according to the order appointed by his majestie for the bearing thereof.

In like manner, the prince's robe royall, being of purple velvet, very richly set with

pearle, was delivered to the duke of Lennox, who put the same about the prince; the train whereof, was born up by the Lord Sinclair, and the Lord Urquhuart. Then they removed themselves to the utter chalmer, where there was a fair high pale made fouresquare, of crimson velvet attending, which was laid on with rich pasments, and fringed with gold. This pale was sustained by four worshipfull barons; the laird of Bacleugh, the constable of Dundee, Sir Robert Ker of Cesfurd, knight, and the laird of Traquhair. Under the which pale were the ambassadours of England, Robert earle of Sussex, carrying the prince in his armes, and Mr Robert Bowes, ordinary ambassadour for England, assisting him. Next to them was the duke of Lennox. About the pale, were the ambassadours of Denmark, Magdelburgh, Brunswick, and the Estates. There followed the old countesse of Mar, Mistresse Bowes, divers ladies of honour, with the mistresse nurse.

Then the trumpets sounding melodiously before the prince and his convoy, went forward; Lyon king of armes, and the heraulds his brethren, with their coat-armours, in goodly order following.

Next followed the prince's honours, borne by these noblemen; the Lord Sempill carrying a laver of water; the Lord Seton, a fair bason; the Lord Levingston a towel; and the Lord Home, a low crowne competent for a duke, richly set with diamonds, saphires, rubies, and emeraulds; who approaching near the pulpit, where these honours were received from them by the master of the ceremonies, and by him placed on the table before the pulpit; the noblemen retyring backe to their appointed places.

Lastly, the pale was carried in before the pulpit, where the ambassador of England rendered the prince to the duke of Lennox, who immediately delivered him to the old countesse of Mar, and she consequently to the mistresse nurse; and all the ambassadors were then set, in such order of places as the demonstration of their armories give notice.

Without the partition, were ornate fourmes, all covered with greene, whereupon were placed the gentlemen of England, Denmark, Almaine, Flanders, and Scotland. And as all men were thus competently placed, and universall silence made, entered Mr. Patrick Galloway, one of his majestie's ordinary preachers, into the pulpit, who learnedly and godly entreated upon the text of the 21. of Genesis. Which being done, the bishop of Aberdeen stood up in his seate, and taught upon the sacrament of baptisme, first in the vulgar tongue, and next in the Latine, to the end all men might generally understand. This done, the provost and prebends of the chappell royall did sing the 21. psalme of David, according to the art of musique, to the great delectation of the noble auditory.

Then they proceeded to the action. The king arose, and came towards the pulpit: the ambassadors followed in their order. The barons that carried the pale above the prince moved towards the pulpit: the duke of Lennox received the prince from the countesse of Mar, and delivered him to the hands of the earle of Sussex, ambassadour for England: where he was named by all their consents Frederike Henry, Henry Frederike, and so baptised, in the name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, by the said names.

This being done, Lyon, king of arms, with a loud voice, repeats these names thrice over: and then after him, the rest of his brethren heraulds, with trumpets sounding, confirmed the same.

Then the king's majestie, ambassadours and all, removing to their places: the English ambassadour alone, withdrawing himself on the one side, was met and attended on by two groomes, who humbly on their knees, the one presenting a large rich bason, the other a suitable laver, replete with sweet water, wherewith the ambassadour washed; a

gentleman sewer, with humble reverence, presenting him a fair towell, wherewith he dried his hand, and so forthwith returned to his place. [1]

This being done, the bishop ascended to the pulpit, where, after that he had delivered in verse a certaine praise and commendation of the prince, then he converted the rest of his Latine oration, in prose, to the ambassadours, every one in particular, beginning at the ambassadour of England, and so continuing with the rest: wherein he made mention of the chronology of each of these princes; and recited the proximitie and nearnesse of blood that they had with Scotland. Concluding his oration with exhortation and thanksgiving to God for that good occasion, and prosperous assembly.

In conclusion, the blessing being given, Lyon, king of armes, cryed with a loud voice, "God save Frederike Henry, and Henry Frederike, by the grace of God, prince of Scotland." The rest of the heraulds proclaimed the same at an open window of the chappell royall, with sound of trumpet.

Then the king, the prince, the ambassadours, the nobles, and ladies of honour, retired forth of the chappelle, in such order as they entered, and repaired towards the king's hall: during their passage, the cannons of the castle roared, that therewith the earth trembled; and other smaller shot made their harmonie after their kind.

In the king's hall, the Duke of Lennox received the prince from the ambassadour of England, and presented him to the king's majestie, who addubbed him knight: he was touched with the spur by the earl of Mar. Thereafter the king's majestie presented a ducall crowne on his head, and then he was proclaimed by Lyon, king of armes, the right excellent, high, and magnanime Frederike Henry, Henry Frederike, by the grace of God, knight and baron of Renfrew, lord of the Isles, earle of Carrike, duke of Rosay, prince and great steward of Scotland.

These words were repeated by the heraulds with a loud voice, at an open window of the hall.

Then the prince was carried, by the ambassadour of England, to his own chalmer of presence, where the most rich and rare propynes were there presented.

Also there were certain barons and gentlemen addubbed knights, whose names do follow, in order as they were proclaimed. And first their oath.

The Oath of a Knight.

1. I shall fortifie and defend the true christian religion, and Christ's holy evangel, now presently preached within this realme, to the uttermost of my power.
2. I shall be loyall and true to my soveraigne lord the king's majestie, to all orders of chivalrie, and to the noble office of armes.
3. I shall fortifie and defend justice at my power, and that without favour or feed.
4. I shall never flie from my soveraigne lord the king's majestie, nor from his highnesse lieutenants, in time of mellay and battell.
5. I shall defend my native realme from all alieners and strangers.
6. I shall defend the just action and quarrel of all ladies of honour, of all true and friendless widowes, of orphans, and of maidens of good fame.
7. I shall do diligence, whersoever I heare there is any murtherers, traytors, and masterfull reavers, that oppresseth the king's lieges and poore people, to bring them to the laws at my power.
8. I shall maintain and uphold the noble estate of chivalrie, with horse, harnishe, and other knightly abillements; and shall helpe and succour them of the same order at my power, if they have need.

[1] This ablution in such a presence was thought strange by the multitude and the nobility. It seemed as if the earl of Surrey was contaminated by the touch of the infant prince.—*See* BIRCH's *Life of Prince Henry.*

9. I shall enquire and seeke to have the knowledge and understanding of all the articles and points contained in the book of chivalrie.

All these premisses to observe, keep, and fulfil; I oblesse me, so help me my God, by my owne hand, so help me God, &c.

Sir William Stewart of Houstoun, Knight.
Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, Knight.
Sir John Boswell of Balmowtow, Knight.
Sir James Schaw of Salquhy, Knight.
Sir John Murray of Ethilstoun, Knight.
Sir William Menteith of Kerse, Knight.
Sir Alexander Fraser of Fraserburgh, Knight.
Sir John Lindesay of Dunrod, Knight.
Sir George Levingston of Ogilsace, Knight.
Sir James Forester of Torwood-head, Knight.
Sir Andrew Balfoure of Strathour, Knight.
Sir Walter Dundas of over Newlistoun, Knight.
Sir John Boswel of Glasemont, Knight.
Sir George Elphingstoun of Blythwood, Knight.
Sir William Levingstoun of Darnechester, Knight.
Sir David Meldrum of Newhall, Knight.

These names were proclaimed upon the tarrace of the forefront of the castle, with sound of trumpets, and great quantity of divers especes of gold and money, cast over amongst the people.

These things being accomplished, the king and queene's majesties, with the ambassadours, addressed themselves to the banquet in the great hall, about eight of the clock at night. Then came Lyon, king of armes, with his brethren the herauldes, and entered the hall before the king and queene's meate, the trumpets sounding melodiously before them; with these noblemen, bearing office for the present—

The Earle of Mar,	Great Master-Houshold.	
The Lord Fleming,	Great Master-Usher.	
The Earle of Montroze,	Carver,	For the King's Majestie.
The Earle of Glencarne,	Copper,	
The Earle of Orkenye,	Sewer,	
The Lord Seton,	Carver,	For the Queene's Majestie.
The Lord Hume,	Copper,	
The Lord Sempill,	Sewer,	

This delicate banquet being ordered with great abundance, the king, queene, and ambassadours, were placed all at one table, being formed of three parts, after a geometricall figure, in such sort, that every one might have a full sight of the other.

The king and queene's majesties were placed in the midst of the table; and on the king's right hand were set the English ambassadours, the Earle of Surrey, and Mr Robert Bowes; next them sat the ambassadour from the Duke of Brunswick, and the ambassadour from the Duke of Magdelburgh.

On the king's left hand, next to the queene's majestie, sate the ambassadour of Denmark, and ambassadours from the states of Holland and Zeland: betwixt every one of their seates was left a good space.

On the east and west side of the hall, were placed two very long tables, where were set certain noblemen, ladies of honour, and counsellors of Scotland, and with them the noblemen and gentlemen of England, Denmark, Almaine, and Flanders. And betwixt

every nobleman, and gentleman stranger, was placed a lady of honour, or gentlewoman.

Now, being thus in a very honourable and comely order set, and after a while, having well refreshed themselves with the first service, which was very sumptuous, there came into the sight of them all, a blackmoor, drawing (as it seemed to the beholders) a triumphal chariot, (and before it the melodious noise of trumpets and hautboyes) which chariot entered the hall; the motion of the whole frame (which was twelve feet long, and seven feet broad) was so artificial within itself, that it appeared to be drawne in, onely by the strength of a Moor, which was very richely attired; his traces were great chaines of pure gold.

Upon this chariot was finely and artificially devised, a sumptuous covered table, decked with all sorts of exquisite delicates and dainties, of patisserie, frutages, and confections.

About the table were placed six gallant dames, who represented a silent comedie; three of them clothed in argentine sattin, and three in crimson sattin. All these six garments were enriched with togue and tinsal, of pure gold and silver, every one of them having a crowne, or garland, on their heads, very richly decked with feathers, pearles, and jewels, upon their loose hair, in *antica forma*.

In the first front stood dame Ceres, with a sickle in her right hand, and a handfull of corne in the other; and upon the outmost part of her thigh was written this sentence: *Fundent uberes omnia campi;* which is to say, the plenteous fields shall affoord all things

Over against Ceres, stood Fecunditie, with some bushes of chesbolls, which under an hierogliphic sence, representeth broodines, with this devise: *Fœlix prole divûm;* and on the other side of her habite, *Crescant in mille.* The first importing that this country is blessed by the childe of the goddes; and the second, alluding to the king and queene's majesties, that their generations may grow into thousands.

Next, on the other side, was placed Faith, having in her hands a bason, and in the same two hands joyned together, with this sentence: *Boni alumna conjugii;* the fortresse and nurse of a blessed marriage.

Over against Faith, stood Concorde, with a golden tasse in her left hand and the horne of aboundance in her right hand, with this sentence: *Plenicbant te numinasinu;* the heavenly powers do blesse thee with a full bosome.

The next place was occupied by Liberalitie, who having in her right hand two crownes, and in her left two scepters, with this device: *Me comite, plura quam dabis, accipies;* that is to say, having me thy follower, thou shalt receive more than thou shalt give.

And the last was Perseverance, having in her right hand a staffe, and on her left shoulder an anchor, with this device: *Nec dubiæ res mutabunt, nec secundæ;* neither doubtfull, nor more prosperous things shall change your state.

This chariot, which should have been drawne in by a lyon, (but because his presence might have brought some feare to the nearest,[1] or that the sight of the lights and torches might have commoved his tameness) it was thought meete that the Moor should supply that roome. And so he, in outwarde shewe, preased to draw that forward, which, by a secret convoy, was brought to the prince's table; and the whole desert was delivered by Ceres, Fecunditie, Faith, Concord, Liberalitie, and Perseverance, to the earles, lords, and barons that were sewers.

Presently after the returning of the chariot, entered a most sumptuous, artificiall, and well-proportioned ship; the length of her keele was 18 foot, and her breadth 8 foot; from her bottome to her highest flagge was 40 foot; the sea she stood upon was 24 foot long, with breadth convenient; her motion was so artificially devised within

[1] A real lion seems to have been intended, yet the passage may be ironical. It will remind the reader of the humane precaution of Bottom, on a similar occasion.

herself, that none could perceive what brought her in. The sea under her was lively counterfeit, with all colours; on her foresterne was placed *Neptunus*, having in his hand his trident, and on his head a crowne; his apparell was all of Indian cloth of silver and silke, which bare this inscription: *Junxi atque reduxi;* which in sense importeth, that as he joyned them, so he reduced their majesties.

Then Thetis, with her mace, goddesse of the sea, with this devise, *Nunquam abero, et tutum semper te littore sistam;* which signifieth, that by her presence, she alwayes shall be carefull to bring them into a safe shore and harbour.

Then Triton, with his wilke trumpet, was next to her, with this device: *Velis, votis, ventis*; by sails, by vows, by winds.

Round about the ship were all the marine people, as Syrenes, (above the middle as women, and under as fishes,) and these were Parthenope, Ligea, and Leucosia, who accommodating their gestures to the voice of the musitions, repeated this verse: *Unus eris nobis cantandus semper in orbe.* And all the same were decored with the riches of the seas, as pearles, coralls, shelles, and mettals, verie rare and excellent.

The bulk of this ship was curiously painted, and her galleries, whereupon stood the most part of the banquet in christalline glasse, gilt with gold and azure. Her mastes were red; her tackling and cordage was silke of the same colour, with golden pullies. Her ordnance was 36 peeces of brasse, bravely mounted, and her anchors silver gilt. And all her sails were double, of white taffata. And in her fore-sayle, a shippe compasse, regarding the north starre, with this sentence: *Quascunque per undas;* which is to say, through whatsoever seas or waves, the king's majestie intendeth his course, and project of any arising action, Neptune, as god of the sea, shall be favourable to his proceedings.

On the maine sail was painted the armories of Scotland and Denmark, with this device, competent in the person of the prince of Scotland: *En quæ divisa beatos efficiunt, collecta tenes;* that is to say, behold (O prince) what doth make these kingdoms severally blessed, jointly (O prince of hope) thou holdes, and hath altogether.

Her tops were all armed with taffatees of his majestie's colours, gold and jewels; and all her flagges and streamers sutable to the same.

Her mariners were in number six, apparelled all in chaungeable Spanish taffatees, and her pilote in cloth of gold, he alone stood at the helme, who only moved and governed the whole frame, both the ship and her burden, very artificially.

The musitions within the same were 14, all apparelled in taffatees of his majestie's colours, besides Arion with his harpe.

Being thus prepared, at the sounde of trumpets, she approached, and at the next sounde of Triton's wilke trumpet, together with the master's whistle, she made sail till she came to the table, discharging the ordinance in her stern by the way. But because this device carried some morall meaning with it, it shall not be impertinent to this purpose, to discover what is meant and propyned thereby.

The king's majestie having undertaken in such a desperate time, to sail to Norway, and, like a new Jason, to bring his queen, our gracious lady, to this kingdome, being detained and stopped by the conspiracies of witches, and such devilish dragons,[1] thought it very meet to follow forth this his own invention, that as Neptunus (speaking

[1] Upon the accusation that they had attempted to raise tempests to intercept the return of James from Denmark, several unfortunate persons were tried and executed in winter 1591. Mr Stevens quotes a scarce pamphlet, entitled, "Newes from Scotland: Declaring the damnable life of Dr Fian, a notable Sorcerer, who was burned at Edinbrough in Januarie last, 1591; which Doctor was Register to the Devill; that sundrie times preached at North Baricke kirk to a number of notorious witches. With the true Examination of the said Doctor and Witches, as they uttered then in the presence of the Scottish King. Discovering how they pretended to bewitch and drown his Majestie in the sea coming from Denmarke, with other such wonderful matters as the like hath not bin heard at anie time. Published according to the Scottish Copie. Printed for William Wright."

poetically, and by such fictions as the like interludes and actions are accustomed to be decored withall) joyned the king to the queene.

So, after this conjunction, he brought their majesties as happily hither; and now, at this her blessed delivery, did bring such things as the sea affoords, to decore this festival time with all; which immediately were delivered to the sewers, forth of the galleries of this ship, out of christaline glasse, very curiously painted with gold and azure, all sorts of fishes, as herrings, whitings, flooks, oysters, buckies, lampets, partans, labstars, crabs, spout-fish, clammes; with other infinite things made of sugar, and most lively represented in their owne shape. And whilst the ship was unloading, Arion, sitting upon the galey nose, which resembled the forme of a dolphine fish, played upon his harpe, then began her musick in greene holyne hautboys, in fine parts. After that followed viols, with voices in plaine counterpoint, to the nature of these hexameter verses.

Undique conveniant, quot Reges nomine Christi
Gaudent hucque suas maturent cogere vires.
Viribus hos, O rex, opibusque anteiveris omnes
Quisque suam jam posse velit tibi cedere sortem.
Regna viros, aurum, quæ te fecere potentem.
Omnia conjugii decorant hæc pignora chari;
ANNA *precor fœlix multos feliciter annos,*
Vive, resume novas, atque annuus anni
Lustar eat, redeatque; novo tibi partus ab ortu.
Cresce puer, sacri mens numinis imbibar imbres,
Semper uterque parens de te nova gaudia captet.
Scotia, quæ quondam multis tenebrosa vocata est
Lumina magna nitent in te superantia cœlum,
Lux verbi, et rex, et princeps diademata regni.

After which ensued a still noise of recorders and flutes: and for the fourth, a generall consort of the best instruments.

So this enterlude, drawing neare to an end, in the very last courses, was discovered this sentence likewise, *Submissus adorat Oceanus;* inferring, that the ocean sea, by offering the shapes of her treasure, humbly adored and honoured the sitters. And when in this time all the banquet was done, after thanks being given, there was sung, with most delicate dulce voices, and sweet harmonie, in 7 partes, the 128 Psalm, with 14 voices. And that being done, at the sound of Triton's wilke trumpet, and the pilotte's whistle, she wayed anchor, made sail, and, with noise of hautboys and trumpets, retyred, and then discharged the rest of her ordinance, to the great admiration of the beholders.

After all which pastime and sport, with merry and joyfull repast, the king and queene's majesties, after their offices of honour and respect, place being prepared for the revels, and the persons appointed for the same, discharging themselves sufficiently. Their majesties and ambassadors went to another hall, most richly and magnificently hung with rich tapestrie, where, for the collation, a most rare, sumptuous, and prince-like desart was prepared, which being ended, after taking leave and good-nights, they departed about three of the clock in the morning to their night's rest.

The dayes ensuing, so long as leisure might serve, was bestowed by the ambassadours in banketting of noblemen and gentlemen of their acquaintance; and the king, in the mean time, was solicite and carefull of honourable and magnifike rewards, to be bestowed on either of them, which was also princely performed, to their great contentments.

And as they were come to Edinburgh, they were all banketted, at sometime severally, and at other times together, by divers noblemen of Scotland, with great honour.

Last of all, one ambassadour banketted another, for commemoration of that joyfull meeting and good successe.

Then the king and queene's majesties came to Edinburgh, where they were invited by the ambassadours of Denmarke, unto a banquet within their ship, which lay at anchor in the river of Forth. She was so great that she could not enter the harbour.

The banquet was very sumptuous, and the ambassadours so joyous of their finall dispatch, behaved themselves to their majesties on a kindly manner, according to the ordinary custome of their countrey, by propining of drink unto them in the name of their princes, which was lovingly accepted and requited: In commemoration whereof, the whole artillery of that great vessel were shot in great number.

The three great ships of the Estates, lying in the same road neare by, made correspondance and resonance to the number of six score great shot; and thus concluded their bein ale.[1]

Then the castle of Edinburgh, for performance of the king's honour, as they perceived the ships to lose and to hoise up sail, the captain of the castle saluted every ship as they shewed themselves in readinesse by order, with a number of great cannot shot. And so I conclude.[2]

[1] Bonalais, or bonally, is properly a treat given by a friend at parting, *Quasi bon allez.---See Dr* JAMIESON's *Scottish Dictionary.*

[2] The scandalous work, by Sir Edward Peyton, entitled, "The Divine Catastrophe of the Kingly Family of the House of Stuart," pretends, that the king, wanting money to discharge the expence of this sumptuous christening, the earl of Orkney pawned his estate in the islands of Scotland to discharge the same; in return for which service, the king ungratefully suffered him to die in prison at Blackness. But the charge is probably as void of foundation as his appeal to the confession of Lord Ruthven, murderer of David Rizio, *upon the scaffold;* which Lord Ruthven died during his exile in England.—See PEYTON's *Work*, p. 17.

We know, however, by the following curious document, addressed to the editor of the Scottish Magazine for January 1807, that James took very odd methods of purveying for these festivals.

"SIR,

"For the amusement of your readers, I send you an epistle by our king James VI. to one of his loving subjects, which may assist in conveying some idea of the magnificence and courtly hospitality of that monarch. The festivities at Stirling and Holyroodhouse, on occasion of the royal christenings of his sons, Henry and Charles, have been celebrated by contemporary writers, and were obviously intended to surprise the foreigners who were invited to be present, into admiration of the pacific splendour of his reign. It forms rather a ludicrous contrast, to discover by what means the 'things necessary for decoration thairof' were provided, and by what species of mendicity 'the specialis' among his loving subjects were required 'for the honour of the country,' 'to propyne' his majesty with that 'gude cheer' of which they were invited 'to take pairt.'

"I have only to add, that though I have not seen the original of the following letter, I can have no doubt of its authenticity. The copy, from which I have transcribed it, bears to have been taken from 'a manuscript of King James the First to the laird of Dundas; found in the cabinet of Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, lord justice clerk.' The letter is as follows:

'Richt traist freind, we greet you heartily well. The baptisme of our dearest son being appointit at Halyredhouse upon the xxiii day of Decem. instant, quhairat some princes of France, strangers, with the specialis of our nobility, being invited to be present, necessar it is, that great provisions, guid cheir, and sic uther things necessary for decorations thairof be providit, whilks cannot be had without the help of sum of our loving subjects; quhairof accounting you one of the specialis, we have thought good to request you effectiously to propyne us with vennysons, wyld meit, brissel fowlis, caponis, with sic other provisions as are maist seasonable at that time and errand, to be sent into Halyrudhouse upon the xxii day of the said moneth of December instant; and herewithall to invyte you to be present at that solemnitie, to take part of your awin gude cheir, as you tender our honour and the honour of the country. Swa we committ you to God. From Lithgow, the 6th of December 1600.

JAMES R."

The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and Mighty Prince Henry, eldest Sonne to our sacred Soveraigne, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, Earle of Chester, &c. As it was celebrated in the Parliament House, on Munday the fourth of Junne last past. Together with the Ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, and other Matters of speciall regard, incident to the same. Whereunto is annexed the Royall Maske, presented by the Queene and her Ladies, on Wesdnesday at Night following. Printed at Britains Bursse for John Budge. 1610.

The following account of this solemnity is extracted from the Parliamentary History: "The Lords journals have preserved the form of this creation; and as it is somewhat singular, we shall transcribe it *verbatim* from that authority.

Die Lunæ 4to Julii, 1610.
REX.

Archiepiscopus Ebor.
Episc. London.
Durham.
Cum 16 *aliis Episcopis.*

Dominus Ellesmere, *Cancellarius* Angliæ.
Comes Sarisburiensis.
Cum 22 *aliis Comitibus,*
Uno Vicecomite,
Et 24 *Baronibus.*

"This day the chamber, commonly called Whitehall, or the Court of Requests, was very richly hung from the upper end more than half down towards the lower end, where was set up a strong bar of timber thwart the room: In the highest part of the room was placed, for his majesty, a sumptuous cloth of state, and of either side scaffolds for embassadors of foreign countries On each side against the walls were erected seats, one above another, for strangers and noble personages, with the lord mayor and his brethren in the midst. Upon forms and wool sacks did sit all the lords of parliament, and the judges in their robes; and likewise the officers and attendants as on the days of sitting in parliament Below the bar was placed the speaker's chair; forms on the ground, and seats on each side, one above another, fit and convenient to receive the whole House of Commons. His majesty being set under his estate (for whose coming all the lords in their robes and seats, except such as attended his person and the prince, as also the speaker and all the Lower House, did wait and attend;) the prince, his highness, honourably attended by divers noblemen, the knights of the Bath, officers at arms, and his own servants, entered in at the nether end of the house, and was with great state and solemnity brought up to the foot-path before the king; where, kneeling at the first, and then standing, his highness was with all due ceremonies created prince of Wales and earl of Chester; and a patent thereof first read by the lord treasurer, principal secretary of his majesty, and afterwards delivered to him. Which done, and all ceremonies finished which thereunto appertain, the prince, his highness, in great state and magnificence, some little time after the king's majesty, departed the court at Whitehall."—*Parliamentary History,* V. 236.

With this title of prince of Wales, Henry received a separate establishment at St James's, a revenue to support it, and every thing becoming his new dignity.—WILSON'S *Memoirs.*

His majestie, aswell to shew the bounty of his affection towards his deerest sonne the prince, as to settle in the hearts of his loving subjects a lively impression of his royall care for continuance of the happy and peacefull government of this land in his issue

and posterity; having determined to invest his princely highnesse with those titles and dignities which the former princes of this realme have usually beene adorned: It seemed fittest, both in regard of his highnesse yeeres, now arriving at mans estate, and shewing rare proofes of heroicall vertue, and also for that it would be a matter most gratefull and acceptable to that honourable assembly, to have the solemnities thereof performed in this present parliament.

Wherefore the time approaching, his majesties pleasure signified, and preparation made accordingly, on Wednesday the thirtieth of May last, his highnesse, accompanied (besides the ordinary traine of his household) with divers young lords and gentlemen of speciall marke, departed from his house of St James, towards Richmond, where being come towards evening, he supped and reposed himselfe for that night.

Next morning, being Thursday, about nine of the clocke, he tooke water to returne againe to London, attended only with some few barges of his owne followers, and such noblemen and others as accompanied him thither the day before.

Passing softly downe the streame, he was severally encountered by divers lords, which came to meete him on the way: the Thames began soone to flote with botes and barges, hasting from all parts to meete him, and the shores on eyther side, where conveniency of place would give way to their desires, swarmed with multitudes of people, which stood wayting with greedy eyes to beholde his triumphant passage.

About eleven of the clocke, understanding that the tide was falne so low, as there would not be convenient roome for all the barges in his traine to go orderly downe, notwithstanding his first appointment was to have come to London about noone, and dinner prepared for him accordingly at Whitehall, hee made stay at Barne Elmes, and there landing, refreshed himselfe in an arbour by the water side, and tooke a short repast of such sweet-meats and other things as could there be provided on the sudden.

By this time the lord mayor and aldermen of London, with the severall companies of the citie, honourably furnish't and appointed, and disposed in faire order, were ready attending, with a great traine and sumptuous showe, to receive his highnesse at Chelsey; their barges deck't with banners, streamers, and ensignes, and sundry sortes of loud-sounding instruments, aptly placed amongst them.

There were also two artificiall sea-monsters, one in fashion of a whale, the other like a dolphin, with persons richly apparrelled sitting upon them, who, at the meeting and parting of the lord mayor and his company with the prince, were to deliver certaine speeches unto him.

In this goodly manner, this well furnish't fleet of the city received his highnes somewhat beyond Chelsey, about two of the clock in the afternoone: and, after the lord-mayor and aldermens salutation, humbly presented, and gratiously accepted by his highnesse, they turned their stemmes, and so proceeded towards London: observing this course, that whereas at their approach the lord mayors barge came foremost, and the companies, every one in their degrees, followed after; now that order being chaunged, the companies went before, the meanest in place first, the rest according to their severall ranks successively ensuing; and, lastly, the lord mayor attended with his two sea-monsters on eyther side, going immediately before the prince, and conducting his joyfull passage to the citie.

Next after the princes barge followed his servants and the barges of sundry noblemen, and others which had met him on the way; and on every side such a confused company of botes of all sorts fraught with beholders, as it seemed the river (though then enlarged to her utmost limits by the tides friendly advantage,) was too little to containe them: as likewise the land on eyther shore, which never felt the weight of such an infinity of people upon any former occasion.

Approaching neere to Whitehall, the king and queene, with the young duke of Yorke and Lady Elizabeth, stood in the privie gallerie window to see the order of their com-

ming, and that his majestie might take the better viewe of the lord mayor and citizens show, they were appointed to passe along on London side, whilst the prince in the meane while fetched a compasse about by Lambeth; and so comming to Whitehal bridge (where the lord maior and aldermen tooke leave of his highnesse) there landed, his landing being congratulated with a loude peale of chambers from the other side of the water; which, in their thundring voyces, carried up to the skie the joy of the peoples hearts conveyed in the issue of these happy triumphs.

At his highnesse comming on shore, his servants attended upon the bridge to receive him, making a guard for him to passe thorow to the hall, where he was entertained by the Lord Knols, and the Lord Wotton, treasurer and controller of the houshold; likewise in the great chamber by Viscount Fenton, captaine of the guard, in the presence by the earl of Suffolke, lord chamberlaine, and, lastly, by the king and queene in the privy chamber. After which his highnesse reposed himselfe, and so ended that dayes solemnity.

On Munday following, the lords and peeres of the realme being all assembled in parliament, his majesty, accompanied with the prince, who was that morning to be invested in his principalitie, tooke water at the privy staires at Whitehal, and landing together at Westminster bridge, his majesty passed directly to the Parliament-house, and the prince to the Court of Wardes, from whence, after a whiles tarryance for the disposing of things in due order, his highnesse proceeded in this manner to his creation:

First went the heralds and officers of armes in their rich coates, next followed the knights of the Bath, being five-and-twenty in number, apparrelled in long roabes of purple satin, lyned with white taffata; then Garter, principall king of armes, bearing the letters patents, the earle of Sussex the purple robes, the train borne by the earle of Huntingdon, the earle of Cumberland the sword, the earle of Rutland the ring, the earle of Derby the rod, and the earle of Shrewsbury the cap and coronet. His princely highnesse, supported by the earles of Nottingham and Northampton, came bare headed, and so entring the parliament chamber, where the king was set in his throne, and the whole state of the realme in order, (divers strangers and forraigne ambassadours being present,) he made low obeysance to his majestie three times, and after the third time, when he was come neere to the king, kneeled downe on a rich pillow or cushion, whilst the earle of Salisbury read his letters patents. Then his majestie, at the reading of the wordes of investiture, put the robes upon him, and girded on the sword, invested him with the rod and ring, and set the cap and coronet on his head; with which ceremony the creation being accomplished, he arose, and was, by the earles of Worcester and Suffolke, brought and seated in his place of parliament on the left hand of his majestie.

Having so remained a while, all ceremonies finished, his majestie, with the whole court of parliament, rose up and descended into the hal, passing forth towards the bridge in solemne and stately manner; the foremost, as they proceeded in order, were the clerkes and masters of the chancerie, with the kings councell, and other ministers of the law; next came the officers of armes, and then the knights of the Bath, as before; after them the judges, and so, successively, the barons, viscounts, earles, marquesses, and dukes, according to their degrees in the parliament-house and offices of state, all in their parliament roabes; and, lastly, the king himselfe, with the prince, who tooke water together, the trumpets sounding in the row-barge all the way as they went, and the heralds going before them in the same. At Whitehal staires they landed, where the knights of the Bath and noblemen being landed before, stood ready on the bridge, in goodly and gallant order, to receive them, and going all before them, conducted them in this manner up to the great chamber.

The king that day dined above, but the prince dined in the hall, and was served with great state and magnificence. He was accompanyed at his table with divers great lords, as the earles of Nottingham, Salisbury, Worcester, and Derby, and, namely, all those that exercised any place or office about his creation.

At another table in the same roome, on the left hand of the prince, sat the knights of the Bath, all upon one side, and had likewise great service and attendance.

About the midst of dinner, Garter, principall king of armes, with the rest of the heralds, approached the princes table, and, with a loud and audible voyce, proclaimed the kings stile, in Latine, French, and English, thrise, and the princes in like manner twise; then the trumpets sounding, the second course came in, and dinner done, that daies solemnitie ceased.

At night, a stately maske was presented before his majestie; the invention and manner whereof I leave to the author when he shall thinke good to publish.

The same day the devise of the fireworks and sea-fight upon the Thames should likewise have beene shewed, but for some respects were put off till the Wednesday following, and then performed to the much content and admiration of the beholders.

The Names of such Noblemen as were imployed in several Places of Office or Attendance at the Creation of the Prince.

The Earle of Salisbury,
The Earle of Suffolke,
The Earle of Notingham,
The Earle of Northampton,
The Earle of Worcester,
The Earle of Derby,
The Earle of Shrewsbury,
The Earle of Cumberland,
The Earle of Huntingdon,
The Earle of Sussex,
The Earle of Rutland.

Other Noblemen that were present in the Parliament-House at the Princes Creation, besides those which were employed in attendance about him.

EARLES.

The Earle of Arundell,
The Earle of Bath,
The Earle of Southampton,
The Earle of Bedford,
The Earle of Pembroke,
The Earle of Hertford,
The Earle of Lincolne,
The Earle of Exceter,
The Earle of Montgomery.

VICOUNTS.

The Lord Vicount Mountague,
The Lord Vicount Bindon,
The Lord Vicount Lisle.

BARONS.

The Lord Aburgavenny,
The Lord Audley,
The Lord Zouche,
The Lord Willowby,
The Lord Barkley,
The Lord Morley,
The Lord Scroope,
The Lord Dudley,
The Lord Herbert,
The Lord Monteagle,
The Lord Mordant,
The Lord Ev're,
The Lord Rich,
The Lord Sheffeld,

BARONS.

The Lord Paget,
The Lord Effingham,
The Lord North,
The Lord Chandos,
The Lord Hunsdon,
The Lord Saint John,
The Lord Burgleigh,
The Lord Compton,
The Lord Norreys,
The Lord Knolles,
The Lord Wotton,
The Lord Ellesmere,
The Lord Russell,
The Lord Grey,
The Lord Peter,
The Lord Harrington,
The Lord Gerrard,
The Lord Spenser,
The Lord Say,
The Lord Denny,
The Lord Stanhope,
The Lord Carew,
The Lord Cavendish,
The Lord Knivet,
The Lord Clifton.

Having thus briefly described the manner of his highnes creation, I should here set a period to my discourse, but that the knights of the Bath being a principall part and ornament of his princely triumphes, and my selfe particularly bound to many of them; I could not passe them over without some remembrance. Therefore, thus much out of the note of directions from the office of armes, and some observation of credit, concerning the order and ceremonies of the knighthood.

The manner of the Creation of the Knights of the Bath, and the Ceremonies observed in solemnizing the same.

According to the order given from the commissioners appointed for the oversight and direction of these ceremonies, the lords and others that were to receive the honourable Order of the Bath, repaired on Saterday the second of June to Durham House in the Strond, and there in the afternoone heard evening prayer, observing no other ceremony at that time but only passing through the hall, the heralds going before them with their coates upon their armes, into the chappel, from whence after service ended they returned into the chamber they were to supe in.

Their supper was prepared all at one table, and all sat upon one side of the same, every man having an escutcheon of his armes placed over his head, and certaine of the king's officers beeing appointed to attend them. In this manner having taken their repast, the tables were removed, and severall beds made ready for their lodging, in the same place, after the same manner, al on one side, and each one as afore, right under the scutcheon of his owne armes. Their beds were pallets with coverings, testers or canopies of red say, but they used no curtaines.

The knights in the mean while were withdrawne into the bathing chamber, which was the next roome to that they supped in, where for each of them were provided a several bathing tub, which was lined both within and without with white linnen, and covered with red say. After the bath they betooke themselves to their rest.

Early the next morning they were wakened with musicke, and at their upprising invested in their hermits habits,[1] which was a gowne of gray cloth girded close, and a

[1] "There is another custom likewise, that the knights the first day wear the gown of some religious order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an oath never to sit in place where injustice should

hood of the same, with a linnen coyfe underneath, and a handkercher hanging at his girdle, cloth stockings soled with leather, but no shooes; and thus apparrelled, their esquires governours, with the heralds wearing the coats of armes, and sundry sorts of winde instruments going before them, they proceeded from their lodging downe through the hall, the meanest in order formost as the night before, till they came to the chappell. Where after service ended, their oath was ministred unto them by the Earle of Worcester and the Earle of Suffolke, in a solemne and ceremonious manner, all of them standing forth before their stalles, and at their comming out making low reverence towards the altar, by which the commissioners sate; then were they brought up by the heralds by two at once, the chiefest first, and so the rest till all successively had received their oath: which in substance was this. That above al things they should honour God and maintaine true religion, love their soveraigne, serve their country, help maidens, widdowes, and orphans, and to the utmost of their power cause equity and justice to be observed.[1]

This done whilest they were yet in the chappell, wine and sweet meates were brought them, and then they departed to their chamber to be disrobed of their hermits weeds, and new revested againe in robes of crimson taffata lined with white sarcenet, having white hats on their heads with white feathers, white boots on their legs, and white gloves tyed to the strings of their mantles. Al which performed, they mount on horseback, their saddles being of blacke leather, and bridles of the same, with white crosses upon their breasts and cruppers of their horses; each knight betweene his two esquires well apparrelled, his footeman attending, and his page riding before him, carrying his sword with the hilt upward, and his spurres hanging thereon.

In this order rankte every man according to his degree, the best or chiefest first; they rode faire and softly towards the court, the trumpets sounding, and the heralds all the way riding before them. Beeing alighted at the court gate, they were conducted by the heralds and others appointed for that purpose, into the hall, where his majestie sitting under his cloth of estate, gave them their knighthood in this manner.

be done, but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power, and particularly ladies and gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their honour, if they demand assistance, and many other points, not unlike the romances of knights errand."—*The Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, 1770, p. 54.

[1] It was even yet the fashion, at least among romantic spirits, to hold that this oath was binding in its utmost extent. The chivalrous Lord Herbert of Cherbury, gives, with great self complacence, the following instance of his faithful adherence to this knightly vow:

"Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening that a daughter of the dutchess of about 10 or 11 years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself with divers French gentlemen attended her, and some gentlemen that were with her; this young lady wearing a knot of ribband on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly and fastened it to his hat band; the young lady offended herewith, demands her ribband, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady addressing herself to me, said, Monsieur, I pray get my ribband from that gentleman; hereupon, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honour that I may deliver the lady her ribband or bouquet again; but he roughly answering me, Do you think I will give it you, when I have refused it to her? I replied, nay then, sir, I will make you restore it by force; whereupon also putting on my hat, and reaching at his, he, to save himself, ran away, and after a long course on the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and running to the young lady was about to put the ribband on her head, when I seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, it was I that give it. Pardon me, quoth she, it is he that gives it me. I said then, madam, I will not contradict you, but if he dare say that I did not constrain him to give it, I will fight with him. The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle. The next day I desired Mr Aurelian Townshend to tell the French cavalier, that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the ribband, or fight with me; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place; whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the constable taking notice hereof, acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness, in taking the ribband away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath taken when I was made Knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.—*Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, p. 59.

First, the principall lord that is to receive the order comes led by his two esquires, and his page before him bearing his sword and spurres, and kneeleth downe before his majestie. The Lord Chamberlaine takes the sword of the page and delivers it to the king, who puts the belt over the necke of the knight aslope his brest, placing the sword under his left arme. Then two noblemen of the chiefe about the king put on his spurres, and so is the ceremony performed.[1] In this sort the Earle of Oxford, which was the principall of this number, beeing first created, the rest were al consequently knighted alike; and when the solemnity thereof was fully finished, they all returned againe in order as they came, saving some smal difference, in that the youngest and meanest knight went now formost, and their pages behinde them.

Comming backe to Durham House, their dinner was ready prepared in the same roome, and after the same fashion as their supper was the night before; but being set, they were not to taste of any thing that stood before them, but with a modest carriage and gracefull abstinence to refraine, divers kindes of sweet musicke being played the while, and after a convenient time of sitting, to arise and withdraw themselves, leaving the table furnished to their esquires and pages.

About foure of the clocke in the afternoone they rode againe to court, to heare service in the king's chappell, keeping the same order they did at theire returne from thence in the morning; every knight riding betweene his two esquires and his page following him. At their entrance into the chappell, the heralds conducting them, they make a solemne reverence, the youngest knight beginning, the rest orderly ensuing; and so one after another take their standing before their stalles, where all being placed, the eldest knight maketh a second reverence, which is followed to the youngest; and then all ascend into their stalles, and take their accustomed places.

Service then beginneth, and is very solemnely celebrated, with singing of divers antheames, and playing on the organes; and when the time of their offertory is come, the youngest knights are summoned forth of the stalles by the heralds, doing reverence first within the stalles, and againe after they are discended, which is likewise imitated by all the rest. And being al thus come forth, standing before their stalles, as at first, the two eldest knights with their swords in their handes, are brought up by the heralds to the altar, where they offer their swords and the deane receives them, of whom they presently redeem them with an angell in golde, and then come downe to their former places, whilst two other are led up in like manner; so doing successively till the whole ceremony be performed; which done, and service ended, they depart in such order as they came, with accustomed reverence.

At the chappell doore as they came foorth, they were encountered by the king's master cooke, who stood there with his white apron and sleeves, and a chopping-knife in his hand, and challenged their spurres, which were likewise redeemed with a noble in money, threatening them neverthelesse that if they proved not true and loyall to the king his lord and master, it must be his office to hew them from their heeles.

On Monday morning they al met together again at the court, where in a private roome, appointed for them, they were cloathed in long roabes of purple sattin with hoods of the same, all lined and edged about with white taffata.[2] And thus apparrelled

[1] "I must not forget yet the ancient custom, being that some principal person was to put on the right spur of those the king had appointed to receive that dignity; the Earl of Shrewsbury seeing my esquire there with my spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me and said, Cozen, I believe you will be a good knight, and therefore I will put on your spur; whereupon after my most humble thanks for so great a favour, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my spur."—*Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, p. 54.

[2] The author omits the following material circumstance concerning this purple gown: "On the left sleeve thereof," (says Lord Herbert in the account of his own creation) "is fastened certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a knot, and tassells to it of the same, which all the knights are obliged to wear till they have done something famous in arms, or till some lady of honour take it off and fasten it on her sleeve, saying, I will answer that he shall prove a good knight. I had not long worn this string, but a principal lady of the

they gave their attendance upon the prince at his creation, and dined that day in his presence at a side-bord, as is already declared.

The names of such Lordes and Gentlemen as were made Knights of the Bath, in honour of his Highnesse Creation, in order as they were Knighted on Sonday the third of June, 1610.

The Earle of Oxford.
The Lord Gourdon, sonne and heire of the Marquesse Huntley.
The Lord Clifford, sonne and heire to the Earle of Cumberland.
The Lord Fitz-walter, sonne and heire to the Earle of Sussex.
The Lord Fitzwarren, sonne and heire to the Earle of Bath.
The Lord Hay, sonne and heire to the Earle of Arroll.
The Lord Erskin, sonne and heire to Vicount Fenton.
The Lord Windsor.
The Lord Wentworth.
Master Charles Somerset, third sonne to the Earle of Worcester.
Master Edward Somerset, fourth sonne to the Earle of Worcester.
Master Francis Stuard.
Master Ferdinando Dudley, sonne and heire to the Lord Dudley.
Master John Cary, sonne and heire to the Lord Hunsdon.
Master Oliver Saint John, sonne and heire to the Lord Saint John.
Master Gilbert Gerrard, sonne and heire to the Lord Gerrard.
Master Charles Stanhope, sonne and heire to the Lord Stanhope.
Master William Stuard.
Master Edward Bruse, sonne and heire to the Lord Kinlosse.
Master Robert Sidney, second sonne to Vicount Lisle.
Master William Touchet, second sonne to the Lord Audley.
Master Peregrine Berty, second brother to the Lord Willoughby.
Master Henry Rich, third sonne to the Lord Rich.
Master Edward Sheffeild, second sonne to the Lord Sheffeild.
Master William Cavendish, sonne and heire to Sir Charles Cavendish.

The Lords Commissioners for ordering the Ceremonies of the Bath, were,

The Earle of Worcester. The Earle of Suffolke.

court, and certainly, in most men's opinions, the handsomest, took mine off, and said, "she would pledge her honour for mine." This custom was a faint remnant of that by which maiden knights were, in some countries, obliged to wear an iron chain, called in German, *Ketten Gelubde*, i. e. Fetters of the Vow, until they had done some deed of arms. In the curious romance of Jehan de Saintre, five Polish Palatines are introduced, wearing each a chain of gold fastened round the arm and round the ancle. They had come to the court of king John of France, that they might be *delivered* by fighting in the lists with five of the French knights.

Tethys Festival: Or the Queenes Wake. Celebrated at Whitehall, the fifth Day of June, 1610. *Devised by Samuel Daniel, one of the Groomes of her Majesties most honourable privie Chamber.* London: Printed for John Budge. 1610.

The celebrated Samuel Daniel, was poet laureat to Elizabeth, and in the reign of James, gentleman extraordinary and one of the grooms of the chamber to Queen Anne. James is said to have delighted much in his conversation. The late ingenious Mr Headley terms him the Atticus of his days; but justly remarks, that in his longer poems the historian bears down the poet. The following masque was probably of his own devising. The deviser appears to have had his eye upon the marriage of Thames and Isis, in the Faery Queen, canto iv. book 8.

The Preface to the Reader.

For so much as shewes and spectacles of this nature, are usually registred, among the memorable acts of the time, beeing complements of state, both to shew magnificence and to celebrate the feasts to our greatest respects: it is expected (according now of the custome) that I, beeing imployed in the busines, should publish a discription and forme of the late mask, wherewithall it pleased the queenes most excellent majestie to solemnize the creation of the high and mightie prince Henry, prince of Wales, in regard to preserve the memorie thereof, and to satisfie their desires, who could have no other notice, but by others report of what was done. Which I doe not, out of a desire, to be seene in pamphlets, or of forwardnes to shew my invention therin: for I thank God, I labour not with that disease of ostentation, nor affect to be known to be the man, *digito monstrari, hic est,* having my name already wider in this kind, then I desire, and more in the winde then I would. Neither doe I seeke in the divulging hereof, to give it other colours then those it wore, or to make an apologie of what I have done: knowing, howsoever, it must passe the way of censure, whereunto I see all publications (of what nature soever) are liable. And my long experience of the world have taught me this, that never remonstrances nor apologies could ever get over the streame of opinion, to doe good on the other side, where contrarie affection, and conceipt had to doe: but onely served to entertaine their owne partialnesse, who were foreperswaded, and so was a labour in vaine. And it is oftentimes an argument of pusilanimitie, and may make *ut judicium nostrum, metus videatur,* and render a good cause suspected by too much labouring to defend it, which might be the reason that some of the late greatest princes of christendome would never have their undertakings made good by such courses, but with silence indured (and in a most wittie age) the greatest batterie of paper that could possibly be made, and never once recharged the least ordinance of a pen against it, counting it their glorie to do whilest other talked. And shall we, who are the poore inginers for shadowes, and frame onely images of no result, thinke to oppresse the rough censures of those, who, notwithstanding all our labour, will like according to their taste, or seeke to avoid them by flying to an army of authors as idle as our selves? Seeing there is nothing done or written, but incounters with detraction and opposition, which is an excellent argument of all our imbecillities, and might allay

our presumption, when we shall see our greatest knowledges not to be fixt, but rowle according to the uncertaine motion of opinion, and controwleable by any surly shew of reason, which we find is double edged and strikes every way alike. And therefore I do not see why any man should rate his owne at that valew, and set so low prises upon other mens abilities. *L'homme vaut l'homme*, a man is worth a man, and none hath gotten so high a station of understanding, but he shall find others that are built on an equall floore with him, and have as far a prospect as he, which when al is done, is but in a region subject to al passions and imperfections.

And for these figures of mine, if they come not drawn in all porportions to the life of antiquity (from whose tyrannie, I see no reason why we may not emancipate our inventions, and be as free as they, to use our owne images) yet I know them such as were proper to the busines, and discharged those parts for which they served, with as good correspondencie, as our appointed limitations would permit.

But in these things wherein the onely life consists in shew, the arte and invention of the architect gives the greatest grace, and is of most importance: ours, the least part and of least note in the time of the performance thereof, and therefore have I interserted the discription of the artificiall part, which only speakes M. Inigo Jones.

Tethys Festivall. Wherein Tethys[1] Queene of the Ocean, and Wife of Neptune, attended with thirteene Nymphs of severall Rivers, is represented in this Manner.

FIRST the queenes majestie in the figure of Tethys. The ladies in the shape of nimphes, presiding severall rivers, appropriate, either to their dignitie, signiories, or places of birth.

Whereof the first was the ladie Elizabeths grace, representing the nymph of Thames.
The ladie Arbella, the nymph of Trent.
The countesse of Arundell, the nymph of Arun.[2]
The countesse of Darbie, the nymph of Darwent.[3]
The countesse of Essex, the nymph of Lee.[4]
The countesse of Dorcet, the nymph of Ayr.[5]
The countesse of Mongommerie, the nymph of Severn.[6]
The vicountesse Haddington, the nymph of Rother.[7]
The ladie Elizabeth Gray, the nymph of Medway.[8]

These four rivers are in Monmouthshire.

The ladie Elizabeth Guilford, the nymph of Dulesse.
The ladie Katherine Peeter, the nymph of Olwy.
The ladie Winter, the nymph of Wy.
The ladie Winsor, the nymph of Uske.

[1] Tethys Mater Nympharum et Fluviorum. [2] Arun, a river that runs by Arundell Castle.
[3] Darwent, a river that runs through Darbie. [4] Lee, the river that bounds Essex.
[5] Air, a river that runs near Skipton, where this lady was born. [6] Severne rises in Montgomeryshire.
[7] Rother, a river in Sussex. [8] Medway, a river in Kent.

The Discription of the first Scene.

On the travers, which served as a curtaine for the first scene, was figured a darke cloude, interspersed with certaine sparkling starres, which, at the sound of a loud musick, being instantly drawne, the scene was discovered with these adornements: First, on eyther side stood a great statue of twelve foot high, representing Neptune and Nereus. Neptune holding a trident, with an anchor made to it, and this mot. *His artibus:* that is, *Regendo et retinendo,* alluding to this verse of Virgill, *Hæ tibi erunt artes, &c.* Nereus holding out a golden fish in a net, with the word *Industria:* the reason whereof is delivered after, in the speech uttered by Triton. These sea-gods stood on pedestals, and were al of gold. Behinde them were two pillasters, on which hung compartments with other devises: and these bore up a rich freeze, wherein were figures of tenne foot long, of flouds and nymphes, with a number of naked children, dallying with a draperie, which they seemed to holde up, that the scene might be seene, and the ends thereof fell downe in foldes by the pillasters. In the midst was a compartment, with this inscription, *Tethyos Epinicia,* Tethys feasts of triumph. This was supported with two winged boyes, and all the worke was done with that force and boldnesse on the gold and silver, as the figures seemed round and not painted.

The scene itself was a port or haven, with bulworkes at the entrance, and the figure of a castle commaunding a fortified towne: within this port were many ships, small and great, seeming to lie at anchor, some neerer and some further off, according to perspective: beyond all appeared the horizon or termination of the sea, which seemed to moove with a gentle gale, and many sayles, lying some to come into the port, and others passing out. From this scene issued Zephirus with eight Naydes, nymphs of fountaines, and two Tritons sent from Tethys to give notice of her intendement, which was the ante-maske or first shew. The Duke of Yorke[x] presented[a] Zephirus, in a short robe of green satin imbroidered with golden flowers, with a round wing made of lawnes on wyers, and hung down in labels. Behind his shoulders two silver wings. On his head a garland of flowers, consisting of all colours; and on one arme, which was out bare, he wore a bracelet of gold set with rich stones. Eight little ladies neere of his stature represented the Naydes, and were attired in light robes adorned with flowers, their haire hanging downe, and waving with garlands of water ornaments on their heads.

The Tritons wore skin-coates of watchet taffata (lightned with silver) to shew the muscles of their bodies. From the waste almost to the knee were finnes of silver in the manner of bases, a mantle of sea-greene laced, and fringed with golde, tyed with a knot upon one shoulder, and falling down in foldes behinde, was fastened to the contrary side: on their heads garlands of sedge, with trumpets of writhen shels in their hand: buskins of sea-greene laid with silver lace. These persons thus attired, entred with this song of foure parts, and a musicke of twelve lutes.

Youth of the spring, milde Zephirus blow faire,
And breath the joyful ayre,
Which Tethys wishes may attend this day,
Who comes her selfe to pay
The vowes her heart presents,
To these faire complements.

Breathe out new flowers, which yet were never knowne
Unto the spring, nor blowne

[x] Afterwards Charles I.

[a] The figure of Zephirus might aptly discharge this representation, in respect that messages are of winde, *et verba dicuntur alata,* winged wordes: besides it is a character of youth, and of the spring.

Before this time, to bewtifie the earth;
And as this day gives birth
Unto new types of state,
So let it blisse create.

Beare Tethys message to the ocean king,
Say how she joyes to bring
Delight unto his ilands and his seas,
And tell Meliades,
The offspring of his blood,
How she applaudes his good.

The song ended, Triton, in the behalfe of Zephirus, delivers Tethys message with her presents (which were a trident to the king, and a rich sword and skarfe to the prince of Wales), in these words:

From that intelligence which moves the sphere
Of circling waves (the mightie Tethys, queen
Of nymphes and rivers, who will straight appeare,
And in a humane character be seene)
We have in charge to say, that even as seas
And lands are grac'd by men of worth and might,
So they returne their favours; and in these
Exalting of the good seeme to delight.
Which she, in glory, lately visiting
The sweete and pleasant shores of Cambria, found,
By an unusuall and most forward spring
Of comfort, wherewith all things did abound,
For joy of the investiture at hand
Of their new prince, whose rates, with acts renownd,
Were here to be solemniz'd on this strand:
And therefore streight resolves t' adorne the day
With her al-gracing presence, and the traine
Of some choice nymphs she pleas'd to call away
From severall rivers which they entertaine.
And first the lovely nymph of stately Thames
(The darling of the ocean) summond is:
Then those of Trent and Aruns gracefull streames,
Then Darwent next, with cleare-wav'd worthinesse
The beauteous nymph of chrystall-streaming Lee
Gives next attendance: then the nymph of Ayr,
With modest motion, makes her sweete repaire.
The nymph of Severne follows in degree,
With ample streames of grace: and next to her
The cheerefull nymph of Rother doth appeare,
With comely Medway, th' ornament of Kent;
And then foure goodly nymphes, that beautifie
Cambers faire shores, and all that continent,
The graces of cleere Uske, Olwy, Dulesse, Wy.
All these within the goodly spacious bay
Of manifold unharboring Milford meete,
The happy port of union, which gave way
To that great hero Henry and his fleete,

To make the blest conjunction that begat
A greater and more glorious far than that.
From hence she sends her deare lov'd Zephirus,
To breathe out her affection and her zeale
To you great monarch of Oceanus,
And to present this trident as the seale
And ensigne of her love and of your right.
And therewithall she wils him, greete the lord
And prince of the iles (the hope and the delight
Of all the northerne nations) with this sword,
Which she unto Astræa sacred found,
And not to be unsheath'd but on just ground.
Herewith, sayes she, deliver him from mee
This skarffe, the zone of love and amitie,
T' ingird the same; wherein he may survay,
Infigur'd, all the spacious emperie
That he is borne unto another day.
Which, tell him, will be world enough to yeeld
All workes of glory ever can be wrought.
Let him not pass the circle of that field,
But thinke Alcides pillars are the knot;
For there will be within the large extent
Of these my waves and watry governemente,
More treasure and more certaine riches got
Then all the Indies to Iberus brought;
For Nereus will by industry unfold
A chemicke secret, and turne fish to gold.
This charge she gave, and lookes with such cheere
As did her comfort and delight bewray,
Like cleere Aurora when she doth appeare
In brightest roabes to make a glorious day.

The speech ended, the Naydes daunce about Zephirus, and then withdraw them aside, when suddenly, at the sound of a loud and fuller musique, Tethys with her nymphes appeares, with another scene, which I will likewise describe, in the language of the archetictor who contrived it, and speakes in his owne mestier to such as are understanders and lovers of that design. First, at the opening of the heavens, appeared three circles of lights and glasses, one within another, and came downe in a straight motion five foote, and then began to move circularly; which lights and motion so occupied the eyes of the spectators, that the manner of altering the scene was scarcely discerned; for in a moment the whole face of it was changed, the port vanished, and Tethys with her nymphes appeared in their severall cavernes, gloriously adorned. This scene was comparted into five neeces, whereof that in the middest had some slender pillowes of whole round, and were made of moderne architecture in regard of roome; these were of burnisht gold, and bare up the returnes of an architrave, freeze, and cornish of the same worke: on which, upon eyther side, was a plinth directly over the pillers, and on them were placed, for finishings, two dolphins of silver, with their tailes wreathed together, which supported ovall vases of gold.

Betweene the two pillers, on eyther side, were great ornaments of relievo, the basement were two huge whales of silver. Above, in an action mounting, were two seahorses, and above them, on each side of Tethys seat, was placed a great trident. The seate or throne it selfe was raised sixe steps, and all covered with such an artificiall

stuffe, as seemed richer by candle then any cloth of gold. The rests for her armes were two cherubines of gold: over her head was a great skallop of silver, from which hung the foldes of this rich drapery.

Above the skallop, and round about the sides, was a replendent freeze of jewell glasses or lights, which shewed like diamonds, rubies, saphires, emralds, and such like.

The part which returned from the two plinthes that bare up the dolphines, was circular, and made a hollownesse over Tethys head, and on this circle were four great chartuses of gold, which bore up a round bowle of silver, in manner of a fountaine, with mask-heads of gold, out of which ran an artificiall water. On the middest of this was a triangular basement, formed of scrowles and leaves, and then a rich vayle adorned with flutings and inchased worke, with a freeze of fishes and a battaile of tritons, out of whose mouths sprang water into the bowle underneath. On the top of this was a round globe of gold full of holes, out of which issued aboundance of water, some falling into the receipt below, some into the ovall vase, borne up by the dolphines, and indeed there was no place in this great aquatick throne, that was not filled with the sprinckling of these two naturall seeming waters. The neeces wherein the ladies sate were foure, with pillasters of gold, mingled with rustick stones, shewing like a minerall, to make it more rocke and cavern like, varying from that of Tethys throne. Equall with the heads of the pillars was an architrave of the same work; above was a circular frontispice, which rose equall with the bowle of the fountaine fore-discribed. On the rustick frontispice lay two great figures in rileve, which seemed to beare up a garland of sea-weeds: to which, from two antick candlesticks which stood over the pillasters, were hanging labells of gold; and these were the finishings of the top of the two neeces next to that of Tethys.

In the space betweene the frontispice and the architrave stood a great concave shel, wherein was the head of a sea-god, and on either side the shell, to fill up the roome, two great mask-heads in profile. The other two neeces, which were outermost, were likewise borne up with pillasters of gold, and, for variation, had square frontispices, and against the streight architrave of the other was an arch. All these were mingled with rustic, as before.

In the middle, betweene the frontispice and the arch, was a bowle or fountaine made of foure great skallops, borne up by a great maske head, which had likewise foure aspects, and lying upon this arch (to fill up the concaves) were two figures turned halfe into fishes; these with their heads held up the sides of this bowle: above this were three great cherubines heads spouting water into the bowle. On the middest of the square frontispice stood a great vase adorned.

The rest of the ornaments consisted of maske-heads, spouting water, swannes, festons of maritime weedes, great shels, and such like; and all this whole scene was filled with the splendor of gold and silver; onely some beautifull colours behinde to distinguish them, and to set off the rest.

The whole worke came into the forme of a halfe round: there sate three ladies in each neece, which made sixe of a side: the queene in the middest, and the lady Elizabeth at her feete.

Now, concerning their habite: first, their head-tire was composed of shels and corrall, and from a great muriake shell, in forme of the crest of an helme, hung a thin waving vaile. Their upper garments had the boddies of sky colored taffataes, for lightnes, all embrodered with maritime invention. Then had they a kinde of halfe skirts of cloth, of silver imbrodered with golde, all the ground work cut out, for lightnes, which hung down ful, and cut in points: underneath that, came bases (of the same as was their bodies) beneath their knee. The long skirt was wrought with lace, waved round about like a river, and on the bankes, sedge and sea weedes, all of gold. Their shoulders were all imbrodered with the worke of the short skirt of cloth of silver, and

had cypresse spangled, ruffed out, and fell in a ruffe above the elbow. The under sleeves were all imbrodered as the bodies. Their shoes were of satin, richly imbrodered, with the worke of the short skirt.

In this habite they discended out of their cavernes one after another, and so marched up with winding meanders like a river, till they came to the tree of victory, which was a bay erected at the right side of the state, upon a little mount there raised, where they offer their severall flowers in golden urnes which they bare in their hands; while a soft musique of twelve lutes, and twelve voyces, which entertained the time, exprest as a chorus, their action in this manner:

Was ever houre brought more delight
To mortal sight,
Then this, wherein faire Tethys daigns to shew
Her, and her nymphes arow
In glory bright?
See how they bring their flowers,
From out their watry bowers,
To decke Apollo's tree,
The tree of victory.
About whose verdant bowes,
They sacrifice their vowes,
And wish an everlasting spring
Of glory, to the ocean's king.

This songe and ceremony ended, they fall into their first daunce; after which, Tethys withdraws, and reposes her upon the mount, under the tree of victory, entertained with musicque and this song:

If joy had other figure,
Then soundes, and wordes, and motion,
To intimate the measure,
And height of our devotion,
This day it had beene show'd;
But what it can, it doth performe,
Since nature hath bestow'd
No other letter,
To expresse it better,
Then, in this forme:
Our motions, soundes, and wordes,
Tuned to accordes,
Must shew the well-set partes,
Of our affections and our harts.

After this, Tethys rises, and, with her nymphs, performs her second daunce, and then reposes her againe upon the mount, entertained with another songe.

Are they shadowes that we see?
And can shadowes pleasure give?
Pleasures only shadowes be,
Cast by bodies we conceive,
And are made the thinges we deeme,
In those figures which they seeme.

But these pleasures vanish fast,
Which by shadowes are exprest.
Pleasures are not if they last,
In their passing, is their best.
Glory is most bright and gay,
In a flash, and so away.
Feed apace, then, greedy eyes,
On the wonder you behold;
Take it sodaine as it flies,
Though you take it not to hold:
When your eyes have done their part,
Thought must length it in the hart.

After this songe, Tethys againe arises, and, with her nymphes, taketh out the lordes to daunce their measures, corantos, and galliardes; which done, they fall into their third and retyring daunce, wherewith they returne againe into their severall cavernes, and sodainly vanish. When, to avoid the confusion which usually attendeth the desolve of these shewes, and when all was thought to be finisht, followed another entertainement, and was a third shew no lesse delightfull than the rest, whose introduction was thus.

Zephirus marching a certaine space after Tethys and her nymphes, attended with his tritons, a sodaine flash of lightning causes them to stay, and Triton delivereth this speech:

Behold, the post of Heaven, bright Mercury,
Is sent to summon and recall againe,
Imperial Tethys, with her company,
Unto her watry mansion in the maine;
And shift those formes, wherein her power did daigne
T'invest her selfe and hers, and to restore
Them to themselves, whose beauteous shapes they wore.

And then bowing himselfe towardes the state, craveth their stay, and prepareth them to the expectation of a returne of the queene and her ladies in their formes, in these wordes:

And now, bright star, the guidon[1] of this state,
And you, great Peeres, the ornaments of power,
With all these glittering troupes that have the fate,
To be spectators of this blessed houre;
Be pleased to sit awhile, and you shall see
A transformation of farre more delight,
And apter drawne to nature, then can be
Discribed in an imaginary sight.

Triton having ended his speech, Mercury most artificially, and in an exquisite posture, descends, and summons the Duke of Yorke, and six young noblemen, to attend him, and bring backe the queene and her ladies in their owne forme, directing him to the place where to find them, with this speech:

Faire branch of power, in whose sweet feature here
Milde Zephirus a figure did present
Of youth and of the spring time of the yeare,

[1] A kind of banner.

I sommon you, and six of high descent
To attend on you (as hopefull worthyes borne
To shield the honour and the cleare renowne
Of ladies) that you presently returne
And bring backe those, in whose faire shapes were showne
The late seene nymphes, in figures of their owne,
Whom you shall finde hard by within a grove,
And garden of the spring addrest to Jove.

Hereupon the Duke of Yorke, with his attendants, departing to performe this service, the lowde musique soundes, and sodainely appeares the queenes majesty, in a most pleasant and artificiall grove, which was the third scene; and from thence they march up to the king, conducted by the Duke of Yorke, and the noblemen, in a very stately manner.

And in all these shewes, this is to be noted, that there were none of inferiour sort, mixed amongst these great personages of state and honour (as usually there have been) but all was performed by themselves with a due reservation of their dignity. And for those two which did personate the tritons, they were gentlemen knowne of good worth and respect. The introducing of pages with torches, might have added more splendor, but yet they would have pestered the roome, which the season would not well permit.

And thus have I delivered the whole forme of this shew, and expose it to the censure of those who make it their best show, to seeme to know, with this postscript:

Pretulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri
Dum mea delectant mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere et ringi.

S. D.

A politique Discourse, by way of Dispute, about the happiest Marriage for the noble Prince Henry. Written in Anno 1611. *By Sir Walter Raleigh.*

Nothing in the history of Prince Henry is more interesting than his affection for Sir Walter Raleigh, then under the king's displeasure, a prisoner in the Tower, and in truth condemned to death, and reprieved only during pleasure. "Surely none but my father," said the amiable young prince, "would keep such a bird in a cage." Raleigh dedicated to his highness, his "Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service;" he also designed to address to him a discourse on "The Art of War by Sea," and had sent him another tract upon naval affairs, which is still in manuscript. Finally, he had hewn out, as he expresses it, a continuation of his "History of the World," which was also to have been addressed to Prince Henry, "but it has pleased God," says he, "to take that glorious prince out of the world, to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never-enough lamented loss, has taught me to say with Job, *versa est in luctum cithera mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium.*"

The following tract regards another part of the prince's short history. In the end of March 1611, a double marriage was proposed to the privy council, between Henry and the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and between the prince of Savoy and the Lady Elizabeth. How Raleigh's opinion was called for, does not appear, but probably it was expressed at the solicitation of Henry himself.

It ought not to be omitted, that, in return for this and similar instances of Raleigh's interest in his person and fortune, Henry begged from his father the castle and manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, which were taken from Sir Walter when condemned, in order that he might restore them to his family. But James preferred bestowing them on his worthless favourite, Car, Lord Rochester, afterwards Earl of Somerset.

Although the match proposed with the House of Savoy was broken off, yet upon the death of Prince Henry, James accounted it proper to intimate that melancholy event to the duke, and also to the Princess Mary of Savoy, by letters written with his own hand. BIRCH's *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 370.

There is no body that persuades our prince to match with Savoy, for any love to the person of the duke, nor (as I hope) for his religion; neither will any man oppose it for any particular dislike. For as there never hath been quarrel between our nation and his; so hath he, for aught I have heard, never given offence to any of ours. It should therefore seem, that it is for the good of England, that he that desires it, desires it; and for the same good it is, that he that desires it not, dissuades it.

The points in it that are considerable are these:

I. Wherein it concerns the duke to seek alliances with England.
II. The pretences of marriages between princes, are seldom the same with their intents that propounded them, and what hidden dangers may be under the alliances presently desired.
III. Wherein it may concern us to match with Savoy, and against whom he can assist us.
IV. That Savoy and Spain are inseparable, and that Savoy dare not offend the pope nor emperor.
V. Against whom the English shall need his assistance.
VI. Of the inconveniences in general.
VII. Of the inconveniences, in particular to the prince.
VIII. With what prince it were most for his highness's advantage, to match withall.

The reasons that are apparent on the dukes behalf, are these:

I. That either by the countenance or assistance of his majesty, he may hope to possess himself of the Duchy of Milain, which was promissed him in dowery with his wife, by the king of Spain.
II. To recover Bresse from the French.
III. To obtain Geneva from the protestants.
IV. To make his daughter a great queen, and he or his shall be able to say in the future, that the kings of England are of the race of Savoy.

These pretences are exceeding fair, if the pretences in traffic of marriages between kings and princes were the same with their intents: but we know by experience, how many of these fraudulent propositions have been made both to the French, the English, and to other princes of the houses of Arragon and Austria, of which the daughters of Savoy are descended, and by which kind of traffic these kings have prevailed more then by all their forces and arms. For by these falshoods, they carried Naples and Millain from the French, by a match with our King Henry VIII. when they drew his army into Brisky, to invade France, they conquered Navarre. They hoped also to have possessed England, by a match with Queen Mary; which though they failed to gain, yet we failed not to lose Cales. What marriage had fairer pretences, then that of the king of Navarre, afterwards King Henry the Fourth of France, with the Lady

Margaret of Valoi's, now living, whereby a peace was concluded between the kings, and the party of the religion, and by which, the miserable civil wars in France were concluded; and yet the intent was so far from the pretence, as 100,000 were murdered in one day, at Paris and else where. Nay, what greater treason and cruelty was ever covered under pretence of marriage, than that of Francis Forzia, duke of Milain, who, under pretence to win that famous Italian captain on his part, gave him his daughter Drusiana in marriage, and sent his army to serve Ferdinando, king of Naples, where, by the practice of Forzia, Picinius and his sons were murdered by the king, after he had royally received and feasted him in his own court.

Lastly, because examples are infinite, I will conclude with Brentwolgh, prince of Bolonia, who, to the end, to make himself master of Forma, gave his daughter to the lord thereof; and she, according to her fathers instructions, caused her husband to be murdered in her own chamber.

There is a kind of a noble and royal deceiving in marriage, between great kings and princes, yea, it is of all other, the fairest and most unsuspected trade of betraying. It hath been as ordinary amongst them, to adventure and cast away a daughter, to bring some purpose to pass, as at other times, for saving charges, to make them nuns.

I speak not to prejudice, or forejudge that worthy prince, the duke of Savoy. For there is no example to be followed, or to be feared, where like occasions and like circumstances do not concur. He cannot betray us, till we trust him; there is nothing of ours near him, nor of his near us. It is the Spaniard that is to be feared, who layeth his pretences with a long hand; in which respect, it were not amiss to consider of the plots of the English priests, who not long since have published and permited certain far fetched titles, both of the king of Spain, and infanta his daughter; for it were an horrible dishonour, to be over reached by any of these dry and subtil headed Spainards.

Parsons, under the name of Dolman, hath cast abroad a most pestilent book in our English tongue, wherein, after he hath laboured by all the strainings and subtilty of wit, to weaken all other titles, and his majesties, which is undoubted, he prefers that of the infanta and that of the king her father and brother, for the most clear and ancient; the first he draws from Constance, the eldest daughter of William the conqueror; the second from John of Gaunt.

Now this title, or pretence of title of the infanta, of which all our papists had such hope in the time of Queen Elizabeth, is for want of heirs of her body, fallen upon the heirs of her sister, the Duches of Savoy; the infanta and the duches being two daughters of Philip the Second; I cannot tell, I leave it to wise men to judge, whether the Lady Elizabeth were not therefore sought for, both by the king of Spain and Savoy, (being the eldest daughter of England) by her to strengthen their former pretences; and seeing both of them have failed in that hope, the Duke of Savoy would now send a daughter into England, who might practise a party, either for her brother or for her uncle. Certainly it were a brave subject for our malicious papists to work upon, who are better learned in Dolman's book, then in the New Testament. For having a daughter of Savoy, the infanta failing, they have the same princes, in whose title and religion they believe, by having the infanta her sisters daughter: they have for their purposes the infanta herself; nay it serves her turn the better, the infanta being lost. For our next neighbours may under colour of visitation, practise at pleasure; and it is the infanta that hath the best army in all Europe in her hands, and may be past over into England in a night. And that it may not be thought, that this point is strained by me, these are Parsons' own words; I say also, that this lady infanta, or some other by her title and her fathers good will, was likeliest of all strangers to bear it away. For that if the infanta should either die or be married into any other country, or otherwise dispo-

sed, so as her pretence to England should be disabled, before their affairs came to be tried, her said father and she, if they list, may then cast their aforesaid interest and titles, as divers men think they would, upon some other prince of their own blood; which is as much as to say, they will resign their supposed right to the children of the Duke of Savoy. Nay, to help the matter, Parsons gives a title to the Duke of Savoy by the Lady Beatrix of Portugal, his grandmother. It is true, that any title will serve the Spaniards turn. Bragança, Parma, and Antonio, were before Philip in the kingdom of Portugal. He came behind them all in right, but he went before them in power, which needs no advocate. And though it seems to be resolved, that the king of Spain and the duke are at difference for the present, yet the king of Spain hath him in his hands, and the duke's children receive the very bread they feed on from the Spaniards; which being denied them, they have nothing wherewith to sustain themselves; for the duke himself is extreme poor.

They are of the blood of Spain, to whom the Dukes of Savoy have always been servants, and very often the commanders of their armies.

I say, that herein, whatever be pretended to the contrary, it is Spain that we ought to suspect; Spain, from which Savoy is inseparable, Spain, to which England is irreconcileable; for thus the case stands between these princes.

The duke hath yet living four sons. He had five, but the eldest was poisoned in Spain; because the king bound himself to give the duchy of Milain to the first eldest son born of his daughter. The second, which is prince of Piedmont, called Don Philliberte, lives with the duke his father; but of less hope by far than Don Philip his brother was. His third son Don Victorio Amadeo, knight of Malta, is the great commander of St John's in Spain, 100,000 crowns per annum; and withal, general of the king of Spain's gallies, a place of great honour and profit. The fourth son is cardinal, and hath the one half of the profit of the archbishoprick of Toledo, and is promised the whole after the death of the now bishop, an estate worth 300,000 crowns per annum. The fifth son, Don Thomazo (of whom his mother the Lady Catherina de Austria died,) a prince of fifteen years of age, hath also a pension out of Spain; but hath not yet acquired any particular title. For his four daughters, the eldest a very wise, godly, and virtuous lady, as yet unmarried. The second, married to the eldest son of the Duke of Mantua. The third, married to the first son of the Duke of Modena and Regio, the bastard son to the Duke of Ferrara: that last died without lawful heirs males, whereby Ferrara escheated to the pope. The youngest, the Lady Catherine, is yet undisposed. Hereby it is easy to judge, whether the Duke of Savoy will abandon all these pensions and preferments, and enter into a war with the king of Spain for the Duchy of Milain, or for the quarrel of any other prince, seeing Milain itself, when it was a duchy apart, was ever a principality of greater force than Savoy or Piedmont.

To think that he can be assisted by us, they have, as I believe, by far exceeded their commissions, that gave him that hope; for if England itself had a quarrel with Spain, it must of necessity maintain the war by the war, as the Netherlands did after they lost the trade with Spain, and as we ourselves in our late queen's time.

If it be against France that the duke pretends, he cannot forget it, how Francis the First thrust him out of all he had, because he refused him a passage into Italy, when Charles the Fifth, that great emperor and king of Spain, sought to defend him; and that the late King Henry the Fourth of France, took from the duke, now living, Bergamo-Briselle, with the territory, and forced him to come to Paris in person, and buy his peace; I say, they are betrayed by their own ignorance, that persuade themselves, that Savoy dare lift up his hand against either of these kings; against Spain, without the help of France; or against France, without the assistance of such a league or civil war, as the house of Lorrain made and moved in the year 1586, against Henry the Third of

France, and afterwards against Henry IV. his successor; at which time the duke of Savoy recovered the marquisate of Salusses.

Thirdly, For the obtaining of Geneva, I am persuaded that his majesty will never be a party in that enterprize. And if the duke shall offer it to our king, he might well answer him, as Alexander did Darius, that the gift of those things which are out of our possession are not thank-worthy; and, were it his to give, how shall his majesty keep it so far off, seeing the Brille and Ulishinge seated so near us, are in such sort ours, that the Hollanders and Zealanders may thrust us out of them when they please, those places being daily inlarged and increased in people, and our garisons, if they do not diminish increase not?

For the fourth, That the duke hath a desire, it may be an ambition, to see his daughter a great queen, and to be on the one side the parent of the kings of England. For the first, I am of opinion, that his daughter is like to be a very old lady e'er that come to pass; for his majesty being subject to no sickness, is, by God's favour, likely to live long. For the other, it cannot be doubted, seeing the mother of this daughter had nine children in nine years, but the duke's sons may call our kings cousins.

Now, the consideration is, of what use the match of Savoy may be unto us? First, it may be said, that, for want of heirs-males, the principality may fall to our prince, or to his. I confess it possible; but there is no hope that the prince can have it, being so far off; for the duke hath four sons yet living. And if all this should fail, yet if there were any collateral heirs-males to be found, he should be assured of the assistance of Spain, Naples, Milain, and the pope; and of all the strength that the provinces of the Netherlands, under the archduke, can assemble. And therefore, as the state of things do now stand, the expectation is nothing worth. Francis the First, that had right to it by his mother, quitted it. Ireland is near unto us, and in our sight; and yet we wish it often in the bottom of the sea. For having been governed neither as a country conquered nor free, it hath served us but as a grave for our best captains and soldiers, and for conduits to draw from us the greatest part of our provisions and treasures. The Low Countries and Ireland have beggared Spain and England. If then the hope of principality be not great, what is there else our king and prince can expect from Savoy? You will say, assistance against our enemies. Certainly, if the king had a quarrel against France or Spain, the duke knows not how to help us in either. For if he declare himself against Spain, Milain would easily waste or master Piedmont; if against France, the frontier countries of Provence, Dauphine, Lyons, and Brussels, are stronger than he; if against the pope, all the world knows that he dare not stir; and our king hath no enemy so malicious as that prelate; if against the emperor, he cannot, of all other, move against him; for whatsoever his own lawyers say, and whatsoever hath been concluded in his own parliament, Selinus, and other excellent learned men, make him a fœdarie prince of the empire; and both Adolphe and Vinceslaus were deposed. Bodine doth not acknowledge the emperor himself to be an absolute sovereign; but for the sovereign officer of the empire, in whom the sovereignty resideth. And the word vicar, importeth as much as lieutenant or deputy.

And if the emperor be not a sovereign, much less he that holdeth of the empire. A sovereign is he that acknowledgeth no superior. The earldom of Savoy was one of the four earldoms of the empire, and so it continued well near four hundred years, from the time of King Henry V. until the time of Sigismonde; who, at the council of Constance, made the earls of Savoy dukes. And it is no longer since than the time of Charles, this man's grandfather, that, after he had taken his oath to the emperor, within two years after he made suit to have the form of his allegiance altered.

If the king had quarrel against any other state or princes of the Romish religion, the pope would presently stile the wars catholick; and curse and excommunicate all princes and states subject to the see of Rome that should offer us assistance.

The little princes of Italy have not the daring that they had in former times, when Philip Vicontie Fortibraccio, Frauncis Forz, and others, invaded the territories of the church, and enforced the Romans themselves to thrust the pope Eugenius out of Rome, to save their city from sacking. No, the king of Spain will not offend his Holiness: For the pope, in favour of Philip the Second, because he was wasted in war against the Lutherans, cut off, by his authority, (I know not how,) a debt of many millions to the Genouese. The pope hath given him, in favour, all the pardons which are sent to the Indies, worth to the king half a million *per annum*. He gives him the service of the Jesuits assassinates, to murder all kings and princes his enemies, as William of Nassau, prince of Orange Henry the Third and Fourth of France. Proportionable hath the duke of Savoy made benefits from the pope. His son, Don Victor, hath received from him the cardinal's hat. Cardinal Aldebrand, nephew to Clement VIII. hath purchased Racence, in Piedmont, of the duke; after whose death that rich territory must fall to the church, if the pope of his grace do not confer it on the duke. In brief, the duke is so tied to the see of Rome, both in religion and benefit, as he can be no more separate from it and subsist, than the body of man can be from his soul and live.

What then remains of profit to our prince by this alliance? A sum of money and a beautiful lady. For beauty, it was never so cheap in any age, and ever better beloved in the hope, than when it is had. For the million of crowns offered, which make but two of our subsidies, I speak it confidently, that when all those dukes, lords, and great ladies, which will attend the princess in her passage hither, shall be all presented with gifts according to their degrees and the king's honour, when the preparations, triumphs, and feastings are paid for, there will nothing remain but a great increase of charge, and a great deal of melancholy.

If then, by the duke of Savoy, we can neither strengthen nor enrich ourselves, let us see who they are that for the present we have cause to fear, and against whom we stand in need of assistance.

There are but two kings to look after, to wit, France and Spain. As for the archduke, the States, for their interest, will look after him.

In France his majesty hath a party strong enough, both of his own alliance and of the religion. At the least, he is sure, that, during the king's minority, the queen will keep all quiet, if she can.

For Spain; it is a proverb of their own, That the lion is not so fierce as he is painted. His force, in all parts of the world, (but in the Low Countries,) are far under the fame. And if the late queen would have believed her men of war, as she did her scribes, we had in her time broke that great empire to pieces, and made their kings kings of figs and oranges, as in old time; but her majesty did all by halves; and, by petty invasions, taught the Spaniard how to defend himself, and see his own weakness, which, till our attempts taught him, was hardly known to himself. Four thousand men would have taken away all his Indies from him; I mean, all the ports by which his treasure doth pass. He is more hated in that part of the world by the sons of the conquerors, than the English are by the Irish. We were too strong for him by sea, and had the Hollanders to help us, who are now strongest of all. In eighty-eight, when he made his great and fearful fleet, if the queen would have hearkned to reason, we had burnt all his ships and preparations in his own ports; as we did afterwards, upon the same intelligence and doubt in Cadiz. He that knows him not, fears him; but, excepting the Low Countries army, which hath been continued and disciplined since Charles the Fifth's time, he is no where strong. They are but fables, that are spoken of him elsewhere. And what can the Low Country armies do, if the Indies pay them not? Nothing but mutiny, and spoil his own territories, as they have often done; and, of late years, almost to the ruin of the archduke. But, perhaps, you will say, that, being combined with France, he is more powerful than ever. It is true, if France and Spain were

married together, as their princes are; or, if those marriages were not more politick than faithful. The French and Spanish will never agree, that either of them shall over much endanger England, if it were in their power so to do.

When the Emperor Charles the Fifth, the king of England, and the pope, and most of the princes of Italy, had made a league against Francis the First, as soon as he was taken prisoner in Pavia, some of them fell presently off, and the rest made a league against the emperor to save France. Kings are not like private men, they forsake not one another in adversity, though not perchance for their sakes that are oppressed, but for their own; because of the surmounting greatness of any one. What they may do by persuasions of the jesuits for matters of religion, I do not know.

But the marriage of France and Spain may vanish away in smoke, as many of them have done heretofore, when they have been as solemnly considered and sworn unto as these are.

The Austrians have oftentimes over-reached France, and made them children with the marriage of children, and thereby married the time more fruitful for their affairs than the daughters of France.

The French, for any thing that we know, may, at this time, pay them with the same coin; for it was well said of Machiavel, in his Florentine History, between men that aspire to one and the same greatness, though alliance be made, yet friendship never.

The fourth part of our first division, is the consideration of the inconveniences in general, as followeth. If we join in amity with Savoy, we lose all the protestant cantons, and break the hearts of the people of Geneva, which our late queen highly favoured and relieved; which all the German princes, protestants, cherish; which the kings of France, though of contrary religion, have always protected. The duke of Savoy will ever be an enemy to the commonweal, and they to him. Their interest, both in religion and communion, will for ever separate them till one be master. And that which is a matter of greatest importance that our state can look after, we shall, by this means, increase the jealousy of the Netherlands. They began to cool towards us, when we made peace without them, which enforced them to make their long truce.

They were the last that put down arms, and, although they compounded upon the greatest disadvantage, France and England having first compounded, yet they made a far more noble peace with Spain than we did.

Since which time they have neglected us by degrees, let us look into it with all the eyes we have. For to which of these three those people fasten themselves, England, France, or Spain, he that hath them will become the greatest, and give the law to the rest. If any doubt it, he knows not much.

But this hath been our own fault, and the detested covetousness of some great ones. For whereas, in my time, I have known one of his majesty's ships command forty of theirs to strike sail, they will now undertake us one to one, and not give us a good word. They master us both in their number and in their mariners; and they have our own ordnance to break our bones withal. We had reason to help them, but not to over-help them; neither to help them up to that height, as to make them able to tread on our heads.

Henry the Fourth of England gave assistance to the faction of Burgundy and Orleans; but as soon as he found Orleans to sink, he drew his sword on the weaker side. But there is no counsel of things past, they may shew how to prevent the like occasion arriving.

For the last, the match of Savoy divides us from France. The narrow seas cannot so much sunder us as that alliance will. It dissolves their hope, and whereas now they are fastened to Spain but with cords of cobweb, they will then perchance chain themselves with steel.

You will then ask me, where the prince shall find a wife? Neither in Savoy nor in

Florence; for the money received for either being told, I have told you the best tale for them. Not that I object what hath been objected against those princes, as meanly descended; for the Medici are very ancient, and ancient in virtue and fame. It is true, that long ago they were merchants, and so was Solomon too. The kings, in old time, had their herdsmen, their shepherds, and their plowmen. They traded with nature and with the earth; a trade by which all that breathe upon the earth live. All the nobility and gentry in Europe trade their grass, and corn, and cattle, their vines, and other fruits. They trade them to their tenants at home, and others merchant them abroad. The king of Spain is now the greatest merchant. The king of Portugal was. The kings of France are twice come out of the Florentine; and therefore the supposed ignobility cannot dissolve them. They can then give us but money, and the sum is the same that Savoy hath offered. If you ask me, whether I like of any German lady? I say, I like it well enough in respect of the nation, who are just, and free from treachery. But the match between the palatine of the Rhine and the Lady Elizabeth, will make us stronge enough in Germany; and, by reason of his alliance with the house of Nassau, better assured of the Netherlands than we were. But the merchant doth not hazard all his estate in one vessel. No more do well-advised princes lay all their happiness upon one nation.

Now, if by these dislikes of the foresaid alliances, you make judgment, that it is my desire that the prince should not marry at all; I say, my desire is not that he should not marry at all, but not as yet. And I am exceeding sorry that the prince hath not the same desire. For his majesty is yet but young, and, by God's favour, likely to live many years; and that his highness, if he should now marry, may have many children born unto him before he be thirty years old; and that all his children shall be princes, and must be provided for as princes. I think it will much perplex him to find himself so invironed, till his majesty have somewhat repaired his estate, and provided beautiful gardens to plant those olive branches in.

While the prince is yet unmarried, all the eyes of Christendom are upon him; for with what king soever he be balanced, he will cast the scale. But to have him weighed with a little prince, I should be sorry; and he himself will be as sorry soon after. All the princes of Christendom woo'd Charles, duke of Burgoin, while his daughter was unmarried. And, while our prince is free, (our enemies not knowing upon what ground to build their practices,) his majesty is, in the mean time, infinitely in safety; but the prince once disposed of, they will presently muster our forces, measure our fortunes, sound us to the bottom, and make their approaches accordingly. Then will they say, we have seen the uttermost of the prince of Wales.

Seeing, therefore, we have nothing yet in hand; seeing there is nothing moves; seeing yet that the world is in a slumber, and that this long calm will shortly break out into some terrible tempest; I would advise the prince to keep his own ground for a while, and no way to engage and entangle himself. While he is yet free, he had from those whom he refuseth their hopes are past, but a great malice followeth. He that hath been sought of many, and hath refused many, shall be hated of many. I could therefore wish, that the prince were fastened to such a party as could best sustain it. And seeing there is none but a catholick lady for us, let us have a king of our side to the boot.

If you object, that the daughter of France is too young, I hope that the prince doth not find himself too old to tarry a while; and, for any reason that I know to the contrary, if money be the matter, it may be had in the mean time.

This match, I say, will give the new league such an alarm, as they will hardly be able to know how to cover themselves in their own trenches.

There were never nations had so much cause to hate one another as France hath to hate Spain. They hold from him the kingdom of Navarre, without so much as the colour of a title. They betrayed them in Naples, and did not overcome their army there,

but murdered it after a peace proclaimed. They hold Milain from them by strong hand; and after that, Charles the Fifth, to have leave to pass through France into Flanders, to pacify the tumults of Gaunt, had promised the French king to restore it; the emperor derided him, and said, he promised him Millain, which is the French word for a kite.

They have betrayed them in many offers of marriages. They poisoned the dolphin of Viennois; they have murdered the ambassador; they have displanted them Florida; and, contrary to faith, killed the possessor in cold blood; they tore them in pieces at the Terceras; they set the subjects of Henry III. and Henry IV. against them; they invaded France, possessed Paris, and most of the cities of France; and, in conclusion, practised to murder both those kings. Now, if those injuries be not far more memorable than marriageable, let the world judge.

On the contrary, against us the French hath no pretence. They hold from us that we never had from them, but our lawful inheritance; yet did her majesty assist them in all their extremities: And, as his majesty's ancestors have been most constant friends unto them, so did King James the Fifth arm sixteen thousand of his nation at his own charge to secure King Francis the First, when the emperor invaded Provence.

If, therefore, our prince shall take a daughter of France, the lady promised to Spain, being yet taken but in terms, we may well assure ourselves, if there remain any virtue, nobility, or gratitude in the French nation, that the queen of France will make great difference between her sons-in-law, and the king of France between his brothers-in-law, England and Spain. By holding France, we hold the Low Countries, which will make us invincible; for they dare not abandon us both. On the contrary, although the princes, considered apart and disunited, are not, as before is said, to be feared; yet, were it a needless hazard to neglect the love of France, and to sustain the hatred of the archduke, the pope, and the king of Spain; hatred, more than immortal (if more it may be) to our nation and state. The wounds are too many, and too deep, that we have given them, and not to be healed with a plaister of peace; and therein the different affections of these two nations was made manifest: That the Spaniard did utterly shun, and the French did earnestly seek, the love of our prince. If then the four princes should combine against us, from whom may we hope for help? If it be from Savoy or Florence, God help us; our friends inhabiting beyond the mountains, our enemies hard at hand. We leave those strongest and nearest us, for those that are weakest and farthest off. We leave those that can help us, or harm us, for those that can do neither. These we leave that depend of themselves, to wit, the French, for those that depend on others, to wit, the Savoyan and Florentine.

An Original Letter of Prince Henry to King James. A Manuscript out of the Cottonian Library.

In the former edition of these Tracts, it is said, that none of our historians have mentioned any proposal of marriage made to Prince Henry on the part of France. But the occasion of the following letter is thus distinctly narrated by Birch in his Life of Prince Henry.

"The court of France having resolved to propose to that of England a marriage between the prince of Wales and Christine, second daughter of Henry IV. and sister to Louis XIII. with an offer of the same sum of 500,000 crowns, which had been given with Elizabeth, the elder daughter, to

Philip, prince of Spain, the duke of Bouillon was sent extraordinary ambassador to England for that purpose. He arrived at London on the 26th of April 1612, and brought with him a letter from Louis XIII. to the prince, who returned by the duke an answer in French. In this letter, he told the king, that the assurances of the continuance of his majesty's friendship were always agreeable to him; but especially when they were brought by so good a hand as the duke of Bouillon, whom he found so affectionate in entertaining their mutual amity, that he thought no person more proper to satisfy his majesty of the readiness of his own. This he had desired the duke to declare to his majesty at large; and, therefore, referring himself to him, would embrace all opportunities of testifying his affection to his majesty's service."—BIRCH's *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 275.

The opinion of Prince Henry being requested by the king, he, in the following Letter, gives it with great modesty upon the conditions of the match.

May it please your Majesty,

Seeing that your majesty's pleasure, signified unto me by Lord Rochester,[1] is, that I set down my opinion concerning the proposition lately made by your ambassador unto Villeroy; your majesty must pardon both the boldness of my writing, and the weakness of my opinion in a matter of such consequence.

Wherefore, may it please you to consider, that, for so far as your ambassador hath hitherto proceeded in it, it hath wrought the same effect that might have been looked for; but, when it cometh unto more particular negotiation, whether they will then yield unto such conditions as your majesty, in your wisdom, shall think fit; the success of their next interview will make you give a more near guess.

The cause which first induced your majesty to proceed in this proposition by your ambassador, was, the hope which the duke of Bouillon gave your majesty of breaking their other match with Spain. If the continuance of this treaty hold only upon that hope, and not upon any desire to effect a match with the second daughter; in my weak opinion, I hold that it stands more with your majesty's honour to stay your ambassador from moving it any more, than to go on with it; because no great negotiation should be grounded upon a ground that is very unsure or uncertain, and depends upon their wills who were the first causes of the contrary.

Next, it will not be honourable for your majesty, that the world should see, that, when you shall have broken it off, after a long treaty, you did it only to speak of the other, seeing, they will say, that it is your own fault, in not having made soon enough an overture for the first.

Whether your majesty will proceed farther in it, upon the desire you have to make a match with the second; that, with the rest, I leave unto your majesty's further and better judgment.[2] But, if your majesty be resolved to continue it, in respect of itself,

[1] "Robert Car, Viscount Rochester, and afterwards Earl of Somerset, between whom and the prince there was an irreconcileable quarrel; either because that lord had supplanted his highness in the confidence of the king his father, or in the affections of the lady Catherine Howard, who, having been first married to the young earl of Essex, was divorced on purpose to make way for her nuptials with the favourite Rochester. But however this was, the prince openly frowned on Rochester, and vowed revenge against the whole family of Howards, who had sworn themselves of his party against all opposers. And the issue of all was his highness's death, on the 6th of November 1612, of what was then called a popular fever; or, as others will have it, of poison; which was charged directly on Lord Rochester, and indirectly on the king himself; who was supposed to be jealous of the virtues of his son, and his absolute sovereignty in the hearts of the people."

[2] This match was broken off, but not until some further negociations had taken place, which occasioned the following letters from the prince to Sir Thomas Edmondes, then ambassador at the court of France.

"SIR THOMAS EDMONDES,

"Since my last, I have received two letters from you; the one of the 14th of August, the other of the 18th of the same.

then I intreat your majesty be sure of the certainty and of the sending of her hither, upon the conclusion, or at the furthest, at the going of the other into Spain.

I fear I have troubled your majesty's patience too long, with a good tale ill told; but you must impute this fault unto your command, and not unto my presumption. I shall

" I am very glad that you have confirmed me in my so strong settled opinion of the duke of Bouillon's plain and sincere dealing with us; which I find sheweth itself both in his carriage in businesses past, and by his speeches to every one there of us.

" Touching the breach of the marriages; although he and the count de Soissons seem to be of opinion that they will never be performed; yet nothing that hath hitherto fallen out, can make me of their mind; but rather, I imagine, that they would have the king go forward in the proposition for the second; hoping, by that means, to engage him so in it, as that he cannot in his honour go back.

" Concerning the signing of the contract; although the princes of the blood did it upon a second resolution, yet I hold they did it upon good advisement. For if they and those of the religion do stick the one with the other firmly, and if there fall out no fraction amongst them, they may have a very great stroke in the greatest and most important business of state.

" As touching their intentions of removing from about the queen some private persons; my opinion is, that unless they be very well prepared for it, and go on farther in preserving of their own state and fortunes against whatsoever may fall out after that they had set a-foot that action, they will do themselves wrong. For if that state have a suspicion of their stirring humours, that action will fully assure them of it; which will make them clip their wings all they can, striving to disable them from being able to do any thing hereafter.

" Wherefore, if you would cherish them in that humour, I think it would not be very hurtful for this state; for if there should fall a great difference amongst them, as it hath been heretofore; while two dogs were fighting together, a third dog might fall into them, and having the one of them on his side, or at least neutral, might have a great share amongst them.

" This though you may not do as an ambassador; yet you may do it as a private man, that wisheth their welfare, and the good of his own state.

" Lastly, concerning your own business; you may be assured, that although I were not carried with any particular affection, but only with the desire I have the state should be well served, I would deal for you as soon as for any other. But as matters go now here, I will deal in no businesses of importance for some respects; yet I will promise thus much, that, if your name be called in question, as a man fit for any of these places, you may be sure of my best approbation.

Thus, wishing you well, I rest
Your good friend,
HENRY, P."

BIRCH's *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, 1760, p. 303.

All prospect of marrying the elder sister being cut off by the conclusion of her match with Spain, it became necessary that the prince should come to a determination whether he would accept of the second daughter of France. For this purpose, the Viscount Rochester, then in unrivalled favour with James, sent the following Letter to the prince:

" Please your Highness,

" I am, by his majesty's commandment, to send your highness the dispatch from France, as a matter personally concerning yourself; wherein his majesty observes two things: First, That the match with the eldest daughter is utterly desperate; and, next, that this proposition for the second daughter is so strongly apprehended, as they will refuse no conditions that with reason may be demanded, and will accommodate all difficulties and hindrances that may, in any sort, interrupt the issue of a work so much acceptable, and by them passionately taken hold of. Only that incongruity betwixt your highness's age and her's, is one inconveniency which neither side can help. As for the portion, which, according to the example of the elder sister's, is but five hundred thousand crowns, his majesty, notwithstanding, under other pretences, thinks there may be hope, in respect of their earnestness, to increase the sum. In conclusion, his majesty wills, that your highness consider, that the lady cannot be made riper, nor fitter, than her age permits, which is no more than nine years; but, withal, desires to hear your highness's free opinion of what your conceit is of this particular, compared with the others. So, humbly taking my leave, I rest,

At your highness's command,
Royston, Saturday, 9 at night. RO. ROCHESTER.
" Here withal I return your highness a paper delivered me by his majesty."

To this letter the prince returned the following answer, addressed to the king:

" May it please your majesty,

" I have received, by your direction, from my lord of Rochester, Sir Thomas Edmondes's letter unto your ma-

ever hold myself very happy to be commanded by him whom I have most reason of all others, to love, honour, serve, and obey; and who shall ever find me

His most humble, faithful,
And obedient son and servant,
HENRY.

Richmond, this 29th July, 1612.

Superscribed, To the king's
most excellent majesty.

jesty, wherein the fruits of the last conference with Villeroy are set down, touching my marriage with the second daughter of France; and withal a command to give my opinion therein.

" Concerning Villeroy's desire, to have the time of her sending hither delayed until a year longer be expired, in my weak judgment your majesty hath no reason to yield thereunto: First, Because it lies in their hands to make the match go forward, or otherwise, having her in their possession, and by that means being able to draw her consent whither they please; secondly, By the bringing her sooner over, there will be a greater likelihood of converting her to our religion; and, thirdly, your majesty's credit will be the better preserved, when the delivery of both the daughters shall be made at the same time, howsoever the conclusion of the one of their marriages be much later than that of the other. Whatsoever be the time of the delivery of the eldest, yet it is to be wished, that the Christmas come twelvemonth be the farthest period to be determined of her coming hither.

" As for the exercise of her religion, your majesty may be pleased to make your ambassador a peremptory answer, that you will never agree to give her greater liberty in the exercise of it, than that which is agreed upon by the Savoyard, which is, *privatamente;* or (as Sir Henry Wotton did expound it) in her most private and secret chamber.

" And though both these conditions may seem to be somewhat strict, yet if the shew they make of their great desire of it do proceed from a sincere and hearty affection, I make no doubt but they will make no rub of them.

" Betwixt France and Savoy, if your majesty will look to the greatness of the dowry, then it is likely you will make choice of Savoy; because it is not probable, that they will give with the second a greater portion by 200,000 crowns unto your majesty, than they gave with the first daughter unto the king of Spain.

" But if you, laying aside the little piece of disgrace, in being served after another, will respect rather which of these two will give the greatest contentment and satisfaction to the general body of protestants abroad; then I am of opinion, that you will sooner incline to France than to Savoy.

" Now, if your majesty be resolved, that your majesty treat any farther with Villeroy in this business, under your majesty's correction, I hold it best there be made a little stay of the banker Gabaleone's going into Savoy; and withal to make a little delay of the ambassade, which should come from the duke of Savoy for that purpose, until your majesty be resolved which way to go.

" If I have incurred in the same error, as I did last, by the indifference of my opinion, I humbly crave pardon of your majesty, holding it fitter for your majesty to resolve what course is most convenient to be taken by the rulers of state, than for me, who am so little acquainted with subjects of that nature; and besides, your majesty may think, that my part to play, which is to be in love with any of them, is not yet at hand. So, most humbly kissing your majesty's hand, I rest,

Your most humble and
Obedient son and servant,

Richmond, the 5th of Oct. 1612. HENRY."

BIRCH's *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 308, *et seqq.* The thoughts of this alliance with France appear never to have been totally abandoned; but the prince's sickness, and subsequent death, followed soon after.

The Funerals of the High and Mighty Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewaile and Rothsay, Count Palatine of Chester, Earle of Carick, and late Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. Which Noble Prince deceased at St James's the sixt day of November 1612, *and was most princely interred the seventh day of December following, within the Abbey of Westminster, in the eighteenth year of his age.* London, printed by T. S. for John Budgde, 1613.

The body of the said prince being bowelled, embalmed, and closed up in lead, there were foure chambers hung with blackes, viz. the guard chamber, and the presence with blacke cloth, the privy chamber with finer cloth, and that which was his highness's bed-chamber, with black velvet; in the middest whereof was set up a canopy of blacke velvet, valanced and fringed; under which, upon tressels, the coffin, with the body of the prince, was placed; covered with a large pall of blacke velvet, and adorned with scuchions of his armes. Upon the head of which coffin was layde a cushion of blacke velvet, and his highness's cap and coronet set thereon, as also his robes of estate, sword, and rod of gold; and so it remayned (being daily and nightly watched) until two or three dayes before his highness's funeral. In which time, every day, both morning and evening, prayers were said in his presence, or privy-chamber, by his chaplaines, and his gentlemen and chiefe officers attendant thereat.

Thursday, before the funeralls, his princely body was brought forth of his bed-chamber into his privie-chamber.

Friday, it was brought into his presence-chamber, and set under his cloath of estate.

Satterday, the fift of December, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, it was removed into the guard-chamber, where all his chief servants and officers being assembled, and the officers of armes in their coates, the corps was solemnly carried into the chappell of that house, and placed under a canopy in the middest of the quire, the bishop of Lichfield read the service, and the gentlemen of the king's chappell, with the children thereof, sung divers excellent anthems, together with the organs, and other winde instruments, which likewise was performed the day following, being Sunday.

Monday, the 7th of December, (the funerall day) the representation was layd upon the corps, and both together put into an open chariot, and so proceeded as followeth:

Poore men, in gownes, to the number of 140.

About 300
- Gentlemen's servants.
- Esquires servants.
- Knights servants.
- Baronets servants.
- Barons sonnes servants.
- Viscount sonnes servants.
- Earles sonnes servants.

Two drummes and a fife, their drummes covered with black cloth, and scuchions of the prince his armes thereupon.

Portesmouth, Pursuivant of armes.

The great standard of Prince Henry, being a lyon crowned, standing on a Chappeau, borne by Sir John Win, knight and baronet, the motto therein, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria.*

About 306 { Prince Henry his houshold servants, according to their several offices and degrees: with tradesmen and artificers that belonged unto his highnesse.

Trumpets.

The coronet of the prince, being the three feathers in a crownet, with his motto; *Juvat ire per altum;* borne by Sir Roger Dallison, knight and baronet.

About 360 {
- Barons servants.
- Viscounts servants.
- Earles servants; as well English as strangers.
- The Duke of Lenox his servants.
- The Lord Chancellor's servants.
- Count Henry de Nassau his servants.

Trumpets.

A banner of the earledome of Carick, borne by Sir David Fowles.

A horse led by a quirry of the stable; the horse was covered with blacke cloath, and armed with scuchions of that earledom, having his cheiffron and plumes.

About 80 {
- Archbishops servants.
- Prince Palatine his servants.
- Prince Charles his servants.

Blew-mantle Pursuyvant of Armes.

A banner of the earledome of Chester, borne by the Lord Howard of Effingham.

A horse led by a quirry of the stable, covered with blacke cloath, and armed with scuchions of the earledome, his cheiffron and plumes.

About 40 {
- Faulconers and huntsmen.
- Clearkes of the workes.
- Clearkes of the poultry.
- Clearkes of the acatry.
- Clearkes of the larder.
- Clearkes of the spicery.
- Clearkes of the kitchen.
- Clearkes of the coffery.
- Clearkes of the stable.
- Clearkes of the Avery.
- Clearkes of the Wardrobe.
- Master of the Workes.
- Pay-Master.
- And Clearke Comptroller.

About 60 { Serjeants of the Vestry. / Children of the Chappell. / Gentlemen of the Chappell in rich Copes. / Musitians. / Apothecaries and Surgions.
6 Doctors of Physicke.
24 The Princes Chapleyns.

Portcullis Pursuyvant of Armes.

A Banner of the Dukedome of Rothsay, borne by the Lord Bruse, Baron of Kinlosse.
A horse led by a Quirry of the Stable, covered with blacke cloath, armed with scuchions of that dukedome, his cheiffron and plumes.

About 80 { Pages of the Chamber. / Gentlemen, the Princes servants extraordinary. / The Princes Solicitor, and Counsell at Law. / Groome Porter. / Gentlemen Ushers, quarter Waiters. / Grooms of the Privy-Chamber extraordinary. / Groomes of the Privy-Chamber in ordinary. / Groomes of the Bed-Chamber. / Pages of the Bed-Chamber, and the Princes own Page.

Rouge-Dragon Pursuyvant.

A banner of the Dukedome of Cornewall, borne by the Lord Clifford.
A horse led by Mr Henry Alexander, covered with scuchions of that dukedome, his cheiffron and plumes.

About 146 { Count Henrickes gentlemen. / Count Palatines gentlemen. viz. { Monsieur Eltz. / ——— Helmstadt. / ——— Colbe. / ——— Benefer. / ——— Adolshein. / ——— Nenzkin. / ——— Walbron. / ——— Waldgrave. / ——— Factes. / ——— Carden. / ——— Berlinger. / ——— Grorode. / ——— Cawlt. / ——— Stenfels. / ——— Ridzell. / ——— Helinger. / ——— Henbell. / ——— Auckensten. / ——— Gellu. / ——— Wallyne.

viz.
- Monsieur Pellinger.
- ——— Berlipps.
- ——— Shott.
- ——— Weldensten.
- ——— Croilesemere.
- ——— Leuinsten.
- ——— Dathenes.
- ——— Calbe.

Scultetez.
- ——— Rampf.
- ——— Dawnsier.
- ——— Maier.
- ——— Wanebach.

Prince Charles his gentlemen.
Gentlemen of Prince Henries Privy-Chamber extraordinary.
Knights and Gentlemen of his Highnesse Privy-Chamber in ordinary, and of his Bed-Chamber, with Sewers, Carvers, and Cupbearers.
The Prince his Secretary.
The Prince his Thresorer of his Houshold. The Thresorer of his Revenewes, and the Comptroller of his Houshold together, bearing their white staves.

Roug-croix Pursuyvant of Armes.

A banner of the Princes Principalitie of Scotland, with a labell, borne by the Viscount Fenton.

A horse led by Sir Sigismund Alexander, covered with blacke cloath, armed with scuchions of that kingdome, his cheiffron and plumes.

Baronets.
Barons yonger sonnes.

Sir Edward Phillips, Master of the Rolls, being the Prince his Chauncellor, going alone.

Knights Privy-Councellors to the King, viz.
Sir John Herbart, Secretary.
Sir Julius Cesar, Chauncellor of the Exchequer.
Sir Thomas Parry, Chauncellor of the Duchie of Lancaster,

Barons eldest sonnes.

Three Trumpets.

Lancaster Herauld.

A banner of England, France, and Ireland, quartered with Wales, borne by the Viscount Lisle.

A horse led by Sir William Webb, Kt. covered with blacke cloath, his cheiffron and plumes.

Earles yonger sonnes.
Viscounts eldest sonnes.

Barons of Scotland.

Barons of England, viz.

Lord Kneuit.	—— Lord Candish.
Lord Arundell of Wardor.	—— Lord Carewe.
Lord Stanhop.	—— Lord Denny.
Lord Spencer.	—— Lord Garrard.
Lord Danvers.	—— Lord Harington.
Lord Peters.	—— Lord Russell.
Lord Wotton.	—— Lord Knowles.
Lord Norris.	—— Lord Compton.
Lord Hunsden.	—— Lord Chandos.
Lord Northe.	—— Lord Darcy of Chich.
Lord Sheffeild.	—— Lord Rich.
Lord Wharton.	—— Lord Evers.
Lord Wentworth.	—— Lord Windesor.
Lord Mounteagle.	—— Lord Dudley.
Lord Stafford.	—— Lord Dacres.
Lord Morley.	—— Lord Laware.

Bishops 5 { The Bishop of Rochester. / The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. / The Bishop of Ely. / The Bishop of Oxford. / The Bishop of London. }

The Earl of Exeter.

The Prince his Chamberlayne, Sir Thomas Chaloner, alone, bearing his white staffe.
The Lord Chancellor and Count Henricke.
The Archbishop of Canterbury: Preacher.
The great embrodered banner of the Union, borne by the Earles of Montgomery and Argyle.
A horse led, called Le Cheual de deul, covered with blacke velvet, and led by a chiefe quirry, Monsieur Saint Antoin.

The Prince his Hatchments of Honour, carried by Officers of Armes, viz.

The Spurres, by Windsor.	The Targe, by Yorke.
The Gauntlets, by Somerset.	The Sword, by Norroy, King of Armes.
The Helme and Creste, by Richmond.	The Coat, by Clarencieux, King of Armes.

Three Gentlemen Ushers to the Prince, bearing their wands.

The Corps of the Prince, lying in an open Chariot, with the Princes representation thereon, invested with his robes of estate of purple velvet, furred with ermines, his Highnesse Cap and Coronet on his head, and his Rod of Gold in his hand, and at his feet, within the said chariot, sat Sir David Murrey, the Master of the Wardrobe.

The chariot was covered with blacke velvet, set with plumes of blacke feathers, and drawn by sixe horses covered, and armed with scuchions, having their cheiffrons and plumes.

A Canopy of blacke velvet borne over the representation by sixe Baronets.

Ten Bannerols, borne about the body by ten Baronets, viz.

Sir Moyle Finch.	Sir Anthony Cope.
Sir Thomas Mounson.	Sir George Gresley.
Sir John Wentworth.	Sir Robert Cotton.
Sir Henry Savile.	Sir Lewis Tresham.
Sir Thomas Brewdnell.	Sir Phillip Tiruit.

Four assistants to the Corps, that bore up the corners of the pall, viz.

1. The Lord Zouch.	3. The Lord Burghley.
2. The Lord Abergaveny.	4. The Lord Walden.

William Seger, Garter, Principall King of Armes, between the Gentleman-Usher of Prince Charles, and the Gentleman-Usher of the Prince Palatine.

Prince Charles chiefe Mourner, supported by the Lord Privy-Seale, and the Duke of Lenox.

His Highnesse train was borne by the Lord Dawbney, brother to the Duke of Lenox.

Then followed the Prince Elector, Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhein.

His Highnesse train was borne by Monsieur Shamburgh.

Twelve Earles assistants to the chiefe Mourner, viz.

Earle of Nottingham.	Earle of Suffolke.
Earle of Shrewsbury.	Earle of Worcester.
Earle of Rutland.	Earle of Sussex.
Earle of Southampton.	Earle of Pembroke.
Earle of Hartford.	Earle of Essex.
Earle of Dorset.	Earle of Salisburie.

Earles strangers, attendants on Count Palatine.

Count Wigenstein.	Count Nassaw Scarburg.
Count Lewis de Nassau.	Count Le Hanow, junior.
Count Levingsten.	Count Isinbersh, }
Count Hodenlo.	Count Solmes, } Pages.
Count Ringrave.	Count Zerottin, }
Count Erback.	

The horse of estate, led by Sir Robert Dowglass, Maister of the Princes Horse.

The Palzgreaves Privy-Counsellors, viz.

The Count of Solmes.	Mounsieur Helmestedt.
Mounsieur Shouburgh.	Mounsieur Shouburgh, junior.
Mounsieur de Pleshau.	Mounsieur Landshat.

Officers and Groomes of Prince Henries stable.

The Guard.

The Knight Marshall, and twenty servants that kept order in the proceeding.

Divers Knights and Gentlemen, the Kings servants that came in voluntary in blacke. So that the whole number amounted to two thousand, or thereabout.

A Discourse of the most Illustrious Prince Henry, late Prince of Wales. Written, Anno 1626, *by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Kt., sometimes Treasurer of his Highnesse House. London, printed for John Benson,* 1641.

To the High and Mightie Charles, Prince of Great Britain, &c.

Most gracious Prince,

Besides my particular zeale, there is a natural interest in this ensuing discourse to your highnesse, as being the hopefull heyre of this kingdome of Great Britaine, and the true inheritour of your noble uncles vertues (prince Henry) as of his fortunes. The eyes of all men are upon you, in full view of those sweet graces of nature, and ingenuous disposition to goodnesse which all admire. If you shall be pleased to adde these examples and precepts to those of your royall father, taking them hand in hand, they will lead you in your tender yeares, in the faire continuance of honour and vertue; and then his majesty, your royall father, may for many yeares (for which we hope and pray), be a living mirrour unto you of piety, wisdome, and justice, and all other regall indowments fit for so great a dignity, to which you are born.

Glad I am that it was my chance to meet with this part of treasure truly gathered by that worthy knight, deceased treasurer to your highness's uncle; and great cause I have to rejoyce, that by this (through your gracious acceptance) I have the opportunity, humbly to tender, with this my prayers at your Highnesse feet, for your long and happy prosperity.

So prayes your highnesse most humbly devoted,

J. B.

In this most illustrious prince, may most cleerly be discerned, that God's judgements are onely knowne to himselfe, and his thoughts and determinations unsearchable: For having so framed and fashioned him, as his most rare parts in youth gave so many presages of his becomming to his divine majesty, (from whom he received them) an honour and glory, to the world a wonder, and to the people of these kingdomes an exceeding happinesse; yet what he pleased in the spring of his yeares, and of the hope had of him, to take him to himself, and to deprive the world of him, neither could of his short life (so farre as the eyes of man could discerne) the reasons grow either out of neglect, or want of performance of duties to God, or of obedience to his parents, the observance of which commandment onely hath the enlarging of time upon this earth annexed unto it: for in the first it cannot be denyed but he was exceedingly observant, never failing to sacrifice unto God the first of his actions, to continue in them with all demonstration of reverence, without any diversion or distraction; to cherish such as in whom he found ability to teach, and piety to expresse in life the fruits of their doctrine, to resolve so far to become immutable in the religion he professed, as long before his end, with solemne protestations, he vowed, that he would never joine in marriage

with a wife of a different faith,[1] and had besides a determination (if longer he had lived) to have made choice of a chapeleine of his owne, a man in yeares, grave in divinity, rarely learned, and of great discretion, experience and wisdome, by whose advance in all matters spirituall and tending to the rectifying of his soule, he intended to have received a continual direction.

Of the second, to speake not by hearesay, but of mine own knowledge, howsoever some moaths and mice of court in that time, (not enemies to him in particular, but maligners of true vertue, and only friends to their own ambitions and desires,) to possesse the eares and opinions of princes, had in that particular traduced him: So true and sincere he was both in profession, and execution of all duties and obedience, and bare so naturall and filiall a reverence and respect to the king his father,as although sometimes out of his owne inclination, or the incitation and encouragement of others, he repaired to the court and moved the king in some things, either concerning the commonwealth, his own particular interest, or that of others; yet with the least word, countenance, or signe given him of his majesties disallowance, he would instantly desist from further pursuite of it, and returne either with satisfactione in regard that he understood it to be disagreeing with his majesties pleasure, or with such a resolved patience, as he neither in word nor worke gave so much as any semblance of being displeased or discontented: Nay, which is more, so truly was he affected to the pleasing and satisfying of the king his father in all things, as some good time before his death, he made unto my selfe a solemn protestation, that to the end he might not in any thing be either displeasing or give the least distaste unto his majesty, he would from thenceforth utterly remove his thoughts from all affaires whatsoever, that should not particularly concerne himselfe, his owne estate, or the government of his houshold.

In this discourse of that memorable prince, I will forbear to speake of his infancy or youngest yeares, although I have heard by such as did then attend him, the same did most presage his ensuing vertues. My purpose and desire is to deliver nothing but verities knowne to my selfe, not things received by tradition from others.

In the first spring of his yeare of understanding, the king his father committed unto him the disposing of the lands and revenues assigned to him, and the government of his houshold; for the administration whereof, his majesty appointed unto him certaine especiall officers; in the number of whom my selfe (being not long before returned out of Spaine, where I served the king divers yeares as his ambassadour) was constituted treasurer of his house.

The place gave me occasion continually to attend him, and the especiall favour that I after found with him, not onely meanes to observe his actions, but to become particularly acquainted with the most of his thoughts.

My first step into his favour and especiall trust, grew out of that which with some other princes would have caste me downe either into perpetuall disgrace, or at least into a temporary distaste and dislike, hardly recoverable: I so much admired his judicious parts in so unripe an age, and discerned in him so great a will to know, and so noble and rare a disposition to give eare to advertisements, as out of the duty of my place, and extraordinary affection to himselfe, taking hold of some fit occasion and opportunity, I adventured to make proofe whether he would endure advise or advertisement reprehensive.

Young princes left to their owne wills, and great men that are set upon the highest stage of worldly greatnesse, and lulled in the lap of fortune, doe rarely endure a reproving voice, especially from those of a lower forme.

I took the occasion from a then general supposall, or at least suspition of a little too

[1] Yet in his letter to his father, p. 210. wherein he discusses the French match, we find no scruple started on the score of religion.

much streightnesse in his hand in rewarding, and of some errors in his actions, but did so tenderly tread upon those grounds, and with so retiring a foote, as occasioned a discovery from himselfe of desire to receive and have a full sight of them, before I pulled off the maske wherewith I had covered them.

In conclusion, I delivered them in substance plainly, but in words soft and respective, (as to such a prince became me) kings and princes being to be treated with, with words of silke not of iron.

To the first, he gave answers satisfactorily.

To the other, exclusively.

But what were the fruits succeeding to his ever enduring honour, truth enforceth me to publish, that I ever after, in mine own particular, found my selfe exceedingly engreated in his favour, and that those few things that were erred became reformed.

To this so rare a disposition, which being by a prince entertained, cannot but make him both scient of the offices appertaining to his high estate, and in time also, as good as great, which in one born to governe, of all things is the most desireable, is to be added another vertue in one of regall power, as valuable, and not much lesse necessary: So very close he was and faithfull a keeper of whatsoever secret was disclosed unto him, as it was never knowne to any, that ever he discovered any one word in that kinde delivered unto him.

Apt he was to heare and desirous to receive advertisements and advises, by any in whom he descerned knowledge gained by learning, or abilities wonne out of time, and experience to give them: Neither did he take them *in transitu*, as in the Old Testament they celebrated the passover, nor as a man receiveth his cloake to put about him, not within him; but gave both time to the deliverers to relate them, and leasure to himselfe to consider and digest them.

Counsells are to be chewed, not swallowed; he would therefore unrip every seame of them by interrogations used by himself, and receive resolutions by those that offered them, untill by mature debate and consultation, (which are the true foiles that give cleernesse and assurednesse to counsells) he had both perfected and made them solid and fit for his use whensoever occasion should be offered.

In the government of his houshold in yeares so very young, he gave examples imitable to all other princes.

His family was ample, as that which consisted of few lesse than five hundred, many of them young gentlemen, born to great fortunes, in the prime of their years, when their passions and appetites were most strong, and their powers and experiences to temper and subject them to reason most weake, his judgement, his grave and princely aspect, gave temper to them all; his very eye served for a commandment, and more and better service have I noted to be done by the very lookes of him, then by sharp reprehensions of some other princes: If any questions or quarrells were moved amongst his servants, he would give a stoppe and stay to them, at the very beginning, by referring them to some such of his principall officers, as he thought to be most scient in matters of that nature, and best did know to give just compensation to the injured, and reproofe to them that should be found to have offered the wrong; so as in so numerous a family there was not so much as any blows given, or any countenance of quarrell or debate betweene any.[1]

Plenty and magnificence were the things that in his house he especially affected, but not without such a temper, as might agree with the rules of frugality and moderation; caused to be set down in writing unto him the several heads of all his annual charges, the ordinary expence of his house and his stables, the charge of his apparell and ward-

[1] The orders established for keeping peace and order in so large a household, are printed in the Appendix to Birch's Life of Prince Henry.

robe, his rewards, and all such other thinges, as yearly were to be issued out of his coffers, and comparing them with his annuall revenue, did so judiciously fashion and proportion them, by shortning what he found superfluous, and encreasing what was wanting and too short in any of them, as he reduced them to a certainty, and such as his revenues would well defray, besides a yearly spare of some thousands of pounds, which he reserved for a store of treasure to be ready for all events and occasionsaccidentall.

By giving of which so good and solid foundation and order unto his state, he delivered himself from all necessity of becoming rigid or strait to his tenants, either by any unmeasurable improving their farmes or their fines, or seeking or taking advantage of any of their forfeitures, and became also unnecessitated to take the benefit that both law and right afforded unto him, of such as had in time of former princes purchased lands appertaining to his Dutchy of Cornwall, which could not by law be alienated from the same, to whom out of his princely bounty and gracious compassion, upon resuming of them, he gave some reasonable satisfaction.

The banquets and feasts that any time he made, his desire was, should be magnificent and agreeing with his princely dignity, yet not without an especiall eye and care had that nothing should be spent in disorder, or the charge made greater through the want of providence, or well managing by his officers; in those he ever affected the demonstration of a princely greatnesse, and that all things should passe with decency and decorum, and without all rudenesse, noise, or disorder.

In any thing either committed or permitted unto him by the king his father, concerning the state and defence of the kingdome, exceeding willing, sedulous, and carefull, he ever shewed himselfe, to perform all offices and duties understandingly, and with much circumspection.

He was once sent by his Majesty to take view of the navy at Chatham, [1] whither my selfe waited upon him, and observed how great his desire was not onely to see with his owne eyes every particular ship, but to inable himselfe, by conference and consultation with the best experienced of his Majesties officers of the navy, in the fashion and fabricature of the ships, to understand their strengths and the form of their sailing, to take knowledge of such as were then perfitted and fitted for present service, and which defective, and in what several parts, to the end there might instantly be order given for the repairing them; he also very particularly informed himselfe of their severall equipages and furniture, went in person to take an exact view of them and of his Majesties store for that purpose, and would not be satisfied without understanding the speciall uses of every of those things, and of all other that tended to make them serviceable and usefull; what further in yeares more ripe was in navall affaires, wherein consisted the principall strength, honour and advantage of this kingdome, to be expected of him, may easily be discerned by his will, his diligence, his understanding and princely courage, shewed upon occasion of discourse, delivered unto him by a servant of his own, concerning a navall warre with Spain, whensoever that king shall give cause of a publicke hostility. [2]

To publish particulars agrees not with the rules of state; but two especiall thinges being propounded, which were the preparation of a navy, consisting of a certaine number of ships to be sent into the West Indies, and another to attend the coasts of Spaine to prohibit all entry or issue of ships either into or out of the same.

Admirable it was in one of yeares so young, to heare what interrogations he used of

[1] His Highnesse, during his abode in that place, lay at Mr Legat's house, then clarke of the Chequer.

[2] Prince Henry's particular attention to this great branch of national defence, is one of the circumstances which go far to justify the eulogium of his contemporaries. Pet, an excellent shipbuilder, was his sworn servant, and used both to make him models and build vessels under his inspection. The King presented his son with a large vessel, with which he was so delighted, that he remained on the poop to see it launched, notwithstanding a storm of thunder, and named it the Royal Prince.

every particularity of that designe, of the feisiblenesse and of the difficulties of every branch of it, how he insisted upon every doubt, untill by the best experienced and practised both in sea services and in navigation, with reasons and demonstrations he became fully satisfied, and that done, how narrowly and neerly he searched into every knot, both of the honour and utility, and of the danger and charge that an attempt of that nature would draw with it, and ceased not untill he understood every particular of the same, and especially the yeerly charge which that whole expedition would amount unto; which having found so very reasonable, and the hopes so great, and all doubts so well resolved, to shewe the valour of his owne heart, he openly protested to such as were present, that should the King his father be pleased upon any future occasion to breake with Spaine, himselfe (if so it should agree with his Majesties pleasure) would in person become the executor of that noble attempt for the West-Indies.

In persons private it may suffice to be religious, honest, and just within themselves.

To princes and men constituted in high places, it behoveth to be also givers of good example to others.

Inferiours and subjects cast their eyes more upon what princes doe, then upon what they command; their examples with them are of more force then any law of letters.

This became to this prince so great a motive, as he thought not fit to lose any houres of the life that upon this earth were appointed unto him, but so to bestow them, as they might not onely become profitable to himselfe, but imitable and exemplary to others.

He so distributed the day by dividing his houres into the service of God, to the apting himselfe to the office he was born unto, both in government civill and military, and to necessary exercises and recreations, as no part of it could be said to be in vaine bestowed; to inable his knowledge in government civill, he read histories, the knowledge of things passed conduced much to resolution in things present, and to prevention of those to come.

In the military, he added thereunto the mathematicks, study of cosmography, and had one that instructed him in the matter and forme of fortifications.

For practice, he used in a manner daily to ride and manage great horses, with which he had his stables most excellently furnished, oftimes to runne at the ring, and sometimes at tilt, both which he so well and dexterously performed, and with so great a comlinesse, as in those his first years, he became second to no prince in Christendome, and to many that practised with him much superiour.

His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and in times of yeare fit for it learning to swimme, at sometimes walking fast and farre, to accustome and enable himselfe to make a long march when time should require it; but most of all at tennis play, wherein, to speake the truth, which in all things I especially affect, he neither observed moderation, nor what appertained to his dignity and person, continuing oftimes his play for the space of three or foure houres, and the same in his shirt, rather becomming an artisan than a prince, who in things of that nature are onely to affect comelinesse, or rather a kinde of carelessnesse in shew, to make their activities seeme the more naturall, then a laborious and toiling industry.

Of this and of his diet, wherein he shewed too much inclination to excessive eating of fruits, he was as in all other things content to heare advice, but in these two particulars not to follow it.

To other play or gaming, he shewed himself not much inclined, yet would sometimes play at chesse, at biliors, and at cards, but so very nobly and like himselfe, as plainly shewed his use of it to be only for recreation, not for appetite of gaine; for whether he wonne or lost, his countenance was ever the same, and for the most part greater appearance of mirth in him when he was in losse, then when he wonne; thereby plainly demonstrating both his judgement in adventuring no more than what he made no re-

gard of if he lost it; and his princely magnanimity and temper in suffering no passion or alteration to take hold of him through any crossenesse of cards or chance.

In some young gentlemen whom he affected, he seemed to mislike too much disposition to play, and did not onely disadvise them from it, but gave unto some of them matter of value to become bound to leave the use of it; for pleasures he tooke them all as it were in passage, without semblance either to desire them, or at least to have a will to dwell in them.

The pleasure of the flesh, especially which is most incident to young yeares, and by princes rarely avoidable, whose fancies and affections are commonly as vehement as their persons and powers are great; and therefore most like to fall themselves, and give occasion of falling to others, although some in those times there were, that taking measure of him by the yard-wand of their owne unbridled appetites, were pleased otherwise to conceive and report of him, yet my selfe having beene present at great feasts made in his house, whereunto he invited the most beautifull and specious ladies of the court and city, could neither then discover by his behaviour, his eyes, or his countenance, any shew of singular or especiall fancy to any, or at any other time such loosenesse either in words or action, as whereupon in justice or reason to ground any such opinion of him.[1]

But rather thus with truth and assuredness to determine, that were he not himself chaste in his inward thoughts, yet did he with so incomparable judgement and temper cover them, as to just and judicious eyes they gave no true occasion to suspect him.

It is true, that to take a wife though he shewed no vehement desire, yet he demonstrated a good inclination.

Marriages were propounded and offered for him in Spaine, in the time that my selfe there served, who had from the king his father commission to treat it, but finding that the overture there, grew rather out of a desire to winne time to advance their owne designes, then with true intention to performe it, in regard of the difference of religion, I for my part gave end to that negotiation in a manner so soon as I began it.

After my returne from thence and entry into his highnesse service, like motions were made both by Florence and Savoy; but those not conforming with what in alliances with princes of his greatnesse, either in encrease or equality of honour or utility, or for strength and surety of estate was especially to be regarded.

That of Spaine was upon a new overture, made by the ambassadour of the king there, againe entertained and committed by his majesty here, to be treated of by his ambassadour, who in that court succeeded me.

But after some protractions used there, it was upon the first opening, found to have come too late, that princesse for whom the treaty was intended, being the eldest daughter of that king, and the onely who in years was fit for him, being formerly promised to the French king that now is.

Lastly, there grew a proposition for a daughter of France, wherein his highnesse having, as in duty it became him, submitted and reserved himselfe to the king his father, the same was not proceeded in, to any effect.

In this noble prince was to be observed a singular integrity and cleernesse of thoughts; he had a true kingly disposition, and so farre from being induced to piece up the skinne of the lion, with that of the fox, as above all things he hated flattery and dissimulation.

[1] In Sir Edward Peyton's scandalous Chronicle of the House of Stuart, he pretends, that Queen Anne of Denmark, thinking Prince Henry too serious, did herself, by way of remedy, shut him up, under lock and key, in a chamber with a beautiful young lady of the court. And it is said, that he was an admirer of the fair, but infamous Countess of Essex, and a rival of Rochester, who afterwards married her.

A nobleman in those times, in the highest favour with the king his father,[1] wrote unto him by the especiall commandment of his majesty, a letter, wherein he recommended unto him a matter of very great consequence to be instantly answered unto, and in his subscription used these words,

Yours before all the world.

This answer his highnesse committed unto me, who having written it, did also set down some words of favour to the nobleman to precede his highnesse signature; the letter itselfe he read, and having considered it, allowed it wholly without alteration.

Onely in regard of the words of subscription, notwithstanding the great haste that he made of the dispatch, he commanded me, it should be new written, and those left out; and notwithstanding all the reasons that I used to the contrary, would by no meanes be perswaded to suffer it so to passe, saying, that he to whom he wrote had untruly and unfaithfully dealt with him, and that his hand should never affirme that his heart thought not.

This prince, as he was no coverer of his thoughts where he had just cause of dislike, so would he also to those he trusted, be acknowne of his love to such as he affected.

Of the titular nobility of this kingdome upon occasion offered, he would expresse himself best to love and esteeme such as were most anciently descended, and most nobly and honestly disposed, whom sometimes also he would not forbear by name to particulate.

His highnesse brother, our now soveraigne then Duke of Yorke, and his sister, since that time Queen of Bohemia, he entirely loved; yet must I confess that sometimes by a kinde of rough play and dalliance with the one, and a semblance of contradicting the other, in what he discerned her to desire, he tooke a pleasure in giving both to the one and to the other, some cause in those their so tender yeares to make proofe of their patiences.[2]

To say the truth, such were both these excellent princes, their owne rare parts and most sweet dispositions, as had there beene none other attractive of bloud or nature, would to them have enforced his love and best affection.

He gave also in the administration and government of his own particular estate, much presage of what he would have become if he had lived to possesse the diademe.

At such time as he attended the king his father to houses of remove, or in progresse, he would not endure that carriages or provisions should be taken for him without full contentment given to the parties.

In removes to his owne houses in like manner. [3]

[1] Probably Car, Earl of Rochester, and afterwards of Somerset. Prince Henry had a quarrel with this minion, which is said to have originated in a rivalship for the good graces of the Countess of Essex, whom Somerset afterwards married. But, however it arose, the presumption of the favourite soon brought it to such a height, that the prince either struck, or menaced to strike him with a tennis racket.

[2] Osborne alleges, that he loved his sister better than his brother Charles, whom he used sometimes to taunt until he wept, telling him he should be a bishop, that his long dress might hide his legs. *Traditional Memoirs*, section 45. Charles's legs were in his childhood disposed to be crooked through weakness; and the influence of Lady Monmouth, who was his governess, was necessary to prevent James from attempting the violent remedy of curing these rickets by putting the child's legs into iron boots.—CAREY'S *Memoirs*.

[3] The evils of purveyance were then loudly complained of. On which subject, Osborne tells the following story of Queen Elizabeth:—"A purveyor having abused the county of Kent, upon her remove to Greenwich (whether she often resorted, being as I have heard the first air she breathed; and therefore most likely to agree with her,) a countryman watching the time she went to walk, which was commonly early, and being wise enough to take his time when she stood unbent and quiet from the ordinary occasions she was taken up with, placing himself within the reach of her ear, did after the fashion of his coat, cry aloud, 'which is the queen?' whereupon, as her manner was, she turned about towards him, and he continuing still his question, she herself answered, 'I am your queen, what would'st thou have with me?' 'You,' replied the fellow, 'are one of the rarest women I ever saw, and can eat no more than my daughter Madge, who is thought the properest lass in our parish.

Nay, so carefull he was that none by him, or any of his traine, should be either prejudiced or annoyed; as whensoever he went a hawking, before harvest ended, he would take care that none should passe through the corne; and to give them example, would himselfe ride rather a furlong about; truly and judiciously conceiving, that to princes there is no surer fortresse than that of hearts, and that those once had and settled, the rest of what they possesse is at their commandment.

Of his disposition to justice, he gave also upon all occasions much proofe and demonstration.

He would never either condemn or censure any man unheard or undefended, retaining in his memory that notable example given to princes by God himselfe, whose divine knowledge both of workes and thoughts needed no informers; yet after Adam's fall, would neither censure him nor his Eve without hearing what either of them could say in their own defence.

This I could demonstrate by divers particulars, as also of his being misericordious after offence acknowledged, should not a long discourse seem unproportionable to so short a life.

It is true, that he was of an high minde, and knew well how to keep his distance, which indeed he did to all, neither admitting a neere or full approach either to his power or his secrets.

He oftimes protested, that neither fantasie nor flattery should move him to conferre upon any a superlative place in his favour, but would to the uttermost of his understanding, measure unto all according to the merit of their services, as holding it not just to yeeld unto affections, or rather second respects, that which is onely due to vertue and deservings.

That remunerative he was of services, and considerative of those that deserved and needed.

A most memorable and imitable example he gave before his death, having to divers of his servants, who longest had served, and in whom he noted want, given by severall patents sent unto them, pensions during life, to the value of eleven or twelve hundred pounds by yeare, and that without all mediation and intreaty by others, and at a time when themselves did least expect it.

To conclude of this prince, did he not all thinges well? The fault is rather to be imputed to those that in yeares so unripe, by their advice should have assisted him and lined out his wayes, than to any want of will or religious and princely disposition in himselfe.

He was of a comely personage, of indifferent stature, well and streight limmed, and strongly proportioned, his countenance and aspect inclining in those his young years to gravity and shew of majesty.

His judgement so farre beyond what his age could promise, as it was truly admirable.

His speech slow and somewhat impedimented,[1] rather as I conceive, by custome and

though short of you; but that Queen Elizabeth I look for devours so many of my hens, ducks, and capons, as I am not able to live.' The queen, no less auspicious to all sutes made through the mediation of her comely shape, of which she held a high esteem, after her looking glasses (long laid by before her death) might have confuted her in any good opinion of her face, then malignant to all oppression above her own, inquired who was purveyor, and, as the story went, suffered him to be hanged; after a speciall order for his trial, according to a statute formerly made to prevent abuses in this kind." OSBORNE's *Historical Memoirs*, *apud* Works, 1689, p. 373.

[1] This defect might, be in some degree hereditary. King James his father's tongue was too large for his mouth, which, according to a very lively account of his person and character, made him "drink very uncomely." DALZELLS's *Fragments*, p. 84. And his brother King Charles always stammered, excepting when he delivered his speech on his pretended trial.

a long imitation of some that did first instruct him, then by any defect in nature, as appeared by much amendment of the same.

After that he had been advised to a more often exercise of it, by using at home amongst his own servants, first short discourses, and after longer, as he should finde himselfe inabled.

Yet would he oftimes say of himselfe, that he had the most unserviceable tongue of any man living.

Towards the latter part of his time, so well became forraine princes by their ambassadours informed of his rare parts, as the advers to this kingdome beganne to feare and redoubt him, and the well affected and confederated to love and entertaine great hopes of him.

But God seeing it good to bestow another crowne upon him, excelling all that on earth was to be had or hoped.

After some five dayes sicknesse, endured with patience, and as often recognition of his faith, his hopes, and his appeales to God's mercy, as his infirmity which afflicted him altogether in his head would possibly permit.

He yeelded up the ghost at St James next Westminster, and was interred at Westminster, where his body resteth.

I wish it were in my power to raise such a monument unto his fame, as might eternise it unto all posterities.

The Life and Death of our late most incomparable and Heroique Prince Henry, Prince of Wales. A Prince (for Valour and Virtue) fit to be imitated in succeeding Times. 1641.

Written by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knight, Treasurer of his Highnesse's Household.

In a Letter to a Friend.

To the high and mighty Prince Charles, prince of Wales, &c.

SIR,

" Finding this manuscript, amongst others, I could not passe by it, as I did the rest; the subject thereof being so rare a prince, as it may seeme worthy your highnesse's perusall; in reading him, you may read your selfe; his titles of honour were the same with yours; your titles of vertues the same with his; he was, as you are, the mirrour of the age; which, that you may still continue, shall ever be the prayer of

Your highnesse's most humble servant,

N. B."

SIR,

YOUR imposed taske, when with the eyes of my mind I considered, I found such a multitude of letts and rubs herein, that it seemed unto me a thing impossible to dare to looke after, much more to adventure to write any thing touching the life and death of our late most noble and ever renowned prince, whose high soaring thoughts, because

the world was not able to containe, the heaven of heavens vouchsafed to entertaine; for both his farre every where renowned fame thorowout this isle, and the whole world being too great, that who should adventure to say any more, should but in vaine adde water to the sea: as also the numbers of others neerer unto him, of most assured knowledge and better judgement, all which knew him a great deale better than I, being able to give the world and you more full and absolute satisfaction; together with the multitude and divers sorts of religious, wise, grave, judicious, learned, criticke, and curious censurers; all who, if it should happen but once to peepe into the world, for the welbeloved subject therof, would gredily entertane and welcome the same, with their divers humours and piercing judgements. These and many more, with the conscience of my unworthiness and insufficiencie to performe so high a task (which rather would become some Homer, Virgil, Demosthenes, Cicero, or rather some one in whom all their excellencies are combined, to performe aright) like mountaines appeared at first in my way; yet because (as one sayeth) *in magnis voluisse sat est,* rather than it should not be done at all, and with the loss the remembrance also perish, how and in what manner we lost so brave a prince; sometime the expectation of the world, and that it might for ever be knowne unto it, and you both, how exceeding great this last duty is, which I owe to the dead, as also how absolutely you may command him, whom your love long since hath strictly bound to be perpetually yours, in place of a better, I have adventured, upon these ensuing conditions, to launch out my fraile barke into that great ocean of sorrow, even from the cradle to the grave, whence, storm-beaten as you see, I have with much adoe recovered my desired haven. First, that whatsoever distaste you finde therein of any thing, you would not impute it to any presumption of mine, but rather to my frailty and ignorance, which (rather than to offend you) I have herein bewrayed: next, that whatsoever is here written of his late highnesse, not content herewith, you would only use the same as a ladder to mount up your thoughts to a far more excellent meditation of his vertues. Further also, that you would not be too busie upon this report to censure any of your phisitians, or any other; all whom, I protest, I have endeavoured to please, without partiality, so farre, as in my judgement, the truth would suffer me, rather imputing the blame unto my relation, than any of their actions. As also, that with your accustomed patience, you would delay to censure me for this letter, untill with mature judgement you have throughly perused the same, considering how much more easie it is to censure others than to doe well our selves. Again, that since the way by which I must passe, is through a long, darke, silent, solitary, untrodden path, leading even to the chambers of death, fraught altogether with sorrow, ending in teares, wherein I cannot chuse (but by the excesse thereof) many times fall, stumble, and misse of my way, you would with your gentle excuses reach out your hand of love to helpe me up againe, rather expecting what is entended than done. Lastly, that you, with my other discreet reader, who hereafter shall see the same, would onely use it as a hunter's baite, to stay your stomachs a little, until some others of better knowledge and sounder judgement doe feed you with a better dinner.

Know then that the king's majestie and the queene, lying at the castle of Striveling (a place famous for antiquitie, faire for building, pleasant for situation) on Tuesday the 19. of February, 1594, about three o'clocke in the morning, his highnesse was born, to the great joy of all the whole isle, and all forraigne true-hearted princes and people, his majestie's well-willers and confederates; but chiefly the phœnix of her age, great matchlesse Elizabeth, to shew the exceeding love to his majestie, did not onely send the right honourable the earl of Sussex with rich presents to the christning, but also by him, and for her, did give unto his highnesse the name of Henry, most renowned and victorious; after which, by special appointment from his majestie, he was resigned to the custody and keeping of the earle of Marre, assisted also by the continuall and vigilant care of

the venerable and noble matron his mother,[1] unto whom the chief charge of his highnesse's person by his majestie was given: she also, for many yeares before, being his own great happy nurse, with whom he no lesse prospered in all things, than his royall father before him did in the selfe same place and keeping. Thus continued the strength of his father, and the glory of his mother, a great while in the hands of women, giving in this his tender age, by his wonderfull courage, infallible tokens of a noble and heroick spirit, no musick being so pleasant in his eares as the sounding of the trumpet, the beating of the drumme, the roaring of the cannon, no sight so acceptable as that of pieces, pistols, or any sort of armour; all which evidently shew, that (if he had lived) Mars himselfe would not one day have dared to looke him in the face.

Thus he remained untill the 5. or 6. yeares of his age; at which time his majestie thought it expedient he should no longer want a tutor. Whereupon master Newton (afterwards his secretary) was by his majesty thought fittest for the said place, who presently, with all care possible, did begin to teach his highnesse the grounds of learning, with the introductions leading to the same.

A little after, the women being put from about his highnesse, divers of good sort were appointed to attend upon his person; amongst whom, as chiefe, was the right honourable the earle of Marre, together with Sir David Murray, knight, first and onely gentleman of his highnesse's bed-chamber, to lye therein (continuing so alwaies untill his death) assisted also by sundry lords, barons, knights, and gentlemen: at which time, in the 7. 8. and 9. yeares of his age, leaving those childish and idle toyes, usuall to all of his yeares, he began to delight in more active and manly exercises, learning to ride, sing, dance, leape, shoot at archery, and in peeces, to tosse his pike, &c.[2] Whereof all these things, in young yeares, to the admiration of all, chiefly strangers, he did wonderfully performe; and that with such a grace, as it seemed incredible to forraigne nations, save that those of their owne, who were spectators of the same, did assure them thereof.

Now beganne those sparks of piety, majesty, gravity, &c. which before were true, though small, to flash out bigger every day, using a milde and gentle behaviour towards all, chiefly to strangers, before whom he used (if they were of good sorts and nobles) to shew these exercises, wherein he excelled all those of his age, thereby filling their hearts with love, and all their senses with delight, departing exceeding well pleased that they had seene prince Henry.

Mean while swift winged Time, the mother of change (whilst we expected no such alteration) joyning with the eternall decree, which pittying that Elizabeth, now overcloyed with earthly joyes, should any longer be detained in this vale of misery, did send the blessed angels to change her corruptible for an incorruptible crowne. The newes whereof (in a shorter time than ever was posted so great a journey) was brought unto his majestie by the honourable Sir Ro. Carey, knight, who, out of the abundance of his love, preventing all others, was the first newes-bringer, not onely of so lamentable a death, but also of the sudden ensuing joy, of his majestie's right, lawfull, lineall, proclaimed succession; who shortly after was seconded by the honourable gentlemen, Sir

[1] The princes were left with the earl of Mar's mother, under the positive injunction, that they should not be surrendered even to the custody of their mother queen, an insult which she bitterly resented. The countess dowager of Mar was the lady Annabella Murray, daughter of lord Tullibardine. She had been gouvernante to James himself, and was in that office when the celebrated scene took place between her and George Buchanan, his teacher. The king having been guilty of some petulant contumacy, the teacher had recourse to the usual remedy, and was exercising the birch pretty briskly, when lady Mar rushed into the room, snatched it from his hand, and demanded how he dared to strike the Lord's anointed?—"Madam," answered the pedagogue with stoical composure, "I have whipped his breech—you may kiss it if you please."

[2] This hopeful young prince delighted so much in martial exercises, that when the French ambassador came to take leave of him, and asked him his commands to his master, "Tell him," said Henry, who was engaged in tossing a pike, "how you left me employed." Upon another occasion, when a courtier was extolling his father's favourite amusement of hunting, "I can conceive a better," replied the prince, "to hunt thieves and rebels with brave men and good horses."

Charles Percie and Sir Thomas Somerset, knights, with a letter from the right honourable the peeres of England and lords of her late majestie's most honourable privy counsell, presenting heapes of all sorts of dutifull services from so loving subjects to so beloved a king; withall wishing a hastie dispatch of his affaires, that they the sooner might enjoy his royall presence, which being with speed performed, they also (out of their great love) longing for the rest. The queene, with his highnesse, took their journey from Edenborough the first of June, 1602, the last of the said moneth coming to Windsor, where what joy was at so loving a meeting and so long wished, I leave for you to imagine.

His majestie lying at this foresaid towne, his highnesse and some other lords were installed knights of the most honourable and noble order of the garter; after which (the sicknesse increasing,) his highnesse removed from thence to Oatelands, where, by appointment from his majestie, he tooke house by himselfe, having so many to attend upon him in every office, as was thought fitting for his yeares. A little after removing to Nonsuch, and from thence being sent for to Winchester by his majestie, he againe returned to Oatelands, where he begun to ply his booke hard for two or three yeares, continuing all his princely sports, hawking, hunting, running at the ring, leaping, riding of great horses, dauncing, fencing, tossing of the pike, &c. In all which he did so farre excell as was fitting for so great a prince; whereby, together with his continuall travaile, being ever in action, he came to have a very active and strong body; so that then he would many times tyre all his followers before he himselfe would be weary.

Much about this time, being thirteene yeares of age, he began to know himselfe a little better, and finding himselfe to be a prince indeed, began not onely to strive for vertues answerable, but also to chase away the reliques of childish imperfections naturall to all, increasing every day in favour with God and man.

In the 14. and 15. yeares of his age, he began to be very judicious, almost in every thing, drawing neerer to a majestique gravity; to be a reverent and attentive hearer of sermons, to give commendations to the same, to have boxes kept at his three severall standing houses, Saint James, Richmond, and Nonsuch, causing all those who did swear in his hearing to pay moneys to the same, which were after duly given to the poore; he beganne now also to be of an excellent discourse, putting forth and asking strange questions and suppositions, both of this and forraine states, and desiring to know and to be resolved almost of every thing, whereby at length he attained to a reasonable insight and judgement in state-affaires; now also delighting to shoot in great and small field-pieces, to levell them to the white, and see them shot off.

The 16. yeare of his age, being to come to the time of his investment in the principalitie of Wales and Cornewall, he did advance his owne title and right so farre as with modestie he might; which presently was gently and lovingly entertained and granted of his majestie, with the consent of the right honourable the high court of parliament: the fourth of June following, being appointed for that solemne action, the Christmas before which his highnesse, not onely for his owne recreation, but also that the world might know what a brave prince they were likely to enjoy, under the name of Meliades,* lord of the isles, (an ancient title due to the first borne of Scotland), did in his name, by some appointed for the same purpose, strangely attired, accompanied with drummes and trumpets, in the chamber of presence, before the king and queene, and in the presence of the whole court, deliver a challenge to all knights of Great-Britaine, in two speeches; the relation whereof were out of purpose, but the summe was:

That Meliades, their noble master, boyling with an earnest desire to trie the valour of

* There is in the Advocates Library of Edinburgh, an ancient metrical romance, in the Scottish dialect, called the History of Clariades and Meliades. This romantic name became of course the poetical epithet of prince Henry; and among the poems of Drummond of Hawthornden we accordingly find, "Tears on the Death of Meliades," which he anagramatizes into *Miles a deo.*

his young yeares in foraigne countreyes, and to know where vertue triumphed most, had sent them abroad to espy the same, who, after their long travailes in all countreyes, and returne; shewing, how no where in any continent, save in the fortunate isle of Great Brittaine, they had found his wishes; which, ministring matter of exceeding joy to their young Meliades, who (as they said) could lineally derive his pedegree from the famous knights of this isle, was the cause that he had now sent to present the first fruits of his chivalrie at his majestie's feete. Then, after returning with a short speech to her majestie, next to the earles, lords, and knights, excusing their lord in this their so sudden and short warning; and lastly, to the ladies; they, after humble delivery of their chartle concerning time, place, conditions, number of weapons and assailants, tooke their leave, departing solemnly as they entred.

Now began every where preparations to be made for this great fight, and happy did he thinke himselfe, who should be admitted for a defendant, much more assailant: at last to encounter his highnesse, with his six assailants, 58 defendants, consisting of earles, barons, knights, and esquires, were appointed and chosen, eight defendants to one assailant, every assailant being to fight by turnes, eight severall times fighting, two every time with push of pike and sword, twelve strokes at a time; after which, the barre for separation was to be let downe untill a fresh onset.

The great night of this solemnity now approaching, his highnesse in his owne lodging, in the Christmas, did feast the earles, barons, and knights assailants, and defendants, untill the great twelfth appointed night, on which this great fight was to be performed; which being come, his highnesse, to the great wonder of the beholders, did admirably fight his part, giving and receiving that night, 32 pushes of pikes, and about 360 stroakes of swords, which is scarce credible in so young yeares, enough to assure the world, that Great Britaine's brave Henry aspired to immortality. *

Against the morrow, after the same said fight, was also prepared a magnificke feast at his highnesse's house at Saint James's, at which his majestie, his highnesse, his brother and sister, with all the other earles, lords, and knights of the court, were present; where, after supper (according as before they had been judged) his highnesse gave three prises, to the three best deserving, viz. to the right honourable the earl of Montgomery one, and to Sir Thomas Darcy, and Sir Robert Gourdon, knights, the other two.

The barriers finished, and prizes won, judged and delivered, shortly after began preparation every where to be made for his highnesse's creation, every one from the highest to the lowest (to shew their exceeding love) striving who should exceed in bravery, untill fast-posting time at length brought forth the long wished for day; before which, his highness then lying at Richmond, a house situate on the river side, seven miles from Westminster, the place of his creation, the custome being to be brought from such a place, the right honourable the lord mayor of London, with the worshipfull aldermen his brethren, accompanied with thirtie-six severall companies of citizens of divers callings, in so many several barges, and all citie-like braverie possible, with their several flagges, banners, colours, armes, trumpets, drums, and phyfes, with other such provision, came from their mighty and renowned city, up the silver-streamed river, to welcome, meet, and accompany his highnesse, towards the solemne action, where having encountered with his highnesse's barges with all the joy, love, and kindnesse possible, to the wonder of the world, all eyes were bent towards so joyfull and desired a sight: they came altogether rowing downe the proud river, which for two or three miles together, seemed to be covered with pinnaces, barges, boates, and oares unto Whitehall-

* Upon this occasion appeared the Lady of the Lake, King Arthur, Merlin, the Genius of Chivalry, and other personages appertaining to romantic story. The speeches which they delivered were composed by Ben Jonson, and may be found in his works.

bridge at the court, where he was also received, and welcommed by the right honourable the lords of his majesties most honourable privie counsel, with divers others, and from thence by them conducted unto his majestie, where he remained until the time of his creation, which being the next day, he was in presence of the right honourable the high court of parliament, lords spirituall and temporall, by his majestie the king his father, created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, Great Earle of Chester, &c. with a full investment in all the ancient and great liberties, ever possessed by any of his famous predecessors, and with the joy and approbation of the whole house.

His highnesse being now absolute of himselfe, did take up house with a full addition of high officers; Sir Thomas Challener chamberlaine, Sir Charles Cornwallis treasurer, and Sir John Hollis comptrouller of his house; making good and strict orders through the same, both above and below staires, more like a grave, wise, and ancient counsellour, surveying, disposing, and dispatching his affaires, then so young and great a prince: now were allotted unto him certeine lands for his revenues, which he was so farre from diminishing, that he left the same encreased, by thousands a yeare; his servants did now begin to looke which way to help themselves, since his highness was every day more and more able to give: yet he being very sparing to give any thing, did onely give grants unto some, with promises, hopes, and delayes unto others, because he would not (he said) dispose of any thing, untill with the gift he might perpetrate the same, which could not be, untill either yeares, or the high court of parliament, should enable him; but this time as yet not being come, he went on his own frugall courses, suffering almost nothing to passe in his house, or other affaires, which he himself did not oversee.

At last, bethinking himselfe that Wales and Cornwall, &c. his principalitie, had a long time beene without a prince of their owne, he thought he might the rather shew his authority in renewing and avoyding leases; wherefore having first by a writ, called *scire facias*, avoided and annihilated all their former rights and leases, he brought them unto a generall submission to compound, take and hold new of him; which they were all ready to performe, a little before his death: whereupon surveyors and commissioners were appointed, and dispatched to survey all his lands, and to returne a true certificate of the whole value; untill which, (being but a little before his sicknesse and death) he deferred all manner of suits, because he would first be informed truely, what, and how great their demands were.

In the 17. and 18. yeares of his age he began not onely to be a man in stature, but also in courage and wisdome, to the admiration of all, and with the eyes of his spirit surveying the mighty inheritance whereunto he was heire apparent, he did also straine to be the better furnished (if ever his shoulders should undergoe so great a burthen) with furniture befitting the same, it being wisdome, in the time of peace, to prepare for the same, knowing that peace is the harbinger of warre, (chiefly in ships, counted the brazen wall of this isle) he in the time of our security thought thereof: and therefore did not only intreate his majestie to cause his officers of the navy to build him a ship, called the Prince, (then the fairest of this isle) but also to advance the affaires of the navy to his power, now and then got leave of his majesty to go in person to view the ships, and store-houses, which divers times he did. Not content herewith, he did also practise tilting, charging on horsebacke with pistols, after the manner of the wars, with all other the like inventions. Now also delighting to conferre, both with his owne and other strangers, and great captaines, of all manner of wars, battailes, furniture, armes by sea and land, disciplines, orders, marches, alarmes, watches, stratagems, ambuscadoes, approaches, scalings, fortifications, incampings, and having now and then battailes of headmen appointed both on horse and foot, in a long table; whereby he might in a manner view the right ordering of a battaile, how every troope did aide and assist another, as also the placing of the light horsemen, vauntguard, maine battaile, with the assisting wings, and rerewards, &c. which are out of my element to

speake of. Neither did he omit, as he loved the theoricke of these things, to practise the same, entertaining in his house a Dutch captaine, sent unto him by his excellence (Grave Maurice) a most excellent engineer, in all manner of things belonging to the wars;[1] causing also, from time to time, new pieces of ordnance to be made, learning to shoot, and levell them right to the white: no lesse provident was he to have great horses, and those of the best, which were sent unto him from all countreys; so that I may truely affirme, no prince in Christendome did exceed him therein. Thus in these, and other worldly pleasures, which stoope for acquaintance unto greatnesse, did he spend the yeares past.

In the 19. yeare of his age, whether by his continuall toil of body and minde, or some internall unknowne causes (I know not) where before he was of somewhat a full round face, and very pleasant disposition, his visage began to appeare somewhat paler, longer, and thinner than before, he himselfe being also more sad and retired than usuall, yet without any complaint of him, or jealousie of his followers, save that some halfe a yeare after, he would now and then complaine of a small kinde of giddy, lumpish heavinesse in his forehead; the paine whereof moved him (as I thinke) for the most part, ever before he would put on his hat, to stroke up with his hand his brow and forehead; he did also use to bleed at the nose often, and in great quantitie, wherein he found great ease, untill a little before his sicknesse, (the passages being stopped) this helpe, to his further griefe, left him. He was now subject to many strong and extraordinary qualmes, so that for danger and celerity they were forced many times to fetch him again with strong waters, which being onely by intermission now and then, were let passe as they came, without any suspicion of so suddaine sorrowes.

Much about the beginning of this summer, there could almost be no newes heard, but of his sister's marriage, of which many speeches went currant, according to the divers affections of protestants and papists; some wishing her to be married to the king of Spaine, some to the prince of Savoy, some to the young Landsgrave, and some to his highnesse the Palsgrave, her now husband. But he following the streame of his father's well setled affections, for Great Britain's eternal felicity, and terrour of all papists, did onely fancy the Palsgrave's motion, shortly after advancing the same by all meanes possible at the comming of the right honourable the count Hannaw, the Palsgrave's great ambassador, whose errand as the speech went, was to knit up this match, unto whose suite his highnesse did not onely give way, and second the businesse, but also in signe of love entertaine, and countenance the said count (next unto his majesty) more than any, never resting until all was agreed, as (thankes be to God) it is now finished.[2]

Matters now being at rest, the duke of Bovillon and count Hannaw having returned home againe, his highnesse removed to Richmond, where he lay untill the progresse; the pleasure of the river running close by the house, inviting him now and then to swimme, which he endeavoured to learne in the evening, to the dislike of many, who did see him swimme[3] after supper, his stomack being full, affirming it to be full of danger, and that it was needlesse for him to adventure himselfe in the water; but no remedy, he would needs continue the same, and did untill his removing from

[1] The prince also received a valuable present of arms and armour from Henry the Great of France, who appeared to take great interest in the opening virtues of the heir of England. The prince expressed his sense of the value of such a gift from so renowned a warrior, and continued so close a correspondence with him by letter, that he was by many supposed to be acquainted with the secret design of the vast preparations made by Henry IV. about the time of his death. The assassination by Ravaillac was an unfeigned shock to his youthful admirer.

[2] Henry's extreme zeal for this match arose from his hatred to popery. He is said to have harboured some intentions of going privately abroad; and, by the aid of Count Maurice, doing some exploit against the Count Palatine's enemies. Another purpose of the expedition is said to have been a desire to see the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse. WINWOOD's *Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 410.

[3] His frequent swimming immediately after supper, was most pernitious to his health; for it stopt his bleeding at nose; whereupon the bloud putrifying, engendered that fatall fever which followed.—*Doctor Mayerne.*

thence. He did now also delight many times to walke late at night by the river's side in moone light, to heare the trumpets sound an eccho, which many suspected, because the dew then falling did him small good.

But the time of the progresse now approaching, when, (as he was commanded) he must needs meet the king his father at Beaver Castle in Nottinghamshire the second Saturday after the beginning of the same, which now drawing neere, his highnesse neither considering the strength of his body, the greatnesse of the journey (being neere fourescore and sixteen miles) nor the extreme and wonderfull heat of the season, and notwithstanding my persuasions to the contrary, determined to ride that great journey in 2 dayes; according to which he set forth on Friday by one of the clock in the morning from his house at Richmond, comming to Finchingbrooke besides Huntingdon, a house pertaining to Sir Oliver Cromwell, knight,[1] master of his game, by tenne of the clock in the morning, which as they say is three score miles, in nine hours posting, where he remained all that night, the next day having six-and-thirty miles to Beaver Castle, where he met with his father just at the time prefixed.

But the time of one thing, I had almost forgot to tell you, how before his comming from Richmond in intending to feast the court at his mannor of Woodstock about the end of this progress (it being the first time of their general meeting there, since the house became his) had given order to his officers to provide a most magnifique feast against their comming to the foresaid house; withall having ordained a great summer-house of greene boughes to be built in the parke wherein the great supper should be, all which was with speed performed: meane while, although the season was exceeding hot, his highnesse did ride many and extraordinary journeyes in the same, which, (as was thought) did much incline his boyling bloud towards inflamation.

At last, their journies being towards an end, to Woodstock they came, where his highnesse (according to his former intention) did feast the lords and ladies at a long table, neere which he himselfe did beare them company from the Wednesday night of their comming, untill the Sunday night, which (unknowne to him) he had appointed for the last great farewell unto all his friends; by this time the appointed night for this great feast being come, his highnesse did himselfe in person come into the banqueting house, to see all things in good order, for great was his care to give contentment.

At last, the king and queene being set at a table by themselves at the upper end of the roome, his highnesse with his sister, accompanied with the lords and ladies, sitting at another table of thirty yards long and more, by themselves, there was to be seene one of the greatest and best ordered feasts as ever was seene, nothing wanting which any way was fitting to adorn such a solemne meeting; all which, to the generall joy of the whole court, his highnesse, like to the princely bridegroom, chearing and welcoming his guests, there appeared an universall contentment in all; but little knew he, that it was his last great farewel to his father, mother, sister, yea, unto the whole court, that it was his last feast of feasts, one for all. And indeed, when we looke back unto the same, therein beholding his highnesse's cheerfull carriage, the time, order, state, magnificence, and greatness thereof, we may behold somewhat ominous therein.

The Monday after, the court removing from thence, his highnesse, after leave obtained, hasted home again to Richmond, because of the news of the Palsegrave's approach, whom he intended to grace with all possible honour. Being returned, he began to give order for every thing, and to dispatch all affaires both of his owne, and concerning the following intended triumphes, for his highnesse the Palsgrave's better

[1] Uncle to the Protector, but not of the same principles. Fuller says he gave King James the greatest feast that ever Henry received from a subject. Sir Oliver Cromwell died in 1654, without having accepted of any favours from his nephew.

welcome: he now also of himselfe (I know not by what motion) considering the great paines, deserts, and small meanes of a number of his followers, who had spent much, and gotten nothing in his service, did give order for a number of severall pensions, according to his discretion, to some of them, promising also, after a while (that none should be discouraged) to remember the rest.

But now, whether the continuall violences of his exercises, or his too frequent eating of abundance of grapes, and other fruits, or some settled melancholly, engendered by some unknown causes,[*] I cannot determine, yet did he looke still more pale and thinne, from day to day, complaining now and then, of a cold, lazie, drowsinesse in his head, which (as I think) moved him many times to aske questions of divers about him, concerning the quality, cure, and nature of the feaver, called (for the strange diversitie) the New Disease; belike, fearing some such like thing by his indisposition: he also used before this, now and then, and in his sicknesse, to sigh often, whereof being sometimes demanded the cause by his physitian, doctor Hamond, and others neere him, he would sometimes reply, that he knew not, sometimes that they came unawares, and sometimes also that they were not without cause.

At the beginning of October, his continuall head-ach, lazinesse, and indisposition increasing, (which notwithstanding, because of the time, he strove mightily to conceale) whereas oft before, he used to rise early in the morning to walke the fields, he did lye a-bed almost every morning until nine of the clocke, complayning of his lazinesse, and that he knew not the cause; during which time (belike jealous of himselfe) he would many mornings before his rising, aske of the groomes of his bed-chamber, How doe I looke this morning? And at other times the same question againe; which they, fearing no danger, to make his highnesse laugh, would put off with one jest or other.

But he still continuing ill, the tenth of the foresaid moneth, he had two small fits of an ague, forcing him to keepe his chamber; which his highnesse finding, had some speech with doctor Hamond, his physitian, willing belike to have taken some strong phisicke, the sooner to have removed the cause. But he not daring to be too bold with his highnesse's body, without a further consent, did onely give unto his highnesse a softening glister, which had its owne good effects, stirring the humours.

On the morning, being Tuesday, the thirteenth of October, he having (as was thought) taken cold, had a great loosenesse, his belly opening 25 times, avoiding a great deale of choller, flegme, and putrified matter toward the ende, yet for all this, on the morrow, he finding himselfe (as he said) reasonable well, because of the Palsgrave's comming, he hasted from thence to Saint James's, whereupon he gave order, and would needes remove on Thursday, the thirteenth of the same moneth, notwithstanding any perswasions whatsoever to the contrary; neither was it without great danger (as they all shewed him) to hazard himselfe abroad so soone, his body being yet open: but he affirming himselfe to be very well, would needes go on with his former determination.

At last to Saint James's he came, seeming well, but that he looked pale and ill, so that sundry did speake suspiciously of his lookes, fearing some distemper in his body: yet so strong was his minde, that complaining of nothing, he did beare out the matter very bravely in shew, being so well, that he gave his physitian (who had waited a long

[*] Cornwallis, in this and other passages, seems obliquely to hint a suspicion of foul play. Weldon, Wilson, Osborne, Welwood, and other collectors of private history, have more grossly insinuated the same accusation. Rochester, afterwards Earl of Somerset, was supposed to be the perpetrator of this villany; and some have ventured even to assert, that the king was privy to the murder of his son. Sir Francis Bacon, in his speech against Somerset, is said to have hinted at the assassination of Prince Henry; and in the strange letter written by the disgraced favourite to James, in which he obviously claims merit for not having discovered some infamous secret, he has been supposed to allude to James's connivance at the crime. But the mystery was probably of a different kind. The distinct report of so many physicians may be safely admitted to counterbalance popular rumours, so easily founded on the general regret of a hopeful prince, and hatred to an unworthy favourite.

time) leave to goe home to his house; meane while his indisposition still continuing and increasing, there might have beene perceived in him a sudden great change; for he began to be displeased almost with every thing, and to be exceeding curious in all things, yet not regarding, but looking, as it were, with the eyes of a stranger upon them; for sundry things shewed him, which before he had wonted to talke of, aske questions, and view curiously, he now scarce vouchsafed to looke upon, turning them away with the backe of his hand, and departing, as who would say, I take pleasure in nothing; yet was he wonderfully busie in providing, and giving order for every thing belonging to his care, for his sister's marriage, advancing the same by all meanes possible, keeping also his highnesse the Palsgrave company, so much as conveniently he could, together with count Henry his excellencie, Grave Maurice his brother, whom he also much honoured and esteemed, belike because of a noble and heroicke disposition, which he saw in him fitting his humour, with whom he used to play often at cardes, and tennis, delighting much in his company; and above all the rest, one great match they had at tennis, on Saturday the 24. of October, the day before his last sicknesse, where his undaunted courage, negligently, carelesly, and wilfully (neither considering the former weake estate of his body, danger, nor coldnesse of the season) as though his body had been of brasse, did play in his shirt, as if it had beene in the heate of summer; during which time he looked so wonderfull ill and pale, that all the beholders took notice thereof, muttering to one another what they feared; but he (the match being ended) carried himself so well, as if there were no such matter, having all this while a reasonable good stomack to meat; yet this night, at his going to bed, complaining more than usual of his lazinesse and head-ache.

But oh, whether goe I now? must I againe launch out into a sea of sorrowes, adding more griefes unto our yet bleeding wounds? Oh Death! was there no remedy? When wilt thou make an end? shall the grave devour alwayes? was thy charge so strait, that thou could'st shoote neither at great nor small, but at the prince of our Israel? doe sweete-smelling flowers so much delight thy grisly ghastly senses appetite, that thou wouldst gather none but our fairest, well beloved, scarce blowne rose? why didst thou so soone robbe us? I know (but that thou, who scornest to reason with thy captives, disdainest to answer thy slaves) thou couldst give us many reasons: wherefore I leave to reason with thee, and, turning againe to my dolefull relation, will begin, &c.

Quanquam animus meminisse horret, luctusque refugit;

For,

—— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet à lacrimis? &c.

On Sunday morning, the five-and-twenty of October 1612, the morrow after his highnesse's violent play at tennis, it was told him (the custome of his house being to have the sermon betimes in the morning, for the most part where the court lay so neere; because he used, after his owne, to heare the king's also) that Master Wilkinson, one of his father's chaplaines, was ready, and did present his service to preach that morning, (if it pleased his highnesse to heare him) which he no sooner heard, but contrary to his late usuall custome of long time (although that morning he found himselfe somewhat drousie and ill) addressed himselfe to be made ready, for he wonderfully delighted to heare the said Mr Wilkinson; ever since the time (long before) in which he heard him preach a sermon of judgement, which he did so well like of, that many times he did speake of the same, affirming it to have beene so excellent, that he in a manner did shew them the same; long it was not ere his highnesse was ready and gone to the chappel to heare him.

But ere I proceed, give me leave, I intreate you, to admire the wonderfull providence and goodnesse of God, which did so provide for him a sermon of mortification, or pre-

paration, which you will: for the time, text, powerfull delivery, method &c. were also fitting to our following unthought of funerall, as though an angell had come the whole weeke before from heaven, prefixing unto him the time, necessity, text, order, and amplifications thereof, so truly did he thunder out the mortall misery of mankind, but chiefly of princes: the text was out of Job the 14. and 1. verse, "Man that is borne of a woman, is of full short continuance and of trouble." From which he shewed 3 things; first, our miserable entry into the world, and short continuance; lastly, our miserable pilgrimage, and endurance in the world full of trouble; in which the misery and troubles of all estates were well shewed, but chiefly those of great ones. Sermon being ended, his highnesse did commend the same, being very attentive all the time thereof; presently thereafter going into Whitehall, where he also did heare another sermon with the king his father; which being also done, to dinner they went, his highnesse in outward appearance eating with a reasonable good stomack, yet looking exceeding ill and pale, with hollow ghastly dead eyes perceived of a great many.

The first Day.

After dinner, for all his great courage and strife to over-master the greatnesse of his evil, dissembling the same, the conqueror of all, about 3 a clock in the afternoone, began to skirmish, with a suddaine sicknesse and faintenesse of the heart (usuall unto him) whereupon followed shortly after a shaking, with a great heat and headache, which from henceforth never left him; his highnesse finding himselfe thus suddainely taken, was forced to take his leave, departing home unto his bed; where being laid, he found himselfe very ill, remaining all this evening in an agony, having a great drought (which after this could never be quenched but with death) his eyes also being so dimme, that they were not able to endure the light of a candle; for which, that night, was ordained unto him a cordiall of cooling ptisan for quenching of his thirst, with a moistning broath to be given at the ending of the fit. This night he rested ill.

The second Day.

On the morrow after, being Monday the six-and-twenty of the month, and the second of his sicknesse, his highness felt small or no ease of his headache, continuing bound in his belly, his pulse beating exceedingly, his water being crude, thinne, and whitish, which moved Dr Mayerne, his majestie's chiefe phisitian, to appoint for him a softning glister, which accordingly, to their desire, did worke very well. After which his highnesse finding intermission, (which continued all that day,) did arise, and put on his cloathes, playing at cards that day, and the next also, with his brother the duke of Yorke and Count Henry: meane while there were many messages sent from the court, and every where else, to know how things went, all which (no creature surmising the least danger) were answered with good hopes; yet his highness, for all this, looked ill and pale, spake hollow, and somewhat strangely, with dead sunk eyes, his drinesse of mouth and great thirst continuing; for the which, that night, were ordained unto him, by the foresaid doctors, sharpe, tarte, cordiall and cooling juleps, prepared with all kind of cordials and antidotes possible, his brothes and gellies being with the same care ordained; yet his drought and headache continuing, (which could not be stayed,) he remained still very ill, this night resting quietly.

The third Day.

On Tuesday the seven-and-twenty, the third day of his sicknesse, he found some ease in the morning; so that they were all in good hope that it would have proved but

some tertian, or bastard tertian at the most, notwithstanding that his highnesse, ghastly rowling uncoath lookes, did put them in some feare.

This day his majesty did send Master Nasmith, his surgeon, to attend his highnesse during his sicknesse; unto whom, and divers others conferring of his highnesse's sicknesse, and the danger of the same, Doctor Mayerne did say, that, in his judgement, the surest way for his highnesse's safety was bleeding (as was thought,) very substantially proving, from the very dangerous forenamed accidents and indications of this tertian, which he feared to be venemous, by reason humours seated in the naturall parts, inclining, by reason of the quantity, to a continuall; that bleeding chiefly, and that in great quantity, with reiteration, (if need so required,) now, whilest his highnesse was strong, naturall heate not being decayed, nor too much oppressed, before that feaver turned continuall, and he weaker, and lesse able to endure hereafter, would prove the surest way for his safety. But the same his opinion, not being allowed of the rest, (whom by conference, when he named, or spoke of blood, he found directly opposite;) there was as yet no consultation for blood-letting, nor any inclination that wayes.

This morning he did rise and put on his cloathes; but his fit comming about noone, first with a cold, then a great heate, without any sweat, continuing untill eight a clock at night, he was forced to goe to bed againe. This night resting quietly.

The fourth Day.

On Wednesday the eight-and-twentieth, and fourth day of his sicknesse, in the morning came Master Butler, the famous physitian of Cambridge, a marvellous great scholler, and of long practise, and singular judgment, but withall very humerous; who, (whatsoever he thought,) comforting him with good hopes that he would shortly recover, and that there was no danger; yet, secretly unto others, did not let to speake doubtfully, (as they say, his humour is) that he could not tell what to make of it, and that he did not well like of the same; adding further, that if he did recover, he was likely to lye by it for a great while, with divers other like speeches; neither could he be perswaded, all the time of his highnesse's sicknesse, to stay any longer with him than one houre, or thereabouts, every morning; and so in the afternoone to give his counsell and advice with the rest: what moved him I know not; whether he did mislike the French Doctors company, or because the cure was not committed to him as chiefe, or being jealous, and misliking his highnesse's disease, and therefore loved not to meddle too much in the cure (which I rather imagine;) or whether his health or humour impeached the same, I dare not judge; the curious may best learne from himselfe: yet having, at his comming, enquired what was done, he approved the same, and wished the continuance of the same proceedings, untill a further judgement might be given of the same event: yet did his highnesse finde small or no ease, but his feaver, as yet not being continuall, he did rise and put on his clothes, they all, as yet, conceiving reasonable good hopes.

The former daies and this, his stomack was not quite lost, but he would now and then take some such meate as the physitians thought fitting; yet the doctors, viz. Mayerne, Hamond, Butler, all considering the greatnesse of the danger, and the strangenesse of the disease, the water in no way shewing the same, which made them the loather to meddle, untill the crisis were seene, his highnesse remaining in the same estate, the many dangerous forenamed accidents, with the good of the former evacuations, his belly now being hard bound, &c. would willingly have had more doctors called for consultation; which his highnesse altogether refusing to allow of, because of the confusion, they, by a generall consent, (his highnesse then having intermission of his fever,) under all their hands, did, by their owne report, give unto him a purgation of sena sod and rhubarb, infused in cordiall and cooling liquors, with syrupe of roses

loosing, which, working seven or eight times, brought away great store of putrid choler, and in the end phlegme, the urine inclining somewhat towards concoction. But his highnesse, after the working thereof, found not that ease that was expected; yet was still fed with hopes of his recovery. But night being come, (towards which, during all his sicknesse, he grew worse than in the morning, wherein he was more sober alwaies than in the evening,) his headache, droughts, and other accidents continuing, though not with extremity, he rested ill, and unquietly.

The fifth Day.

On Thursday the nine-and-twentieth, and fifth day of his sicknesse, hopes began a little to diminish; howbeit that morning his headache was somewhat lessened, his breath also (which before was short) being longer, which moved him to put on his cloathes, endeavouring to rise as he had done before; but his head being so giddy that he was not able to stand alone, he was forced to betake him to his bed againe, from henceforth ever keeping his bed: Neverthelesse, the tingling of his eares, the leapings and boundings continuing alike; as also a small fit comming upon him, with a little coldnesse, the fever thereafter being continuall, with many small intermissions, and small and great redoublings, the violence whereof caused his tongue to become blacke and drie, the leapings and boundings, and singing of the ears increasing. Many neere unto him, jealous of so bad signes, without amendment, feared the worst; his highness now being forced to keepe his bed continually, his head being so giddy that he could not stand upright, his eyes also so dimme that he could not indure the candle light; yet still the doctors, by reason of his extraordinary patience, (not fully knowing the danger which afterwards appeared,) not willing, nor daring to be too bold, untill some certaine further knowledge, delaied to conclude of any thing, save that his highnesse should still be plyed with all sorts of cordiall juleps, which arte or experience could thinke of. Master Butler's advise, they say, was the same, that cordialls, externall and internall, the restoratives and diet begun, should be continued.

Thus, no other course as yet being thought of, still expecting the successe of new daies; delaies bred danger, his highnesse remained ill, having no evacuation by sweat, neither was it expedient (as was thought) to force the same, still expecting nature's owne time, which deceived them.

This evening there appeared a fatall signe, about two hours or more within the night, bearing the colours and shew of a rainbow,[1] which hung directly crosse and over Saint James's house. It was first perceived about seven a clocke at night, which I my selfe did see, which divers others looking thereupon with admiration, continuing untill past bed-time, being no more seene. This night was unquiet, and he rested ill.

[1] A lunar rainbow. The dread of these meteorological phenomena, as presaging the death of princes and desolation of kingdoms, was deeply impressed upon the wisest men of the time, as appears from the following quotation:

"At this time there appeared a comet, which gave occasion of much discourse to all sorts of men; amongst others, a learned knight, (Sir John Heydon,) our countryman, confidently and boldly affirmed, ["That such persons were but abusers, and did but flatter greatness, who gave their verdict, that that comet was effectual, as some would have it, or signal, as others judge it, onely to Africa, whereby they laid it far enough from England. When this knight, out of the consideration of the zodiack, which this comet measured, the inclination of his sword and blade, and to what place both the head and tail became vertical, together with other secrets,"] said, 'that not onely all Europe, to the elevation of fifty-two degrees, was liable to its threatnings, but England especially; yea, that person, besides, in whose fortune we are all no less embarked, then the passenger with the ship is in the pilot that guided the same; the truth whereof, said he, a few years will manifest to all men.'

"And it was observed by Dr Bainbridge, a famous astronomer, that, toward the declination of it, the 11th of December, it past over London in the morning, and so hasted more northwards, even as far as the Orcades."—Rushworth's *Collections*, I. 8.

The sixth Day.

On Friday the thirtieth, and sixth day of his sicknesse, he remained in the same estate, no creature knowing what to say or make of his sicknesse, some fearing one thing, and some another, the doctors still attending the issue of the eight day; but for all that his highnesse's feaver remained continuall, withall the former cruell accidents; for which, this morning, was given him a glister for washing of his bowels, in which he found some ease.

About three a clock in the afternoone came his lesser doubling; during which his breath became short, his face very red, his pulse beating very swiftly; in which fit his nose began to bleed, (as some thought about two ounces,) then after staying of it selfe, whereby he found some ease, not having bled (as his custom was) of a great while before.

From this time forth, chiefely Doctor Mayerne, with Master Nasmith, his majestie's chirurgion, began to propound the necessity of bleeding, as heretofore they had done, whereunto nature now invited, the feaver remaining continuall, with a great abounding fulnesse, in a constitution excessively hot, in a body which had much used bleeding, deprived of that benefit for some moneths before, yet the rest being sparing and loath to heare of the same, there was nothing done. This day also passing as the rest. All this while the excessive paine of his head continuing, as also his heate and thirst, for which his mouth and tongue were continually washed; yet for all this his highnesse and the rest were still encouraged that he should shortly recover, although indeed he became still worse and worse. This night he rested ill, being alwayes somewhat better in the morning.

The seventh Day.

On Saturday, the last of the moneth, and seventh of his sicknesse, there appeared no amendment, his highnesse continuing in a wonderfull excessive heat, after which came the great redoubling, raving as he was awake, with blacknesse, drines, and clifts in his tongue, was continually applied with all things needfull, but to no purpose, save a little ease for the present, as also the tingling of the eares, leapings and bounding became greater, the urine more crude, yet no way shewing the danger of the disease all this while, untill a little before his death; over and above all other griefes, he found his head exceedingly pained, a thing lying as it had beene a lumpe in his forehead, which, together with the ulceration of his throat, made him loth to speake, but when he must needs, and then not without great paine, the extremity, as it were, of the evil overcomming and stupifying the vitals and senses, striving to subdue natural heat, and oppressing the heart, notwithstanding the doubling and trebling of the cordials to withstand the same.

This day also, nature, (as the day before) though not in quantity, did (as was said) shew the necessity of bleeding; for which cause, it was with more instance againe propounded and urged than ever, as the onely meanes, under God, to save his highnesse; at length, after much adoe, *pro* and *contra*, Doctor Mayerne urging, and Master Butler chiefely withstanding the same, mistaking the first beginning of his highnesse's sicknesse; in the end, the three doctors, Mayerne, Hamond, and Butler, did agree, that on the morrow, being Sunday, (the eighth broken, and the seventh whole day of his last sicknesse,) a vaine should be opened; all this while, untill his bleeding was past, they conceived good hope of his recovery, yet he remained dangerously ill. You must imagine, that all this while of his sicknesse, the whole world did almost every houre send unto Saint James's for newes; the better sort, who were admitted to visit him, or ac-

quainted with those neere unto him, knowing the danger, the rest fearing nothing, imagining it onely to have beene some common tertian, for which cause, in many places neere unto the city, he was thought dead and gone, before they knew that he was dangerously sick. This night was more cruell and unquiet unto him than any other.

The eighth Day.

On Sunday the first of November, and the eight day of his sicknesse, according to their former agreement, after much adoe, Master Butler resisting to consent that he should be let bloud, because (as he said) it was the eighth day, proferring to have left them, untill he was forced to stay and give his consent; Doctor Hamond and others proving unto him, that it was not the eighth day, his highnesse being ill of a long time before, (howsoever he strangely, with a wonderfull courage and patience, concealed the same;) his highnesse being still after one, in the presence of the foresaid doctors, and divers others of very good worth, in the morning was drawne out of the median of his right arme, seven or eight ounces of bloud; during which time he fainted not, bleeding well and abundantly, desiring and calling to them to take more, as they were about to stoppe the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant. The bloud being cold, was seene of all to be thinne, corrupt, and putred, with a cholerick and blewish water above, without any fibres or small strings therein scarce congealed.

This day, after his bleeding, he found great ease, insomuch as since the beginning of his sicknesse he had not found himselfe so well, his pulse inclining towards a more gentle motion, missing his former wonted cruell doublings, and his former accidents being lesse and more mild. This afternoone he was visited by his royall father, mother, brother, sister, the Palsgrave, with divers others of the court; all which conceiving good hopes, departed from thence reasonably cheerful. Yet that night (though better than others) he passed unquietly.

The ninth Day.

On Monday the second of November, and ninth of his sicknesse, he became worse than ever, the great redoubling comming upon him, accompanied with rednesse of face, shortnesse of breath, increase of drought, blacknesse of his tongue, with excessive heat, somewhat lesse than it was the seventh day, and benumbings, which now, with the encrease of all the former accidents, tormented him; briefely, so many evill signes appeared, that some of the doctors then plainely affirmed, that, by violence of the disease, the bloud and humours were retired in aboundance, with great violence towards the braine, filling the veins aboundantly, (as afterwards in the opening did appeare) by reason whereof the paine of his head was extreame great, his spirits being as it were overcome.

This morning Doctor Atkins (a phisitian of London, famous for his practice, honesty, and learning) was sent by his majesty to assist the rest in the cure; whose opinion (as they said) was, that his higlmesse's disease was a corrupt putred fever, the seat whereof was under the liver in the first passages, the malignity whereof, he thought, by reason of the putrifaction, (in almost the highest degree) was venemous.

This day and the next he was visited by the king his father, and others of the court, whose exceeding sorrow I cannot expresse; yet were they still fed with some good small hopes of his recovery. All this while, although he grew every day worse and worse, yet none discouraged him with any speech of death, (so loath they were to thinke of his departure,) he himselfe being so tormented with this and the next dayes sicknesse, that he could not thinke thereof; or if he had, yet the physitians courage, and hope of life, which good opinion, (his unspeakable patience not any way complaining,

so that he could not have beene knowne to be sicke, but by his lookes) moved them to conceive, telling him there was no danger, dashed the same.

This night came upon him greater alienations of braine, ravings, and idle speeches out of purpose, calling for his cloathes and his rapier, &c. saying, he must be gone, he would not stay, and I know not what else, to the great griefe of all that heard him, whose hopes now began to vanish.

The tenth Day.

On Tuesday the third of the moneth, and the tenth of his sicknesse, he became worse than before, all his former accidents encreasing exceedingly, his boundings being turned into convulsions, his raving and benumming becomming greater, the fever more violent; whereupon bleeding was againe proposed by Doctor Mayerne, and the favourers thereof, who still affirmed, that he did mislike the too sparing proceeding with his highnesse; alledging, that in this case of extremity, they must (if they meane to save his life) proceed in the cure, as though it were to some meane person, forgetting him to be a prince, whom they had now in hand, otherwise, he said, (for ought he saw) because he was a prince he must die, but if he were a meane person, he might be saved. But this his opinion being disallowed of most, they continued and increased their cordials, giving unto him a glyster, which brought away aboundance of corrupt and putred matter, together with some raysons, which (as was thought) he had eaten twelve dayes before.

This day also, for easing of the extreame paine of his head, the hair was shaven away, and pigeons and cupping-glasses applied to lessen and draw away the humour, and that superfluous blood from the head, which he endured with wonderfull and admirable patience, as though he had beene insensible of paine; yet all without any good, save perhaps some small seeming hope of comfort for the present.

Now began the pilots, who guided this fraile barque of his highnesse's body, almost to despaire, to escape the ensuing tempests; some of whose lookes did now, more than ever, discourage the rest. For this night he became very weake, the fever augmenting, the raving becomming worse than ever, in which he began to tosse and tumble, to sing in his sleepe, profering to have leaped out of the bed, gathering the sheets together, the convulsions being more violent. In which extremity, his tongue, mouth, and throat, being more dry than ever, yet called he not for any kind of moisture, complaining of thirst, which evidently shewed, that the vehemencie of his disease had overcome the seat of reason, otherwise he could not but have complained, as he did before.

The eleventh Day.

On Wednesday the fourth of November, and the eleventh day of his sicknesse, all hopes of recovery were lesse than ever, the physitians, chirurgeons, and apothecaries beginning to be dismaied, but that, like stout pilots, they did beare it out bravely so long as was possible; yet, (as men perplexed in such an extremity) the most part were of opinion, that the crisis was to be seene, before a finall resolution, of which there was as yet small appearance; all the former accidents meane while encreased, the whole world beginning to be afraide. This day a cocke was cloven by the backe, and applyed unto the soles of his feet, but in vaine; the cordials also were redoubled in number and quantitie, but without any profit.

This afternoon his majestie hearing of his undoubted danger (although more sober than at other times) came to see him; but being advertised how matters went, and were likely to go, and what addition of griefe it would be unto him, to see his best beloved sonne in that extremity, he was at last perswaded to depart without visitation, yet

giving order and command before his departure, that from thenceforth (because his highnesse was continually molested with a number, which out of their love came to visit him) no creature should be admitted to see him, save those who of necessitie must tend upon him, untill the event and issue of his disease was seene, which was accordingly done; his highnesse, for his more ease, being removed into another longer and quieter[1] chamber. But now all things appearing to be out of frame, and confusedly evill, without hope of amendment, whereof the archbishop of Canterbury hearing, he made so much the more haste unto his highnesse, whom, after some discourse fitting that time, seeing so much care to be taken for the mortall body, the immortall soule being neglected,[2] he asked his highnesse whether there had been any prayers said in his chamber since his sicknesse or no? To whom he answered, that there had not, aleaging the cause to have beene, the continuall toile of the doctors, apothecaries, and surgeons about him; and further, that untill now, he was not put in minde thereof; but that, for all that, he had not failed to pray quietly by himselfe: which his answere pleasing them well, the archbishop again demanded, if his highnesse would now from thenceforth be contented to have prayers said in his chamber, which he willingly assented unto, asking which of his chaplaines were there present; amongst whom, finding that doctor Milborne, deane of Rochester, was there present, he willed the said deane to be called, as being one whom, for his learning, good carriage, and profitable preaching, above all the rest he ever affected and respected.

The archbishop meane while, not willing too much to disquiet his highnesse, called for to say prayers that evening at his highnesse's bed-side, where speaking somewhat low, fearing to offend his distempered eares, his highnesse willed him to speake aloud, thereafter repeating the confession of his faith word by word after him; from henceforth the foresaid deane continued to pray dayly with him at his bed-side untill his departure. This night was unquiet as the rest.

The twelfth Day.

On Thursday morning the fifth of November, and twelfth of his sicknesse, newes was sent unto his majesty of the undoubted danger, and that there now remained no hopes or meanes of his highnesse's recovery, but with desperate and dangerous attempts, which his majesty considering, gave leave and absolute power to doctor Mayerne (his chiefe phisitian) to doe what he would of himselfe, without advice of the rest, if in such an extremity it were possible to doe any thing for his highnesse's safety; but he, weighing the greatnesse of the cure and emminency of the danger, would not for all that adventure to doe any thing of himselfe, without advise of the rest (which he alwayes tooke) saying, that it should never be said in after ages, that he had killed the king's eldest sonne; his majesty meane while (whose sorrow no tongue can expresse) not willing nor being able to stay so neere the gates of so extreame sorrow, more like a dead than a living man, full of most wonderfull heavinesse, removed to Theobald's (a house twelves miles from London) there to expect the dolefull event.

Mean while, amongst the doctors Mayerne, Hammond, Butler, and Atkins, bleeding was now the third time proposed; some of them (as I thinke doctor Mayerne) affirming, that the bloud, which, by the vapours being violently thrust upwards, filling the braine, did cause, by the maligne acrimony and quantity thereof, ravings and convulsions, which accidents (although without seeming paine, because the spirits were oppressed)

[1] "Just over this chamber (wherein he dyed) did the end of the fatall rainbowe aforementioned hang (as doctor Mayerne observed.)"

[2] "Notwithstanding the prince was seriously remembred, to commend himselfe into the hands of God, before this, by doctor Mayerne, who found his resolution therein to be most heavenly and divine."

did put his highnesse in imminent danger, more than the benumings, the cause whereof was within the ventricles of the braine. as also the said hot and cholerick bloud in the membranes; all which considered, and that his highnesse was yet of sufficient strength of body, his pulse also able to endure, they said the opening a vein was in their judgement the onely meanes left: but the rest of the counsell misliking this advise, did conclude to double and treble the cordials, making a revulsion from the head with a clister, whose working was to small effect, save that his highnesse became more sensible thereafter: in the meane time the archbishop of Canterbury, hearing of the danger, came unto his highnesse in great haste, where, finding him in extreame danger, he thought it now more than high time to goe about another kind of cure; and therefore, like a wise and skilfull phisitian, first trying the humour of his patient, before he would proceed in the cure, he addressed himselfe gently and mildly to aske how his highnesse found himselfe since his departure; at whose reply, seeing every thing amisse, he began againe further to feele his mind, first preparing him his antidote against the feare of death, that the preparation thereunto, meditation and thinking thereof, could nor would bring death the sooner, but the contrary rather, arming himselfe so much the more against it; withall putting him in mind of the excellency and immortality of the soule, with the unspeakeable joyes prepared for God's children, and the basenesse and misery of the earth, with all the vaine, inconstant, momentary, and fraile pleasures thereof in respect of heavenly joyes, with many other most excellent meditations against the same feare of death.

Having thus prepared him to heare, he went further, putting him in mind of the exceeding great danger he was in; and that although he might recover (as he hoped he should) yet he might also die; and that since it was an inevitable and irrevocable necessity that all must die once, late or soone (death being the reward of sinne) he asked, if it should so fall out, whether or no he was well pleased to submit himselfe to the will of God; to which he answered, yea, with all his heart Then the archbishop went on demanding questions of his faith; first, of the religion and church wherein he lived, which his highnesse acknowledged to be the onely true church, wherein onely, and without which there was no salvation; then of his faith in Christ onely, by him and in him. without any merits of his owne, being assured of the remission of all his sinnes, which he professed he did, hoping and trusting onely therein; then of the resurrection of the body, life everlasting, and the joyes of heaven; all which he confessed and beleeved, hoping with all saints to enjoy the same.

This conference, with a great deale more, the archbishop had with him to this purpose; which may also give unto you absolute satisfaction of his soules health, if thereunto his life be considered. After which, fearing he should too much disquiet him, with many good exhortations, he tooke leave for that time.

This day being the fifth of November, a day of everlasting remembrance and thanksgiving for our deliverance from the powder treason, was order given every where unto all churches, to pray for his highnesse, untill when, the great danger was unknowne to the commons, which was effectually as ever, untill his death performed.

This day, and at sundry other times since his confusion of speech, he would many times call upon Sir David Murray knight (the onely man in whom he had put choise trust) by his name, David, David, David; who when he came unto his highnesse, demanding his pleasure, in extremity of pain, and stupefaction of senses confounding his speech, sighing, he did reply, I would say somewhat, but I cannot utter it; which forme he still used so long as he had any perfect sense or memory.

This done also, but too late, to assist the rest, came doctor Palmer and doctor Giffard, famous phisitians for their honesty, learning, and phisick, who, with the former foure, went all six to a consultation, what now remained finally to be done; wherein by some

(as they say) was againe propounded the necessity of bleeding, the opportunity whereof, by the evacuation of his belly, was now over passed.

In the end, the doctors (long before this despairing of his recovery) did at last agree upon diascordium, as the onely meanes (under God) now remaining, which, tempered with cooler cordials, was given him in the presence of many honourable gentlemen, about tenne o'clock at night, the operation whereof was small or none; neither all this while did nature of it selfe incline towards sweating, and to force the same they thought it to no purpose. This night was unquiet as the rest, his accidents remaining in the same sort, but now and then speaking, but so confusedly that he could not be understood.

Among the rest this night, about midnight, master Nasmith, his majestie's surgeon, sitting on his bed-side, his highnesse pulled him unto him by the hand, speaking unto him somewhat, but so confusedly, by reason of the rattling of his throat, that he could not be understood; which his highnesse perceiving, giving a most grievous sigh, as it were in anger, turned him from him; thereafter (unlesse he were urged) never speaking unto him or any.

In this extremity Sir David Murray (who in this one death suffered many) came unto him, entreating him, and asking him, that if he had any thing to say which troubled him, that he would betimes make knowne his mind: but his spirits being overcome, and nature weake, he was not able to say any thing, save that of all other businesse he gave order for the burning of a number of letters in a certaine cabinet in his closet, which presently after his death was done.

Not long after (as I thinke) on Friday morning about three o'clock, his back-bone, shoulders, armes, and tongue, by reason of the horrible violence of the convulsions, disjoyntingly deviding themselves, the effect shewing that the retentive power was gone, the spirits subdued, the seat of reason overcome, and nature spent; in which extremity, fainting and swooning, he seemed twice or thrice to be quite gone; at which time there arose wonderfull great shouting, weeping, and crying in the chamber, court, and adjoyning streets, which was so great (together with something else which they used) that they brought him againe.

This crie was so great, that all those in the streets thought he had beene dead, whereupon it went for the most part current in the city and countrey that he was gone.

I am not able to expresse the unspeakeable sorrow which every where was for this wofull newes, chiefely in that doletull house; you may imagine no thought can thinke the greatnesse thereof, nor understanding conceive the same, this little which I have said overlading my weaknesse.

Thus given over of all into the hands of God, did his highnesse lie in extreame paine, during which, still now and then (till two or three houres before his death) looking up, and speaking, or endeavouring to speake, which for confusion and extremity of paine (being so neere gone) could not be understood, all the world were ready in this despaire, to bring cordiall waters, diaphoretick and quintissentiall spirits, to be given unto him; amongst which, one in the afternoone was ministred, which set that little nature remaining on worke, forcing a small sweat, which, too late, was the first he had: Sir Walter Raleigh also did send another from the Tower, which whether or no to give him they did a while deliberate.[1]

[1] It was sent at the desire of the queen, who had received relief from it in feverish complaints. In a letter, expressing the most tender interest in the prince's recovery, Raleigh assured her majesty, that the remedy would cure the patient, *unless in case of poison.* These words the queen afterwards repeated, in the agony of her grief, as proof that her beloved son had foul play. They probably flowed from an overweening conceit in the force of his own medicine, but are perhaps to be numbered among the circumstances which ensured Raleigh's destruction.—WELLWOOD's *Notes on* WILSON's *History of James I.*

After the operation of the first, his highnesse rested quietly a little while, presently after falling into his former extremities; whereupon (as the last desperate remedy) with the leave and advice of the lords of the counsell there present, the cordiall sent by Sir Walter Ralcigh (after it had beene tasted and proved) was given unto him; but in vaine, save that forcing that sparke of life that remained, it brought him againe into a sweat; after which, as before, he had some rest for a little while. But, no remedy, death would needs be conquerour; in vaine did they strive against the streame, for he shortly after became wonderfull ill againe; sight and sense failing, as also all the infallible signes of death approaching; in which extremity, the archbishop of Canterbury being there present, who seeing it was now the time of times, before the last gasp, to minister some comfort unto his highnesse (if as yet there were any sence remaining) came unto him, first speaking aloud; putting him in mind of all those things which he had spoken unto him the day before in his perfect sense, calling aloud in his eare, to remember Christ Jesus, to beleeve, hope, and trust onely in him, with assured confidence of mercy, to lift up his heart, and prepare him to meete the Lord Jesus, with many other divine exhortations; thereafter calling more loud than ever, thrice together in his eare, Sir, heare you mee, heare you mee, heare you mee; If you heare mee, in certaine signe of your faith, and hope of the blessed resurrection, give us for our comfort a signe, by lifting up your hands; which he did, lifting up both his hands together: againe he desired him yet to give him another signe, by lifting up his eyes; which having done, they let him alone; for the archbishop had, with streames of teares, powred out at his bed-side a most exceeding powerfull passionate prayer.

All this while also, from three o'clock in the morning until night, there was continual prayer in the house, and in every place where the danger was knowne; by which his time growing neerer and neerer, and he weaker and weaker; thus did he lie, patiently striving betwixt death and life, unavoidable necessity, and God's will forcing patience, and againe invincible courage and magnanimity, (loath to be overcome,) shewing some indignation and contempt of death: yea death it selfe (for all his cruelty) stood a long while hovering in doubt what to doe, so did his highnesse's young yeares, his triumphes at hand, the teares, and exceeding sorrow of father, mother, brother, sister, the howling cries of his servants, and of the whole land (who said, her losse, above all, was most unspeakable) move his hard heart to pitty: but a greater crie before this, having outcried those cries (even the crie of our sinnes) there was no remedy; for death, (although unwilling) not being able to resist the forepassed decree, must needs strike the cruell stroke; many times did he from that morning untill night offer to shoote and thrust in his dart a little, yet pulling it presently backe againe, as it were of purpose delaying the time, expecting some mercifull message from heaven, untill at last the cloudy night bewraying the irrevocable doome, by nature's decay, the excesse of paine having taken away the sense thereof, of meere pitty, that thereby he might open unto him the doore of heaven for his passage into glory, being loath that the angell, (who had long attended to convey his soule unto heaven,) should make any longer stay. he thrust his dart quite thorow; after which, his highnesse quietly, gently, and patiently, halfe a quarter, or thereabouts, before eight a clocke at night, yeelded up his spirit unto his immortall Maker, Saviour, and Restorer, being attended unto heaven with as many prayers, teares, and strong cries, as ever soule was, on Fryday the sixth of November, 1612. The corps shortly after (as the custome is) was laide along upon a table on the floore, being the fairest, clearest, and best proportioned, without any kinde of spot or blemish, as ever was seene.

On the morrow after came the lords of the councell, by appointment from his majestie, to give order for the opening of his body, &c. which was the same night effected, about five a clock in the evening, in presence of the physitians and chirurgeons, who assisted the cure, together with the physitian of the prince Palatine, with many

other knights and gentlemen, in the chamber where he dyed, by the chirurgeons of his majestie and his late highnesse, under all their hands, as followeth:

The skinne, like that of a dead man, blacke; but no way spotted with blacknesse, or pale markes, much lesse marked with purples like flea-bites, which could shew any contagious or pestilentiall venome. About the place of his kidneys, hips, and behind the thighes, full of rednesse; and by reason that with great paine he had a long while lien upon his backe, his belly somewhat swollen and stretched out, by reason of the windinesse which issued out of the smallest opening made in the navill, somewhat high naturally, incontinently the belly falling; the stomacke whole and wholesome within and without, having never all his sicknesse time beene troubled with vomitting, loathings, or yealpings, or any other accident which could particularly shew that it was attainted. The liver without, in his highest parts, marked with small spots, and in the lower with small blackish lines, paler and blacker than was fitting: the gall, and bladder, void of any humour, full of wind: the spleen on the top, and in the lower end blackish, filled with a blacke heavy blood: the kidneys faire, and without any blemish: the midriffe under the filme, or membrane, containing the heart (which contained a little moisture) spotted with blacke, as it were a leadish colour, by reason of the bruising: the lungs almost for the greatest part blacke, the rest all spotted with blacke, all imbrewed, and full of adust blood, with a corrupt and thicke serocitie, which by a vent made in the body of the lungs, came forth foaming in great abundance; in which doing, and in cutting the small skinne which invironeth the heart, to shew the same, the surgeon by chance having cut the trunk of the great veine, the most part of the blood issued out into the chest, leaving the lower veines empty; upon sight whereof the company did draw consequents of an extreme heat and fulnesse, the which yet appeared more evident in this, that the windepipe with the throat and tongue were covered with a thicke blackenesse; and amongst other accidents, the tongue cleft, and dry in many places: the heart sound and dry, in all appearance, good in all his qualities.

The hinder veines, which are in the inmost filme of the braine, called *pia mater*, swolne and stufft with abundance of blood, a great deale more than naturall; the substance of the braine faire and cleare, but the ventricles thereof full of a cleare water, which after the incision raune forth in great abundance: one part of which accidents (as they thought) was ingendered, onely by reason of the fever maligne, by reason of the putrifaction of divers humours gathered together of a long time before, his highnesse not being subject to any dangerous sicknesse by birth; the other part, by reason of the convulsions, resoundings, and benummings, which by reason of the fulnesse, choaking the naturall heat, and destroying the vitals, by their malignitie, have conveyed his highnesse to the grave, without any token or accident of poyson.

Thus (or very neere thus) lost we the delight of mankind, the expectation of nations, the strength of his father, and glory of his mother, religion's second hope: foolish people imagine, that they have done enough, when they have railed upon the physitians, as though they could have altered providence, by prolonging his life, never truly beholding the Omnipotent Power bereaving him, which although in his sicknesse, untill the blow was given, could not be seene, yet now (even of the blind) may be easily discerned. And I pray you, if we narrowly looke upon the practise of the meanes, what omission of the duty shall we find therein? Some neere his highnesse, together with doctor Mayerne, at first called and wished he might bleed; others againe, misliked the same; both learned.

The physitians, although jarring at first in their propositions and reasons, at last did every thing by a common consent under all their hands; nothing was wanting, which either art or experience could thinke thereof: whatsoever they did, they always thought most safest and best. They toiled continually day and night, and if it pleased not God to give a blessing to the meanes, must they therefore be blamed? You know

Paul may plant, and Apollos may water, but it is God that giveth the increase. But imagine, there had been any such strife amongst them, the physitians, as it is reported, what should we thinke thereof, but that the God of order will sometime have his will brought to passe, by a kind of confusion, as he overthrew the tower of Babel, with the hosts of Midian, &c. So in phisicke, when his will must be done, if it please him to breake and take away the staffe of bread, not blessing the meanes; who, I say, can lett him (whose will must be our law) to doe whatsoever he will?

Indeed his highnesse's great and extraordinary patience, striving so long to over master, and hide the same in his health, in my judgement, did much wrong the physitians, who by reason of his patience, never dreamed of his danger; as also his most wonderfull and matchlesse patience, all the time of his sicknesse, shewing no kind of froward disposition; lying in shew (for any complaints were heard of him) as though he had never been sicke nor sore. As also the urines, which, untill a little before his death, shewed no such danger; with the dangerous unknowne state of his greatest griefe closely rooted in his head (as in the opening hath beene seene) which could not at first be fully knowne, untill too late; the picture of death by a strange extraordinary countenance, having from the beginning possessed him: vaine rumors also have beene spreade abroad, that he was poysoned: but if the former discourse be well considered, his death, in my judgement, will appeare to have beene naturall, grounded upon very urgent causes. For the phisitians in opening found no such cause in his internalls, upon his skinne being no kinde of spot, or any such suspition. To surmise, as some have done, that he was poisoned by a sent, considering the premises, mee thinkes were great folly, contrary to the opinions of all the learned, who upon this relation to his majesty, proved him free from any such infection: for my part, my skill reacheth not to determine of any thing; onely I thinke it best to hold, that he died in the rage of a malicious and extraordinary burning feaver, wherein his vitals and senses were from the beginning so over-pressed, stupified, and amazed, chiefely the heart and head, which notwithstanding all cordials and other helpes used (God not blessing the meanes) could never be releeved.

The Monday after, the right honourable the lords of the privy counsell of his majesty, with exceeding care came to St James's, to give order for all things belonging to so wofull a business; according to which, the whole house, chappel, great chamber, presence, lobby, privy chamber, and bed chamber, were all hung in black, with all things fitting, thick set with scutcheons of his highnesse's divers armes, which being done under the state in the chamber where he first sickened, appointed for the coffin, there was a place erected above an ell in heigth, where it was to stand to be watched untill the funerall; threescore and tenne gentlemen of his servants, ordinary and extraordinary, (which were all he had) being appointed night and day to attend the same, tenne at a time; it being so ordered, that the tenne who watched in the night, did constantly wait the third day after; mean while was order given that the funerall should be solemnized on Monday the 7. of December following, untill which time, I will not renew griefes in remembring the unspeakable sorrow which was in that woefull house, now longing to doe their last duty.

The time of the funerall now approaching, on Thursday the third day of December the coffin was removed from the chamber where it stood all this while, unto the privy chamber, there being watched for that night. On the morrow it was removed from thence to the presence chamber, where it remained all that night untill the next day, being Saturday at three a clock in the afternoon, at which time his crowne and cap of state were set upon a cushion at the head of the coffin; after which, the heralds marching before the same, the coffin was removed by the gentlemen of his privy chamber unto the great chamber, where his guard attended, in which it was set down for the space of a quarter of an houre; thereafter being lifted againe by the foresaid gentle-

men, it was brought downe staires towards the chappell, where againe for a pretty while it was set downe in the court; where being lifted againe, the gentlemen of his majestie's chappell singing mournefull ditties before them, it was brought into the chappell, and there placed under a canopy set with great armes of the union at full, chained with divers other scutcheons and severall armes, there to remain until the funerall day; this Sunday at night before the funerall, his representation was brought (made in so short warning, as like him as could be) and apparelled with cloathes, having his creation robes above the same, his cap and crowne upon his head, his garter, coller, with a George about his neck, his golden staffe in his right hand lying cross a little; briefely, every thing as he was apparelled at the time of his creation; which being done, it was laid on the back on the coffin, and fast bound to the same, the head thereof being supported by two cushions, just as it was to be drawne along the streets in the funerall chariot, drawne by eight black horses, decked with his several scutcheons and plumes.

But now the time being come, and all things to adorne the triumphes of his mournefull Hadadrimon's black day, the funerall being foure houres in marshalling and marching, set forth about tenne a clock in the morning, there being (as was thought) the number of 2000 mourners in black; the relation whereof were now to no purpose, since the order, rankes, and names are already printed in a book to be seene: as it passed along, the whole world, sensible and insensible things, and creatures, seemed to mourn, and have compassion, heaven and earth and all: there was to be seene an innumerable multitude of all sorts of ages and degrees of men, women, and children, whose wonderfull sorrow who is able to expresse? Some holding down their heads, not being able to endure so sorrowful a sight, all mourning, which they expressed by severall sorts of lamentation and sorrow; some weeping, crying, howling, wringing of their hands; others halfe dead, swooning, sighing inwardly; others holding up their hands, passionately bewayling so great a losse, with rivers, nay, with an ocean of teares: well, on they came at last to Westminster-Abbey, the buriall place, where, after the dolefull musick of all sorts being ended, the coffin was set under a great stately herse, built quadrangle-wise with eight pillars, shewing three to the view on each side four square, canopy like, rising small on the top, trimmed and set thick within and without with divers scutchions, small flagges, and pensils of his highnesse's several armes of the union chained, Scotland, Wales, Cornewall, Chester, Rothsay, Carrick, &c. mingled here and there, with his highnesse's motto, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria*, and that of the funerall herse, *Juvat ire per altum*. After which the whole assembly having taken their places, banners, bannarets, and pensills of all sorts being at rest, after an universall silence, the Archbishop of Canterbury (who was appointed to doe his highnesse the last duty) was seene in the pulpit, who with a grave sober countenance, shewing the inward sorrow of his heart, after a little pause and prayer, did with exceeding passion make the funerall sermon; of which, though you write that you are marvailous desirous to heare the relation, yet I am loath to say any thing, fearing to wrong so great and grave a person: neverthelesse, since I have adventured thus farre (I hope without offence) I shall here (as neere as I can remember) rehearse a word or two thereof, whereby you may judge of the rest.

The text was out of the 82. Psalme, the sixth and seventh verses: "I have said yee are gods, and yee are children of the Most High: but yee shall die as a man, and yee princes shall fall like others." Where after he had most learnedly, by way of introduction, spoken of the authour, occasion, scope, and meaning of this Psalme, he devided the same into two maine branches. First, the exaltation of princes: "I have said yee are gods." &c Secondly, in what respect they are so called. Again, in the humiliation, lest they should be out of measure exalted, he admirably proved, by infinite variety of examples, both divine and morall, the vanity and inconstancy of greatnesse, with all

the shadowish toyes thereof: Thirdly, for ocular proofe and use of all, inviting their eyes to the present dolefull spectacle of their late ever renowned prince, who, not long agoe, was as fresh, brave, and gallant as the best of them, unto whom all the delights and pleasures of the world did begge for acquaintance, lacking nothing which heart could wish for, who yet now for our sinnes lay thus low, bereaved of life and all being, was forced to prove the truth of this text, not onely to fall, but to fall as others.

After which, when he had most truly and excellently shewed a part of his highnesse's excellencies, and many noble vertues, (for all was not possible) chiefely his rare and singular piety both in himselfe, and in the governement of his household, which he so extolled, that he professed he would not be ashamed hereafter to propose the same for a rule unto himselfe; for consolation unto them all, he shewed the exceeding measure of felicity, his highnesse had attained unto by death; and that now in respect of himselfe he was not to be pittied, being, compared with those who had out lived him, the same one brave ship lying amongst a number of others, all tending towards one haven, whither at length they must needs all come, or ship-broken perish by the way, which setting forth betimes, as it were, new, fresh, and strong, with a faire gale of wind, arriveth quickly without any danger at the haven of safety; whereas the rest, loytering a long time by these, and these inticements, set forth at last in a more dangerous season, some overladen, some missing of their way, some with leakes, some wracked, some starved, some drowned, all exceedingly tempest-beaten, with much adoe recovering their desired haven; even so, he said, his late highnesse had gotten the like advantage of all those who had out-lived him; all which, laded with infinite more sinnes, indangering their safe passage, must either perish by the way, or storme beaten, arrive with much toyle, whither he betimes with ease attained. So with exhortation unto all, to make right use thereof, with exceeding great passion and many tears. he ended.

This very day also the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, did solemnize this blacke day, with all the signes of sorrow which could be imagined; having in their two universitie churches funerall sermons, all mourning, both in heart, habite, and countenance; the forerunners of which their extreame sorrow, long before this, in their severall bookes of mourning epitaphs burst forth, Oxford in her *Justa Oxon.* and Cambridge in her *Epicedium Cantabrig.* &c. with divers other orations to this purpose. The funerall sermon, in St Maries Oxon, was preached by Doctor Goodwin, deane of Christ-Church college there; the text being out of Esay, the 57. 1. "The righteous perisheth, and no man considereth it in his heart; and mercifull men are taken away from the evill to come." In which he was not only exceedingly moved himselfe, but also moved the whole universitie and city, to shedde fountaines of teares.

The other of Cambridge, was preached by Doctor Carey, Master of Christs Colledge, and Vice-Chancellour of the universitie, his text being out of the second of Samuel, chap. 3. verse 34. the last words of the verse: "And all the people wept againe for him." In speaking whereof, and weeping himselfe, he made all the people weepe againe and againe.

The archbishop's sermon (as aforesaid) being ended, the Earles, Lords, and Barons, &c. by this time having offered up their severall banners, and honours which they carryed; as also the great officers of his house, Sir Thomas Challenor chamberlaine, Sir Charles Cornwallis treasurer, Sir John Holles comptrouler, together with his three gentlemen-ushers, Walter Alexander, Anthony Abington, and John Lumley, having all by degrees (Sir Thomas Challenor beginning) broken their white staves and rods crossewise over the coffin, thereby resigning their places, the assembly dissolved; the coffin, with the representation, (as is before said) remaining still under the hearse, to be seene of all, untill the 19. of the said moneth of December, when decked and trimmed with cloathes, as he went when he was alive, robes, collar, crowne, golden rodde in his hand &c. it was set up in a chamber of the said chappell at Westminster, amongst the repre-

sentations of the kings and queenes, his famous predecessors, where it remaineth for ever to be seene.

He was of a comely, tall, middle stature, about five foot and eight inches high, of a strong, streight, well-made body (as if nature in him had shewed all her cunning) with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waiste, of an amiable majesticke countenance, his haire of an aborne collour, long faced, and broad forehead, a piercing grave eye, a most gracious smile, with a terrible frowne, courteous, loving, and affable; his favour, like the sunne, indifferently seeming to shine upon all; naturally shamefaced, and modest, most patient, which he shewed both in life and death; slow to anger, that even then, when he was many times most offended, he would (overcomming himself) say nothing; mercifull he was after he had a little punished the offendors; neither did hee judge rashly, but after due examination of both parties; dissimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a prince, not willing, nor by nature being able, to flatter, fawne, or use those kindly, who deserved not his love. Quicke he was to conceive any thing, not rash, but mature in deliberation, yet most constant having resolved: true of his promise; most secret even from his youth, so that he might have beene trusted in any thing that did not force a discovery; being of a close disposition, not easie to be known, or pried into: of a fearlesse, noble, heroicke, and undaunted courage; thinking nothing unpossible, that ever was done by any: a few faire words prevailed more with him, than all the threats of the world: very pitifull and tender-hearted unto any in misery, whom, upon petition, he ever some way releeved.

Most ardent in his love to religion, to which love, and all the good causes thereof, his heart was bent by some meanes or other (if he had lived) to have shewed, and some way to have compounded the unkind jarres thereof; he well shewed his love to good men, and hatred of the evill, in discerning a good preacher from a vaine-glorious, in whom above all things he abhorred flattery, loving and countenancing the good; of the idle and loytering never speaking but with disdaine; in which he shewed he had a heart flexible to good, and all kind of goodnesse, which (as I thinke) was the cause one day, he uttered this speech of the Deane of Rochester his chaplaine.

That he thought, whereas he and others like him, at their first entry into the pulpit, did looke him in the face, their countenance did, as it were, say unto him: Sir, you must heare me diligently; you must have a care to observe what I say: as also in his constancie in observing the prayer time, duely before dinner and supper, which untill his death, he never willingly omitted, whatsoever haste he had, or were it never so late.

What should I yet adde, his conscience of an oath, that he was never heard (I now appeale to envy itselfe) to take God's name in vaine, with an addition of any other seeming light, much lesse horrible oathes, with full swinge of passion; witnesse the testimony of the most reverend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his funerall sermon, wherein was remembred by him, (amongst many other things) that ever memorable reply of his Highnesse, who being asked one day (by one that greatly rejoyced, his Highnesse was no swearer) why he did not swear in play aswell as others; to his eternal praise made this reply, that he knew no game worthy of an oath.[1]

To live long he never desired, nor aspired; many times saying, that it was to small purpose for a brave gallant man, when the prime of his dayes were past, to live so long untill he was full of aches, soares, &c. uttering contemptible speeches of death; affirm-

[1] "The same answer he gave on another occasion, according to the report of one of our historians, who had the following account from his own father, a contemporary of the prince, and son of the Lord Justice Coke. His Highness being once hunting the stag, it happened, that the stag being spent, crossed the road, where a butcher and his dog were travelling. The dog having killed the stag, which was so large, that the butcher could not carry it away, when the huntsmen and company came up, they expressed great resentment, and endeavoured to incense the prince against the butcher. But the prince answered coolly; 'What if the butcher's dog killed the stag? what could the butcher help it?' They replied, that if his father had been so served, he would have sworn so as no man could have endured it. Away, rejoined the prince, all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath." Birch's *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, 1760, p. 378.

ing many times, that he neither desired, nor aspired, or hoped to live long, and that when he should be sicke three or four daies together, then God have mercy on me, would he say.

Popery, with all the adjuncts and adherents thereof, he hated to the death; yet he would now and then use particular Papists very kindly, shewing that he hated not their persons, but their opinions.

I must not forget his love to learning, to the muses, to all the learned who any way did excell; to the two universities, chiefly Oxford (because mourning Cambridge did never injoy his presence) whose unspeakable sorrow for his death, will shew the great portion of his love they injoyed. I should but increase sorrow, to tell you how exceeding kindly their vice-chancellor, doctors, graduates, and students were used, when they came to see him at Woodstock; what care he had to give them contentment, how care full he was, and what speciall commands were generally given throughout the whole house, that they should not want the same; of his mild and grave carriage towards them, and his loving speeches in their absence.

No lesse carefull he was to obey the King his father in every thing, being also very diligent to observe and honour the Queene his mother, so much as in him lay, or as possible he might: wise he was to know and not know, see and not see, almost every thing which was done or said. Wonderfull was his care and wisdome in governing of his house and revenues, giving order and seeing every thing done almost himselfe, so that scarce were there any of his houshold servants whom he did not know by name, amongst whom there was not one knowne or suspected Papist, his care being so great, that all communicants names should be written up, that he might know if there were any, that would not receive.

So that I may most truly affirme, that since the beginning of Princes no house did ever exceede him in all things; his revenues he left increased by thousands a yeare; sparing he was, yet liberall where either honesty, desert, or poverty did move him; neither (whatsoever the worlde thinke) was he ever knowne to give away any thing, or promise any thing but upon mature deliberation; as for those pensions which he gave a little before his death, they were either given to such as had very well deserved them, or who having spent their meanes in his service, he could not out of his noble disposition but relieve, thinking it better to doe so, than bestow upon them other unknowne suites and leases, which otherwise he must needs have done; he was loving and kind to strangers, whose hearts upon small acquaintance he did easily gaine. In state matters and petitions not pertaining unto him, he was ever sparing and not willing to meddle: In his own affaires touching coppy-holds, leases, or any thing of like nature, whatsoever abuses were, he ever redressed, or minded to helpe, upon petition of the party aggreeved.

Friday being the day wherein he died, (I know not by what naturall inclination, or motion,) he did not of a long time before his death love, misliking it above all the dayes of the weeke; upon which he would not willingly use any kind of exercise, or ride any journey, sometimes not so much as play at cards thereon, alleaging that he continually found some indisposition upon that day, and that he never had good luck upon a Friday; such an ominous conceit of the dismalnesse of this day having possessed him, which at length proved to be the period of his dayes.

He loved and did mightily strive to doe somewhat of every thing, and to excell in the most excellent; he greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and in all kind of engines belonging to the warres, both by sea and land: In the bravery and number of great horses; in shooting and levelling of great peeces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of armes; in building and gardening, and in all sorts of rare musique, chiefely the trumpet and drumme; in limming, painting and carving, in all sorts of excellent and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries.

What should I say more of him? over and above all these things, he had a certaine

kind of extraordinary unspeakable excellency, my fraile penne and dull stile not being able to expresse the same, gathered (out of question) by him long agoe from the plentifull garden of the king his fathers all admired Bazilicondoron, long since in his youth dedicated unto him.

I dare sweare, none will thinke an ill thought, much lesse speake an ill word of him, unless it be some Janus-faced Machivillian, or hollow-hearted gunpowderers, who, as they would have blowne up king, progeny, and state, cannot choose now but barke against him, who was a terrour to all the Papists in Christendome.[1]

As he was a man, no question but he had imperfections as others (otherwise he could not have conversed with men,) which I professe, I neither knew, nor delighted to search after; or if I had, you know of all others, I am rather bound to cover and conceale the same with Shem and Japhet, than with Ham to shew his nakednesse, if I were able: yet certainely whatsoever they were, such a number of noble vertues did cover and weigh downe the same, eclipsing their light, that they could not easily be perceived, unlesse it were perhaps by some maliciously bent, who though they might have gathered great store of honey, have rather chosen (like drones) to open the gall; whom I also leave to the gall of bitternesse, untill it consume them.

Wherefore now since his soule resteth in heaven (whereof I intreat you doubt not) let us also leave him: For his good life in generall, his unfaigned love to religion, his love to good men, his sound and saving knowledge, and practice of the same, his attentive and reverent hearing of the word, his humble flexible heart, easily cast downe and drawne by the same, with many other good things, which were in him, are sure signes of the favour of God, and consequently of his salvation. To which if we consider with what innumerable prayers, and strong cries, his soule was attended unto heaven, we may rest fully satisfied of his felicity: For although the extremity of paine from the beginning of his sicksnesse, did as it were stupifie and bereave him of sense, that he could not give those wished testimonies to the world at full; (the Lord choosing to try him in the furnace of affliction) yet since we shall be judged not according to our death, but according to our life; (although his death in such an extremity, as is shewed, was very good) we may certainely conclude, that his soule now praiseth God.

Wherefore when we misse him where we were wont to see him, let us lift up our mindes to a higher watch-tower, remembring that his soule now resteth in heaven, where all cares, troubles, sores, sicknesses, crosses, and afflictions, shall no more annoy him; where the feares, jarres, jealousies, discontentments, mutinies, uproares, and dissentions of state, shall never vex him; where he shall hunger no more, thirst no more, desire no more, having all tears wiped from his eyes, in place of those fraile ones, which could not here endure the sight of the candle, now beholding him whose eyes are tenne thousand times brighter than the sunne, following the Lambe whithersoever he goeth, and in the heaven of heavens injoying the blessed fruition of his God, in the company of millions of his saints and angels; waiting for the full revelation and felicitie of the sonnes of God, and renovation of us all, when God shall be all in all; where let us leave him (of whom we are not worthy untill we be gathered unto him) admiring his incomprehensible wisdom which did bereave us, untill he let us know by experience, how he will bring light out of darknesse: For since he is goodnesse it selfe, his will (whatsoever it be) must needs be good: And I pray you, what, how many, how great, and how wonderfull things hath the Almighty done with this one blow? In humbling of some, curbing the pride of others, casting some downe, and againe in raising up of others, letting all see, as in a mirrour, the vaine inconstancie of greatnesse, making some others inexcusable, if they receive no good from so sensible a lesson, with infinite more, knowne onely to the All-sufficient, All-sceing Majesty.

[1] Yet his dislike was not levelled at the persons, so much as at the opinions of the Catholics. Dr Sharpe observes in his funeral oration, "*Papistas quasdam ingenuos patriæque amantes humaniter et comiter excepit.*"

Let us therefore admire the infinite and incomprehensible wisdome of Almighty God, which so soone translated him from this vale of darknesse, and misery, into that marvellous joy and light, although it seem strange unto our blind eyes: For what know we but that the boyling head-strong passions of youth, evill company, (which corrupteth good manners) the raines of liberty, the corruption of time, with infinite other inticements, whereunto flesh and blood are prone, might have corrupted him, when dying with a consumed body, and a more corrupted soule, he might with an evill conscience (though full of years) have gone to the grave, with farre more hatred, loaded with innumerable more sinnes, than now he did; when by the contrary, with the love, prayers, and teares of all, he was attended unto heaven.

Thus have I beene bold to trouble you, and out of my love (for satisfying your curiosity) to exceede the bounds of a short letter; which if you mildly censure, with an impartiall judgement, pardoning and excusing what you finde amisse, you shall encourage me ever to remaine, as still I am,

Your assured friend,

CHARLES CORNWALLIS.

Four Patents Concerning the Honourable degree and dignitie of Baronets.

The first containing the Creation and Grant.
The second a Decree with addition of other Priviledges.
The thirde a Confirmation and Explanation.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno 1617.

The institution of the order of Baronets, was a device of the wily Cecil, to enable James to levy a voluntary tribute from such as were ambitious to barter what Shakespeare calls, "the article of their gentry," for this newly devised dignity. The ostensible stipulation in favour of the crown was, that each Knight Baronet should furnish a band of thirty foot-soldiers for the defence of the province of Ulster in Ireland for three years, allowing pay at the rate of eight-pence a-day per man. But the real consideration was the payment of a thousand pounds in commutation of the said pay. According to Weldon, James expressed some apprehension that the creation of this new and intermediate rank would disgust the English gentry, to which Cecil replied, "Tush, Sir, you want the money that will do you good, the honour will do them very little!" And, indeed, the honour of knighthood began from that time to fall in the opinion of the people, who beheld what was formerly reserved as the reward of military or civil merit, now prostituted to every one who chose to purchase it. The drama of the times is full of allusions to this traffick.

The word Baronet, as, indeed, appears from this patent, was new in its application, but not in itself, being the same with the *Miles Baronettus* or *Bannerettus*, often mentioned in French and English history. The first creation was upon the 11th May, 1617. Two hundred Knights were then created, and to each was granted a patent of the following tenor:

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. *Salutem.* Cum inter alias Imperii nostri gerendi curas, quibus animus noster assidué exercetur, illa non minima sit, nec minimi momenti, de Plantatione Regni nostri Hiberniæ, ac potissimum Ultoniæ, amplæ et percelebris ejus-

dem Regni Provinciæ, quam, nostris jam auspiciis atque armis, fœliciter sub obsequii jugum redactam, ita constabilire elaboramus, ut tanta Provincia, non solum sincero religionis cultu, humanitate civili, morumque probitate, verum etiam opum affluentia, atque omnium rerum copia, quæ statum Reipublicæ ornare vel beare possit, magis magisque efflorescat, opus sanè, quod nulli progenitorum nostrorum præstare et perficere licuit, quamvis idipsum multa sanguinis et opum profusione sæpius tentaverint; in quo opere, sollicitudo nostra Regia, non solum ad hoc excubare debet, ut plantatio ipsa strenuè promoveatur, oppida condantur, ædes et castra extruantur, agri colantur, et id genus alia; sed etiam prospiciendum imprimis, ut universus hujusmodi rerum civilium apparatus, manu armatâ, præsidiis videlicet et cohortibus, protegatur et communiatur, ne qua aut vis hostilis, aut defectio intestina, rem disturbet aut impediat: Cumque nobis intimatum sit, ex parte quorundam ex fidelibus nostris subditis, quod ipsi paratissimi sint, ad hoc regnum nostrum inceptum, tam corporibus, quam fortunis suis promovendum: Nos commoti operis tam sancti ac salutaris intuitu, atque gratos habentes hujusmodi generosos affectus, atque propensas in obsequium nostrum et bonum publicum voluntates, statuimus apud nos ipsos nulli rei deesse, quæ subditorum nostrorum studia præfata remunerare, aut aliorum animos atque alacritatem, ad operas suas præstandas, aut impensas in hac parte faciendas, excitare possit: Itaque nobiscum perpendentes atque reputantes, virtutem et industriam, nulla alia re magis quam honore ali atque acui; omnemque honoris et dignitatis splendorem, et amplitudinem à rege tanquam á fonte, originem et incrementum ducere, ad cujus culmen et fastigium propriè spectat, novos honorum et dignitatum titulos erigere atque instituere, utpote à quo antiqui illi fluxerint; consentaneum duximus (postulante usu reipublicæ atque temporum ratione) nova merita, novis dignitatum insignibus rependere: Ac propterea, ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris, ordinavimus, ereximus, constituimus, et creavimus, quendam statum, gradum, dignitatem, nomen et titulum Baronetti, (Anglice *of a Baronet*) infra hoc regnum nostrum Angliæ perpetuis temporibus duraturum. Sciatis modo quod nos de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris, ereximus, præfecimus et creavimus, ac per præsentes pro nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris, erigimus, præficimus, et creamus dilectum nostrum de in comitatu virum, familia, patrimonio, censu, et morum probitate spectatum (qui nobis auxilium et subsidium satis amplum, generoso et liberali animo dedit et præstitit, ad manutenendum, et supportandum triginta viros in cohortibus nostris pedestribus in dicto regno nostro Hiberniæ, per tres annos integros pro defensione dicti regni nostri, et precipuè pro securitate plantationis dictæ Provinciæ Ultoniæ) ad, et in dignitatem, statum, et gradum Baronetti (Anglice *of a Baronet.*) Ipsumque Baronettum pro nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris, præficimus, constituimus, et creamus per præsentes, habendum sibi, et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis in perpetuum. Volumus etiam et per præsentes de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris, pro nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris concedimus præfato et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, quod ipse idem et hæredes sui masculi prædicti habeant, gaudeant, teneant, et capiant locum atque præcedentiam, virtute dignitatis Baronetti prædicti, et vigore præsentium, tam in omnibus commissionibus, brevibus, literis patentibus, scriptis, appellationibus, nominationibus et directionibus, quam in omnibus sessionibus, conventibus, cætibus et locis quibuscunque, præ omnibus militibus, tam de Balneo, (Anglice *of the Bathe*) quàm militibus Baccalaureis, (Anglice *Bachelors*) ac etiam præ omnibus militibus Bannerettis, (Anglice *Bannerets*) jam creatis, vel imposterum creandis, illis militibus Bannerettis tantummodo exceptis quos sub vexillis regiis, in exercitu regali, in aperto bello, et ipso rege personaliter præsente, explicatis, et non aliter creari contigerit. Quodque uxoris dicti et hæredum masculorum suorum prædictorum, virtute dictæ dignitatis maritorum suorum prædicto-

rum, habeant, teneant, gaudeant, et capiant locum et precedentiam, præ uxoribus omnium aliorum quorumcunque, præ quibus mariti hujusmodi uxorum, vigore præsentium habere debent locum et præcedentiam; atque quod primogenitus filius, ac cæteri omnes filii et eorum uxores, et filiæ ejusdem et hæredum suorum prædictorum respectivé, habeant, et capiant locum et præcedentiam, ante primogenitos filios, ac alios filios et eorum uxores, et filias omnium quorumcunque respectivé, præ quibus patres hujusmodi filiorum primogenitorum, et aliorum filiorum, et eorum uxores, et filiarum, vigore præsentium habere debent locum et præcedentiam. Volumus etiam, et per præsentes pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris, de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ, et mero motu nostris concedimus, quod dictus nominetur, appelletur, nuncupetur, placitet et implacitetur, per nomen Baronetti; et quod stilus et additio Baronetti apponatur in fine nominis ejusdem et hæredum masculorum suorum prædictorum, in omnibus literis patentibus, commissionibus, et brevibus nostris, atque omnibus aliis chartis, factis, atque literis, virtute præsentium, ut vera, et legitima, necessarie additio dignitatis. Volumus etiam, et per præsentes pro nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris ordinamus, quod nomini dicti et hæredum masculorum suorum prædictorum, in sermone Anglicano, et omnibus scriptis Anglicanis, præponatur hæc additio, videlicet Anglicè (*Sir:*) Et similiter quod uxores ejusdem et hæredum masculorum suorum prædictorum, habeant, utantur, et gaudeant hac appellatione, videlicet Anglicè *(lady, madame, and dame)* respectivè, secundum usum loquendi. Habendum, tenendum, utendum, et gaudendum, eadem statum, gradum, dignitatem, stilum, titulum, nomen, locum, et præcedentiam, cum omnibus et singulis privilegiis, et cæteris præmissis, præfat. et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus imperpetuum. Volentes et per præsentes concedentes, pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, quod prædictus et hæredes sui masculi prædicti, nomen, statum, gradum, stilum, dignitatem, titulum, locum, et præcedentiam prædictam, cum omnibus et singulis privilegiis, et cæteris premissis successivè gerant et habeant, et eorum quilibet gerat et habeat, quodque idem et hæredes sui masculi prædicti successivè Baronetti in omnibus teneantur, et ut Baronetti tractentur et reputentur, et eorum quilibet teneatur, tractetur et reputetur. Et ulterius de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris concessimus, ac per præsentes pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris concedimus præfato et hæredibus suis masculis prædictis, quod numerus baronettorum hujus regni Angliæ nunquam posthac excedet in toto, in aliquo uno tempore, numerum ducentorum baronettorum: et quod dicti Baronetti, et eorum hæredes masculi prædicti respectivé, de tempore in tempus in perpetuum, habebunt, tenebunt et gaudebunt locos et præcedentias suas inter se, videlicet, quilibet eorum secundum prioritatem et senioritatem creationis suæ Baronetti prædicti; quotquot autem creati sunt, vel creabuntur Baronetti per literas nostras patentes, gerentes datas uno et eodem die, et hæredes sui prædicti, gaudebunt locis et præcedentiis suis inter se secundum prioritatem, quæ cuilibet eorum dabitur, per alias literas nostras patentes in ea parte primo conficiendas, sine impedimento, et non aliter, nec alio modo. Et insuper de abundantiori gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris concessimus, ac per præsentes, pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris concedimus præfato et hæredibus suis masculis prædictis, quod nec nos, nec hæredes vel successores nostri, de cætero in posterum erigemus, ordinabimus, constituemus, aut creabimus infrà hoc regnum nostrum Angliæ aliquem alium gradum, ordinem, nomen, titulum, dignitatem, sive statum, sub vel infra gradum, dignitatem, sive statum baronum, hujus regni nostri Angliæ, qui erit vel esse possit superior, vel æqualis gradui et dignitati baronettorum predictorum, sed quod tam dictus et hæredes sui masculi prædicti, quàm uxores, filii, uxores filiorum et filiæ ejusdem et hæredum masculorum suorum

prædictorum, de cætero in perpetuum liberé et quietè habeant, teneant, et gaudeant, dignitates, locos et præcedentias suas prædictas præ omnibus, qui erunt de talibus gradibus, statibus, dignitatibus vel ordinibus in posterum, ut præfertur creandi respectivé secundum veram intentionem præsentium absque impedimento nostro, hæredum, vel successorum nostrorum, vel aliorum quorumcunque. Et ulterius per præsentes declaramus, et significamus beneplacitum et voluntatem nostram in hac parte fore et esse, et sic nobiscum statuimus et decrevimus, quod si postquam nos prædictum numerum ducentorum baronettorum hujus regni Angliæ compleverimus et perfecerimus, contigerit aliquem, vel aliquos eorundem baronettorum ab hâc vitâ discedere, absque hære de masculo de corpore vel corporibus hujusmodi baronetti vel baronettorum procreato, quod tunc nos non creabimus, vel præficiemus aliquam aliam personam, vel personas in baronettum, vel baronettos regni nostri Angliæ, sed quod numerus dictorum ducentorum baronettorum ea ratione de tempore in tempus diminuetur, et in minorem numerum cedet et redigetur; denique volumus, ac per præsentes, pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris concedimus præfato et hæredibus suis masculis prædictis, quod hæ literæ nostræ patentes erunt in omnibus, et per omnia firmæ, validæ, bonæ, sufficientes et effectuales in lege, tam contra nos, hæredes, et successores nostros, quám contra omnes alios quoscunque secundum veram intentionem earundem, tam in omnibus curiis nostris, quam alibi ubicunque. Non obstante aliqua lege, consuetudine, præscriptione, usu, ordinatione, sive constitutione quacunque ante hac æditâ, habitâ, usitatâ, ordinatâ, sive provisâ, vel in posterum ædendâ, habendâ, usitandâ, ordinandâ, vel providendâ: et non obstante aliquâ aliâ re, causâ vel materiâ quacunque. Volumus etiam, &c. Absque fine in hanaperio, &c. Eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cujus rei, &c. Teste, &c.

Instructions to the Commissioners authorized under the Great Seal to grant Warrant for the Creation of Knights Baronets.

[After the first creation of baronets, the king, unwilling that so fruitful a source of revenue should be dried up, made many baronets, both by warrants of the privy seal, and by warrants of commissioners authorized under the great seal, to treat with such persons as desired that honour, and to confer it upon certain conditions. These conditions, ostensibly calculated to maintain the dignity and respectability of the new order of knighthood, are expressed in the instructions annexed to the commission, and here inserted from Selden, to give the reader full information upon the subject. It may however be noticed, that, notwithstanding the great anxiety displayed by the instructions, that the dignity should only be conferred on knights, or "esquires of great antiquity and extraordinary living," that they should be possessed of certain armorial bearings and landed estate, yet, *de facto*, it was refused to no candidate who produced the sum levied under pretence of maintenance of the supposed soldiers in Ulster, but in reality for supporting the profusion of the court.]

Forasmuch as we have been pleased to authorize you to treat and conclude with a certain number of knights and esquires, as they shall present themselves unto you, with such offers of assistance for the service of Ireland, and under such conditions as are contained in these presents, wherein we do repose great trust and confidence in your discretions and integrities, knowing well, that in such cases there are so many circumstances incident as require a choice care and consideration. We do hereby require you to take such course as may make known abroad both our purpose and the authority given unto you, that by the more publick notice thereof, those persons who are disposed to advance so good a work, may in time understand where and to whom to address themselves for the same; for which purpose we require you to appoint some certain place and times for their access, which we think fittest to be at the council-chamber at Whitehall, upon Wednesdays and Fridays in the afternoon, where you shall make known to them, as

they come, that those who desire to be admitted into the dignity of baronets must maintain the number of thirty foot soldiers in Ireland, for three years, after the rate of eight-pence, sterling money of England, by the day; and the wages of one whole year to be paid into our receipt upon passing of the patent. Provided always, that you proceed with none, except it shall appear unto you, upon good proof, that they are men, for quality, state of living, and good reputation, worthy of the same; and that they are at the least descended of a grandfather, by the father's side, that bare arms, and have also of certain yearly revenue in lands of inheritance in possession one thousand pounds *per annum de claro;* or lands of the old rent as good, in accompt, as one thousand pounds *per annum* of improved rents, or at least two parts in three parts to be divided of lands to the said values in possession, and the other third part in reversion, expectant upon one life only, holding by dower or in jointure.

And for the order to be observed in ranking those that shall receive the dignity of a baronet, although it is to be wished, that those knights, which have now place before other knights in respect of the time of their creation, may be ranked before others, *cæteris paribus*; yet, because this is a dignity which shall be hereditary, wherein divers circumstances are more considerable than such a mark as is but temporary, that is to say, of being now a knight, in time before another, our pleasure is, you shall not be so precise in placing those that shall receive this dignity, but that an esquire of great antiquity and extraordinary living may be ranked in this choice before some knights. And so of knights, a man of greater living, more remarkable for his house, years, or calling in the commonwealth, may be now preferred in this degree before one that was made a knight before him.

Next, because there is nothing of honour or of value, which is known to be sought or desired, be the motives never so good, but may receive scandal from some, who, wanting the same good affection to the publick, or being in other considerations incapable, can be contented, out of envy to those that are so preferred, to cast aspersions and imputations upon them, as if they came by this dignity for any other consideration but that which concerneth this so publick and memorable a work, you shall take order, that the party who shall receive this dignity may take his oath, that neither he, nor any for him, hath directly or indirectly given any more for attaining the degree, or any precedence in it, than that which is necessary for the maintenance of the number of soldiers, in such sort as aforesaid, saving the charges of passing his patent.

And because we are not ignorant, that, in the distribution of all honours, most men will be desirous to attain to so high a place as they may, in the judgement whereof, being matter of dignity, there cannot be too great caution used to avoid the interruptions that private partialities may breed in so worthy a competition.

Forasmuch as it is well known, that it can concern no other person so much to prevent such inconveniencies, as it must do ourself, from whom all honour and dignity, either temporary or hereditary, hath his only root and beginning; you shall publish and declare to all, to whom it may concern, that, for the better warrant of your own actions, in this matter of precedency, wherein we find you so desirous to avoid all just exceptions, we are determined upon view of all those patents, which shall be subscribed by you before the same pass our great seal, to take the especial care upon us, to order and rank every man in his due place; and therein always to use the particular counsel and advice, that you, our commissioners, shall give us, of whose integrity and circumspection we have so good experience, and are so well persuaded, as we assure ourself, you will use all the best means you may to inform your own judgments in cases doubtful before you deliver us any such opinion as may lead us in a case of this nature, wherein our intention is, by due consideration of all necessary circumstances, to give every man that satisfaction which standeth with honour and reason.

Lastly, Having now directed you, with what caution you are to entertain the offers

of such as shall present themselves for this dignity.—We do also require you to observe these two things, the one that every such person as shall be admitted, do enter into sufficient bond or recognizance, to our use, for the payment of that portion, which shall be remaining after the payment is made, which you are to see paid, upon delivery of the letters patents; the other, that seeing this contribution for so public an action, is the motive of this dignity, and that the greatest good which may be expected upon this plantation, will depend upon the certain payment of these forces, which shall be fit to be maintained in that kingdom, until the same be well established, the charge whereof will be borne with the greater difficulty, if we be not eased by some such extraordinary means; we require you, our treasurer of England, so to order this receipt, as no part thereof be mixed with another treasure, but kept apart by itself, to be wholly converted to that use to which it is given and intended; and in regard thereof, that you resign it to be received and the bonds to be kept by some such particular person as you shall think good to appoint, who, upon the payment of every several portion, shall both deliver out the bonds, and give his acquittance for the same. For which this shall be yours, and his the said receiver's sufficient warrant in that behalf.—SELDON's *Works*, ed. 1726, III. 846. *et seq.*

James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all to whome these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that we have made a certaine ordinance, establishment, and finall decree, whereof the tenor followeth in these words.

The Decree and Establishment of the Kings Majestie upon a controversie of Precedence, betweene the younger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, and the Baronets; And touching some other points also concerning, as well Bannerets, as the said Baronets.

The kings most excellent majestie, having, upon the petition and submission of both parts, taken into his royall audience and censure, a certaine controversie, touching place and precedence, between the younger sonnes of viscounts and barons, and the baronets, (being a degree by his majestie newly created) which controversie did arise upon an inference onely out of some darke words contained in the letters patents of the said baronets: and having in person heard both parts, and their learned counsell, three severall daies at large after information taken from the heraults, and due consideration of such proofes as were produced on both sides, hath declared and decreed as followeth.

His majestie well weighing, that the letters patents of the baronets have no speciall clause or expresse wordes to give unto them the said precedence; and being a witnesse unto himselfe (which is a testimony above all exception) that his princely meaning was onely to grace and advance this new dignitie of his majesties erection; but not therewithall any wayes to wrong tacitely and obscurely a third partie, such as the younger sonnes of viscounts and barons are, in that which is a flower of their fathers nobilitie:

And having also had the attestation of the lords of his privie councell, who did declare that the precedence (after debate and deliberation, while the patent of the baronets was in consultation) was with one consent resolved and ordered for the younger sonnes of the viscounts and barons:

And finding also, that the clause whereby the precedence is challenged by the baronets, as by a kind of consequence in regard of place given unto them above some bannerets, doeth not warrant their claime (forasmuch as the precedence betweene the bannerets themselves, and the yonger sonnes of viscounts and barons, appeareth not to

have bene regular or certaine, but full of confusion and variety, and therefore not sufficient whereupon to ground such their pretence,) but being chiefly moved by the clearnesse of his majesties royall intent and meaning, and the explanation thereof by his councell, (which his royall meaning doeth, and ever must leade his majesties judgement in the interpretation of his owne actes,) hath finally sentenced, adjudged, and established, that the yonger sonnes of viscounts and barons, shall take place and precedence before all baronets.

And further, the better to settle, and cleare also all question of precedence that may concerne either bannerets, or the yonger sonnes of viscounts and barons, or the said baronets, either as they have relation among themselves, or towards others respectively: His majestie for himself, his heirs, and successours, doeth ordaine and establish, that such bannerets, as shall be made by the kings majestie, his heires, and successors, under his or their standard, displayed in an armie royall in open warre,[1] and the king personally present, for the terme of the lives of such bannerets, and no longer, (according to the most ancient, and noble institution) shall for ever hereafter in all places, and upon all occasions, take place and precedence, aswell before all other bannerets whatsoever, (no respect being had to the time, and prioritie of their creation,) as likewise before the yonger sonnes of viscounts and barons, and also before all baronets.

And againe, that the yonger sonnes of viscounts and barons, and also all baronets, shall in all places, and upon all occasions, take place and precedence before all bannerets whatsoever, other then such as shall be made by the king himselfe, his heirs, and successors, in person, and in such speciall case, manner and forme, as aforesaid.

Neverthelesse, for a singular honour to the person of the most high and excellent Prince Henry, now Prince of Wales, his majesties eldest sonne; aswell the younger sonnes of the viscounts and barons, as the baronets, have freely and voluntarily consented and agreed at the hearing of the said cause, in the presence of his majestie, and his Privy Counsell, and all the hearers, to give place and precedence to such bannerets, as shall be hereafter made by the said most noble Henry, now Prince of Wales, under the kings standard displayed in an army royall in open warre, and the said Prince there personally present.[2]

Saving the right of the yonger sonnes of viscounts and barons, and of the said baronets, and of the heires males of the bodies of such Baronets, for the time being, in all other cases according to the effects and true intent and meaning of their letters patents, and of these presents.

And his majestie doth likewise by these presents, for himselfe, his heires and successours ordeine, that the knights of the most noble order of the garter, the privie councellours of his majestie, his heires and successours, the master of the court of wardes and liveries, the chancellour and under-treasurer of the Exchequer, chancellour of the duchie, the chiefe justice of the court commonly called the Kings Bench, the master of the rolls, the chiefe justice of the court of Common Pleas, the chiefe baron of the Exchequer, and all other the judges and barons of the degree of the coife of the said courts, now and for the time being, shall, by reason of such their honourable order, and imployment of state and justice, have place and precedencie in all places, and upon all occasions, before the yonger sonnes of viscounts and barons, and before all baronets, any customes, use, ordinance, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. But that no other person or persons whatsoever, under the degree of barons of parliament, shall take place before the said baronets, except onely the eldest sonnes of viscounts and barons, and others of higher degree, whereof no question ever was, or can be made.

[1] The last knight banneret of England is said to have been Sir Ralph Sadler, so created *sub vexillo regis*, after the battle of Pinkie. But he was knighted by the Duke of Somerset, a subject, and therefore was of the inferior order of bannerets.

[2] This passage marks the hopes which were entertained from the martial character of "England's darling," soon after blighted by his untimely death.

And so his Majesties meaning is, and accordingly he doth by these presents, for him, his heires and successours, ordeine and decree, that the said Baronets, and the heires male of their bodies, shall in all places, and upon all occasions for ever, have, hold, and enjoy their place and precedencie, next unto, and immediately after the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons; and that no person or persons, nor state or states of men, shall have or take place between them, any constitution, order, degree, office, service, place, imployment, custome, use, or other thing whatsoever now or hereafter to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that the wives of the said baronets, and of the heires males of their bodies, shall likewise, by vertue of the saide dignitie of their said husbands, in all places, and upon all occasions, have, take, and enjoy their place and precedencie during their lives, next unto, and immediately after that place that is due, and belongeth unto the wives of the younger sonnes of viscounts and barons, and to the daughters of such viscounts and barons, any constitution, use, custome, ordinance, or other thing whatsoever, now or hereafter to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And, further, his majestie doth, by these presents, for him, his heires, and successors, of his certain knowledge and meere motion, promise and graunt to the said baronets, and every of them already created, and heereafter to be created, and the heires males of their bodies, that neither his majestie, nor his heires or successours, shall or will at any time hereafter, erect, ordaine, constitute, or create, any other degree, order, name, title, stile, dignitie or state, nor will give place, precedencie, or preheminence, to any person or persons whatsoever, under or beneath the degree, dignitie, or state of lords of parliament of this his realme of England, which shall or may be, or be taken, used, or accompted to be higher, before, or equall to the degree, dignitie, or place of the said baronets, or any of them: And therefore his majestie doeth for him, his heires, and successours, ordeine, graunt, and appoint by these presents, that all and every the said baronets, and their said heires males, and the wives, sonnes, sonnes wives, and daughters of the said baronets, and of their said heires males, shall, and may for ever heereafter, freely and quietly have, hold, and enjoy their saide dignities, places, precedencie, and priviledges, before all other which are or shall be created of such decrees, states, dignities, orders, names, stiles, or titles, or to whom such place, precedencie, or preheminence shall be so given as aforesaid, their wives and children respectively, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents.

Saving neverthelesse to his majestie, his heires, and successors, full and absolute power and authoritie, to continue or restore to any person or persons, from time to time, such place and precedencie as at any time heerafter shall be due unto them, which, by any accident or occasion whatsoever, shall be heerafter changed, any thing in these presents, or other cause or respect whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

And now, though this precedent declaration doth clearely ridde all questions arising upon the letters-patents, yet his majestie having, upon the occasion of this controversie and hearing, and of some of the baronets grievances, propounded out of their mouthes, considered more maturely upon the points and latitude of their said patents, his majestie being resolved (as out of his owne royall mouth it pleased him to declare unto them) to ampliate his favour, especially where it meets with these so well borne and well deserving gentlemen, (this dignitie being of his majesties owne erection, and the worke of his own handes,) his majestie is therefore graciously pleased (not contented with those markes of his favour, which alreadie they enjoy by the wordes of their patent, which layeth a marke of dignitie and precedence upon them and their posterity) further to strengthen and adorne his majesties gracious favour towards them, with addition of the priviledges, preheminences, and ornaments ensuing.

First, his majestie is pleased to knight the present baronets that are no knights; and doeth also, by these presents, of his meere motion and favour, promise and graunt for

him, his heirs, and successours, that such baronets, and the heires males of their bodies, as hereafter shall be no knights, when they shall attaine, or be of the age of one-and-twentie yeares, upon knowledge thereof given to the lord chamberlaine or the houshold, or vice-chamberlaine for the time being, or, in their absence, to any other officer attending upon his majesties person, shall be knighted by his majestie, his heires, and successours.

His majestie doth also graunt for him, his heirs, and successours, that the baronets and their descendants, shall and may beare, either in a canton in their coate of armes, or in an inscutchion, at their election, the armes of Ulster, that is in a field argent, a hand geules, or a bloudy hand.

And also, that the baronets for the time being, and the heires of their bodies, shall have place in the armies of the kings majestie, his heires, and successours, in the grosse, neere about the royall standard of the king, his heires and successours, for the defence of the same.

And, lastly, that the baronets, and the heires males of their bodies, shall have two assistants of the bodie to support the pall, a principal mourner, and foure assistants to him at their funerals, being the meane betwixt a baron and a knight.

And to the end that every of the baronets, and the heires males of their bodies, may have, upon all occasions, present use and proofe of these his majesties favours; his majestie is graciously pleased, that aswell the baronets alreadie created, as hereafter to be created, shall and may have, and take letters-patents under the great seale of England, to the effect of the said former letters-patents of creation, and of these presents, either joynt or severall, as they shall be advised by the learned councell of his majestie, his heires and successours, and according to his highnesse true intent and meaning.

In witnesse whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the eight-and-twentieth day of May, in the tenth yeere of our raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the five-and-fortieth.

James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas we heretofore have ordeined, erected, constituted, and created the degree, state, dignitie, name, and title of baronet, to continue for ever within this our realme of England: And to that end, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, have (by our severall letters-patents under the great seale of England, in that behalf made) conferred the same state, dignitie, and degree of baronet, upon divers principall gentlemen of this our kingdome; and thereby severally and accordingly created them baronets, to have and to hold the same dignitie, state and degree, to them and their severall heires males of their severall bodies respectively, together with such place and precedency, to them and to their said heires males, and to the wives of them, and of their said heires males, and to their eldest sonnes, and other their sonnes, and to the wives of their sonnes, and to their daughters, with such stile, addition, and appellation, to them and to their said heires males, and to their wives, and the wives of their said severall heires males, and with such other priviledges, advantages, and covenants, and in such sort as in and by the said severall letters patents doth appeare.

And whereas also, of our further grace and favour, we have, by other our letters patents, under our great seale of England, bearing date the eight-and-twentieth day of May, in the yeere of our raigne of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, the tenth, and of Scotland the five-and-fortieth, farther enlarged our gracious favour towards the same baronets, by addition of certaine privileges, preheminences, and ornaments, in and by our said last recited letters patents, made, expressed, and granted; giving also libertie

thereby to such gentlemen as then were or should be created baronets, to take letters patents accordingly under our great seale of England, to the effect of the same letters patents, and of the said former patents of creation, jointly and severally in such sort as in and by the same letters patents doth and may appeare. We, of our princely favour and gracious disposition, upon all occasions to make known and publish the continuance of our favour and good affection, as well towards the gentlemen whom of our power and grace we have advanced, or shall heereafter advance to the said degree, as to the degree itself being a matter of our own erection, doe hereby for us, our heires and successors, not onely ratefie, confirme, allow, and approve of the said dignitie, state, and degree of a baronet, so erected by us as aforesaid; and the particular and severall letters patents made by us to the severall gentlemen whom we have thereby created baronets, together with all the benefits, advantages, rights and priviledges of place, precedency, and otherwise, by our said severall letters patents, to them severally graunted, or mentioned to be granted; and also all other priviledges, benefits, and advantages, in or by any other our letters patents, given, granted, mentioned, or intended to them; but also, of our speciall grace and favour, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, doe for us, our heires and successors, declare hereby, that we, imitating therein our predecessors and progenitors of famous memory, who have had, and put in practise the power of creating new degrees amongst their subjects, have, of our regall power and authority, erected and ordeined the said degree of baronet; and did then, and yet intend, and doe hereby appoint and expresse our will and pleasure to be, and doe grant for us, our heires and successors, that the same title, stile, dignity, and degree, shall be and continue to such gentlemen on whom of our goodnes and favour we have conferred, and shall hereafter conferre the same and to every of them, and to the severall heires males of their severall bodies, and that the said title, stile, dignitie, and degree of baronet, shall be, and shall be reputed and taken to be a title, stile, dignity, and degree of dignity hereditary, meane in place betwixt the degree of a baron and the degree of a knight.

And we doe hereby declare, that not onely such gentlemen as are or hereafter shall be baronets as aforesaid, and the heires males of their bodies, and their wives during their husbands lives, shall have and hold such place and precedency as by our former letters patents are granted, mentioned, or intended to them, but also their wives after the decease of their husbands, shall, during their lives, have and hold the like place of precedency, which they had and held in their husbands lives, according to the manner and usage in other degrees: And for as much as the degree of a baronet is an hereditarie degree in blood, therefore we doe declare, that the eldest sonnes of the same baronets and their wives, as well during their husbands lives as after; and the daughters of the same baronets, the said daughters following next after the said wives of the eldest sonnes of the same baronets, shall have place and precedency before the eldest sonne, and the wife of the eldest sonne of any knight of what degree or order soever; and likewise, that the younger sonnes of the same baronets and their wives, as well during their husbands lives as after, shall, after the same manner, have place and precedency next after the eldest sonnes and the wives of the eldest sonnes, and before the younger sonnes, and before the wives of the younger sonnes of any of the knights aforesaid. And our will and pleasure is, and we doe for us, our heires, and successors, hereby farther grant and appoint, that if any doubts or questions not hereby, nor by any our recited letters patents, cleared and determined, doe or shall arise, concerning any place, precedency, priviledge, or other matter touching or concerning the same baronets, and the heires males of their bodies, and their wives, their eldest sonnes and their wives, their daughters, their younger sonnes, and their yonger sonnes wives, or any of them, such doubts or questions shall be decided and determined, by and according to such usual rules, custome, and lawes, for place, precedency, priviledge, or other matters concerning them as other degrees of dignity hereditary, are ordered and adjudged. And further of our espe-

ciall grace, certaine knowledge and meer motion, we doe hereby declare and expresse our true intent and meaning to have been, and doe hereby promise and graunt for us, our heires and successors, to and with such gentlemen as now be, or at any time hereafter shall be baronets, that so soon as they, or any of them, shall attaine to the age of one-and-twenty yeeres; and likewise, so soon as the eldest sonne, or apparent heire male of the bodies of them, or any of them, shall, during the life of their father or grandfather, attaine to the age of one-and-twenty yeeres; and that the said baronets, or the said eldest sonnes, or apparent heires males, shall be presented to us by the lord chamberlaine of our houshold, or vice-chamberlaine for the time being, or, in their absence by any other officer attending upon the person of us, our heires or successors, to be made knights, that they, and every of them, shall, from time to time, be made knights by us, our heires and successors accordingly: Provided, neverthelesse, that any such eldest sonne of a baronet being made knight, shall not, during his fathers life, take place of any auntienter knight: And to the end that such as are, or at any time hereafter, shall be baronets, may have, upon all occasions, present use and proof of these our favours; we are farther graciously pleased, that as well such as now are, as also such as at any time hereafter shall be baronets, and every of them, shall and may at all times hereafter, have and take letters patents under our great seale of England, to the effect of the said former recited letters patents and of these presents, as they shall be advised by the learned counsell to us, our heires or successors, and according to the true intent and meaning heerein, and in our said severall letters patents expressed. In witness whereof, &c.

The Narrative History of King James, for the first fourteen Years. In four Parts. I. *The State of England at his Majesties entrance, and relation it had to other Parts; the lascivious courses at Court, with the Lord of Northampton's coming to honour; the division betwixt the Hollander and English, betwixt the Scot and English, betwixt the English and Irish; also the rising of Somerset, his favour and greatness with the King, his Parentage and Descent, his Fall, and the beginning of Buckingham's greatness.* II. *The Proceedings touching the Divorce betwixt the Lady Frances Howard, and Robert Earl of Essex, before the King's Delegates, George Canterbury, John Bishop of London, Lancelett Bishop of Ely, Richard Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Dr Cæsar, Thomas Parrey, Dr Donn, John Benett, Fran. James, and Thomas Edwards, authorized under the King's Broad Seal: Also, the Arraignement of Sir Jer. Elvis, Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Thomas Monson, Knight, Anne Turner, Rich. Weston, and James Franklin, &c. touching the Murthering and Poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, his Majesties Prisoner in the Tower; with all their Examinations, Arraignments, Evidences, Confessions, Answers, and Trials, with their Sentence and Sufferings; with his Majesties gratious Pardon and favour to the Countesse.* III. *A Declaration of his Majesties Revenue, with Assignations and Defalcations upon the same, and of all Monies brought into his Majesties Coffers from time to time since he came to the Crown of England, by what means soever, with the annual Issues, Gifts, Rewards, and extraordinary Disbursements.* IV. *The Commissions and Warrants for the burning of two Hereticks, both holding part of the same our Ranters do, being old Heresies, newly revived; also, two Pardons, the one for Theophilus Higgins, the other for Sir Eustace Harte.* London, printed for Michael Sparke, at the Sign of the Bible, in Green-Arbour. 1651. 4to, 192 Pages.

THE EMBLEMATICAL TITLE EXPLAINED.

TRIUMPHANT Truth, trampling on Errour base,
With one hand hidden secrets doth uncase;

With t'other draws the curtain, shews in King James,
That Death, kings, crowns, scepters, and all things tames;
Expressed by this dead kings posture right,
Who, dead, all regal ornaments doth slight.

On th' other side, all-conquering Time doth stand
A watchful sentinell, and with his hand
Draws back the other curtain, to descrie,
That princes must, as well as pesants, die;
And helps t' uncover secrets covered long,
And, under's feet, tramples on death most strong.

Then, next, behold experienced Memorie,
The true recorder of all historie,
Spurning down black Oblivion with his looks,
Whiles he turns o'er his parchments and his books;
And, by his expert knowledge, calls to minde
The truth of stories which thou here shalt finde.

On th' other side sits Historie most grave,
Writes down what Memorie unto him gave,
To countenance both Time and Truth most sweet,
And treads down lazy Sloth under his feet;
Relating here the ranting daies of old,
Of whose base pranks many foul tales are told.

At last, i'the midst, thou may'st a cofin spie,
Wherein a murthered corpse encosed doth lie;
On which a light and urn thou placed may'st see,
And in the midst to grow a spreading tree,
Full fraught with various fruits, most fresh and fair,
To make succeeding times most rich and rare.

This ancient and curious account of the first part of the reign of James I. containing the rise and fall of Somerset, is often quoted by our historians, as bearing considerable authority. The former edition of these Tracts contained only that part of the appendix, entitled, "A Declaration of his Majesties Revenue," &c. The publication was issued in the time of the commonwealth, to expose the licentiousness of the former court in the Historical Narrative; the expence of its maintenance in the Declaration of Revenue; the severity of the government against dissenting protestants, exemplified by the warrants for burning Legat and Wightman; and its remissness towards catholics, in the pardons to Higgons and Harte, all subjects of popular offence under the republican government. Wilson has drawn from this publication a great part of the materials for his Life and History of King James, and often quotes the very words of the pamphlet. As it is now become very rare, it was judged a proper and valuable addition to this Collection.

The Stationer to the impartial Reader, Gentlemen, or others.

Reader,

Tempus omnia terminat—Time ends all, and brings to sight variety of strange and several actions, as here is to be seen by this ensuing history. Many in these daies which were then unborn, and divers then born, will hardly give credit to the truth thereof, (for truth and reality hath been too much obscured,) but now understand, by pains, care, and industry, these have been collected and preserved, which are now here for thy pleasure, content, and delight, published to the world If thou desirest to know the authors and preservers of these most remarkable accidents, and publisher and divulger of

this excellent narrative history, being the first fourteen years of King James, please to take notice, these came forth of the studies, closets, cabinets, of some secretaries of state, and some others, men of no mean quality, as thou wilt perceive in the reading over. For you shall finde it had more progenitors then one or two, and the truth itself hath been the best nurse, and that carefull gentleman, G. W. the worthy preserver of these and many more originals of such like nature and kinde, which have lien, like to a torch unlighted, in obscurity and darkness. In which distance of time, some have adventured to light as it were a rush candle, which hath given no profit or real light, but as a glow-worm, to the beholder, and thereby truth hath been so much abused and slandered: wherefore I have here lighted up that torch to publick view, and to the judgement of the understanding reader, whereby he may, by this torch-light, walk thorow the whole, and discover all the policies, dissimulations, treacheries, witchcraft, conjurings, charmes, adulteries, poysonings, murderings, blasphemies, and heresies, all which here you shall finde to have their just sentence and reward, except where the kings pardon comes. All this, I say, being now brought upon

> This world, a stage, whereon that day
> A king and subjects' part did play;
> And now by death is sin rewarded,
> Which in lifetime was not regarded;
> And others here take up the rooms,
> Whilst they lye low in graves and tombs.

Shewing forth, that our good God hath a revenging hand, and scourging whip to punish sin, and mauger earthly pardons; for God is a just God to punish sin, either in this world or in the world to come; where not only publick and common sinners, but also the close hypocrite and shameless ranter, with the horrid blasphemer, and inventor and upholder of heresies, shall finde their just reward. This following story is worthy of observation; for here is to be seen God's justice, with punishments upon wicked sinful wretches, (both in judgement and equity,) observe what was here begun with vanity and adultery, ends in shame, infamy, and misery. And were there now in these times such sentence and execution performed, as the then learned Lord Cook gave on that fomenter of lust, Mistris Anne Turner, whose sentence was, to be hanged at Tiburn in her yellow tiffiny ruff and cuffs, being she was the first inventer and wearer of that horrid garb.* Were there now in these daies the like upon such notorious black spotted faces, naked brests and backs, no doubt but that ugly fashion would soon there end in shame and detestation, which now is too vainly followed; for never since the execution of her in that yellow ruff and cuffs there hanged with her, was ever any seen to wear the like. And for this history ensuing, let me answer them that say, what need this history to fling dirt on the dead? To them this answer is made, a fool shot his boult before he saw the bird, and that not for want of ignorance; for had this still lien obscure, unhappily it might have come out hereafter, as too many gleaning bastard pieces do, too often in these present times, and this piece might have had a new poyson added to this copy, and so the truth of the story been quite altered; whereas it now goes neither with patch nor powder, nor new-fashion dress, as that careful, worthy, and learned licenser can shew, nor detracted nor added one line to the matter from the original; and if any gentleman, or man of quality, shall make doubt, because in some two or three places a name is left out, we have done according to the original copy; and if they be desirous to see the originals, some of which be signed with the kings own hand, and other some under

* "Among the rest, yellow starch, the invention and foil of jaundice complexions, with great cut-work bands and piccadillies, crowded in and flourished among us, Mrs Turner being nominated to be the first contriver (haply in England,) but the original came out from France, which fashion and colour did set off their bare and sallow complexions."—WILSON, *ad annum* 1612.

divers lords, bishops, and examiners, they shall have leave to see them; and so I leave the unbiassed reader to reade and judge, and rest and leave it and thee to God.

Mr. Scintilla.[a]

Chap. I.—*Of the Condition of the State of England, and the relation it had to other Provinces.*

Howsoever every kingdome and common-wealth may be well and rightly governed, and that good men may bee the means to support it; yet there can bee no such common-wealth, but amongst the good there will bee ever some evill persons. These (whether by nature induced, or through envie and ambition, to the intent to satisfie those appetites perswaded) doe oftentimes enter into actions repugnant unto the felicity of good government and common-wealths, and by evill courses, and perverse deeds, doe secretly and underhand seek to hasten and set forward the ruine and decay of the same. These things, because they happen contrary and beyond expectation, are so much the more remarkable, by how much they are sudden and unexpected; and from hence it cometh that no estate of government can be said permanent, but that oftentimes those that are good, are by little and little converted unto those that are evill, and those that are evill are oftentimes changed from worse to worse, untill they come to utter destruction or desolation. Neither is this alone proper to one common-wealth, but to all; not to forain kingdomes, but to our own. For although his majesty at his coming to the crowne found us vexed with many defensive warres, as that in Ireland, and in the Low Countries, and almost publique against Spain, auxiliary in France, and continually in military imployment; although he found it lacerate and torn, with diverse factions of protestants, papists, and others, and from amongst whom sprung some evill men, that endeavoured to set into combustion the whole state, yet neverthelesse he established a peace both honorable and profitable with all neighbour princes, and by relation through all Europe, so that neither our friends nor our enemies might bee either feared or suspected.

After this generall peace was concluded, and the working heads of dangerous papists were confined to a certain course of life (that is peace,) they now petition for a toleration, for release of vexation, to have liberty of conscience, and forsooth, because they cannot have those things, amongst them they contrive a most horrible and devillish plot by gunpowder to blow up the parliament, even the whole state and commons of this kingdome, and so at one puffe to conclude all this peace, and by that means to procure an unruly and unseemly avarice of this government, and this not so much to establish their own religion, for which purpose they pretended it, but to establish their own power and preheminence, and to raise some private family to greatnesse and dignity, that so faction being nourished, and that jurisdiction established, they might with greater facility represse whom they pleased, and support their own state. Thus we may see that settled governments doe cherish in themselves their owne destructions, and their own subjects are oftentimes the cause of their own ruine, unlesse that God of his mercy prevent it.

Chap. II.—*Of the Domestique affairs, and of the lascivious courses of such on whom the King had bestowed the honour of Knighthood.*

This evill being discovered by the Lord Mounteagle, and overpassed, divers discontents happened between the civilians and common lawyers concerning prohibitions;

[a] An affected Latinism for Michael Sparke, the publisher's name.

and for that there was one Doctor Cowell stood stifly against my Lord Cooke,[1] divers discontents were nourished between the gentry and commonalty concerning inclosure, and it grew into a petty rebellion, which by some was conjectured not to happen so much for the thing it selfe, as for to find how the people stood affected to the present state, whereby divers private quarrels, and secret combustions, were daily breaking out, private families one sided against the other, and of these protestants against papists, they thereby endevouring to get a head, and from small beginnings to raise greater rebellion. Now discontents shewed themselves heady, and spoke publiquely what durst not heretofore bee spoken in corners. In outward appearance papists were favoured, masses almost publiquely administred, protestants discountenanced, dishonest men honoured; those that were little lesse then sorcerers and witches preferred, private quarrels nourished, but especially between the Scots and the English, and duels in every street maintained, divers sects and particular titles past unpunished nor regarded, as the sect of the Roaring Boies, Boneventors, Bravadors, Quarterors, and such like, being persons prodigall and of great expence, when having runne themselves into debt, were constrained to run into factions to defend themselves from danger of the law;[2] these received maintenance from divers of the nobility, and not a little as was suspected from the Earl of Northampton, which persons, although of themselves they were not able to attempt any enterprise, yet faith, honesty, and other good acts, were little set by; and the citizens (through lasciviousnesse) consuming their estates, it was like that their number would rather encrease then diminish; and under these pretences they entered into many desperate enterprises, and scarce any durst walk the streets after nine at night; so that to conclude, in outward shew there appeared no certain obedience, no certain government amongst us.

And such persons on whom the king had bestowed particular honors, either through pride of that, or their own prodigality, lived at high rates, and with their greatnesse brought in excesse of ryot both in cloaths and dyet, and so our ancient customes were abandoned, and that strictnesse and severity that had wont to be amongst the English much scorned and contemned, every one applauding strange and new things, though never so costly, and for the attaining of them neither spared purse nor credit, that prices of all sorts of commodities are raised. And those ancient gentlemen that had left their inheritance whole, and well furnished with goods and chattels (having thereupon kept good houses) unto their sons, lived to see part consumed in ryot and excesse, and the rest in possibility to be utterly lost; the holy state of matrimony made but a Maygame, by which means divers private families have been subverted, brothell houses much frequented, and even great persons prostituting their bodies to the intent to satisfie their lusts, and consume their substance in lascivious appetites. And of all sorts such knights or gentlemen as either through pride or prodigality had consumed their substance repairing to the city; and to the intent to consume their vertues also, lived dissolute lives, and many of their ladies and daughters, to the intent to maintain themselves according to their dignity, prostitute their bodies in shamefull manner; alehouses, dicing-houses, taverns, and places of vice and iniquity beyond measure abounding in most places, there being as much extortion for sin, as there is wracking of rents; and as many waies to spend money, as are windings and turnings in townes, and streets, so that to outward appearance the evill seemed to overtop the good, and evill intentions and counsells rather prospered, than those that were profitable to the common-wealth.

[1] Dr Cowell, the civilian, in a work called "The Interpreter," maintained, that the king was *solutus a legibus*, and might make laws and levy taxes by his own authority. The House of Commons took fire at these arbitrary doctrines, and the king was forced to suppress a work so flattering to his notions of regal dignity.

[2] These Roaring Boys, whose weapons were the rapier, or rapier and dagger, succeeded the sword-and-buckler-men of Queen Elizabeth's time; and as they used a more deadly weapon, their brawls were more frequently fatal. They are often mentioned in the old drama.

CHAP. III.—*Of my Lord of Northamptons coming to honour; the cause of the division between the Hollander and the English; between the Scots and the English; and between the English and the Irish.*

Now Henry Howard, youngest son of the Duke of Norfolke, continuing a papist from his infancy, even unto this time, beginning to grow eminent, and made famous heretofore for his learning, having been trained and brought up a long time in Cambridge, by the perswasion of the king changeth his opinion of religion in outward appearance; and to the intent to reap unto himselfe more honors, became a protestant, for which cause he was created Earl of Northampton, and had the kings favour bountifully bestowed upon him. First the office of privy-seale, then his wardenship of the Cinque-ports, and lastly the refusall of being treasurer.

This man was of a subtile and fine wit, of a good proportion, excellent in outward courtship, famous for secret insinuation, and fortuning flatteries, and by reason of those qualities became a fit man for the condition of these times, and was suspected to bee scarce true unto his soveraign, but rather endeavouring by some secret waies and means to set abroad new plots for to procure innovation; and for this purpose it was thought hee had a hand in the contention that happened between the Hollanders and the English, concerning the fishing. The Hollander claiming right to have the fishing in the Levant, and the English claim their right thereof; upon this contention they fell from claime to words of anger, from words of anger to blows, so that there died many of them, and a scar was left for a further quarrell, but that it was salved by the wise governors, and so the expectation of some disappointed. Neverthelesse the papists being in a strong faction, and so great a man being their favourer, grew into heads of malice, and endevoured to make the insolencie of the Scots to appear, who to this intent that they might bee the more hated of the English, not contented with their present estate, would enter into outrages; some counterfeited the seal manuall, others whip the nobility in disdain, and a third sort secretly contrive the English death, whereby it happened besides this common clamour, that there were added secret contentions of private persons, which caused jealousie to happen betwixt those two nations. But his majesty being both wise and worthy, foresaw the evill and prevented it by proclamation, by which means those clamours were redressed. The Irish seeing those sores, and hearing of those misdemeanors (for they have their intelligences here also,) begin to grow obstinate, and make religion a pretence to colour their intentions, for which cause they stand out, and protest losse of life and goods, rather than to bee forced from their opinion, being wavering and unconstant, rather thirsting after rebellion, to the intent to purchase their own liberty, than peace; every new alteration gives occasion of discontent, and raises new complaints to bee brought to the kings ear, under pretence whereof they grow contemptuous to their governour, and haters of the English laws. The captains and souldiers grow negligent for want of pay, the great men envying one another through private covetousnesse, and many insolencies being suffered, causeth here also to be nourished many misdemeanors to the ruine of the government.

These things being thus handled, administer occasion to the papists to hope for some alteration and change; and that as a body that is violent consumeth it selfe without some special cause to maintain it, so these occurrences will be the cause of their own destruction.

At this time there was a Leigier in Denmark, and another in the Low Countries; but to what end the beginnings were extended is yet unknown.

Chap. IV.—*The Rising of the Earl of Somerset, his favour and greatnesse with the King, and his Parentage and Descent.*

Amongst other accidents that happened about these times, the rising of one Mr Carr was most remarkable, a man of mean parentage, inhabiting in a village neer Edenburgh in Scotland,[1] and there, through the favour of friends, was preferred to bee one of his majesties pages, for hee kept twelve so long as he was in Scotland (according to the custome of the French.) Afterwards at his coming into England, the councell thought it much more honorable to have so many footmen to run with his majesty, as the queen had, before him. Whereupon those youthes had cloaths put to their backs, according to their places, and 50l. a peece in their purses, and so were dismissed the court. This youth amongst the rest having thus lost his fortunes, to repair them again makes hast into France, and there continued untill he had spent all his means and money; so that now being bare in a strange country, without friends, or hopes to obtain his expectation, returns back for England, bringing nothing with him but the language, and a few French fashions. Neverthelesse, by the help of some of his countrey-men, and ancient acquaintance, hee was preferred unto the Lord Haies[2] (a Scotch man, and a favourite of the kings,) to wait upon him as his page. Not long after, amongst many others, this lord was appointed to perform a tilting, who bearing an affection to this young man, as well in respect hee was his countrey-man, as that hee found him to be of a bold disposition, comely visage, and proportionable personage, mixt with a courtly presence, he preferres him to carry his device to the king, according to the custome of those pastimes used; now when hee should come to light from his horse to perform his office, his horse starts back, throws him down, and breaks his leg: this accident being no lesse strange than suddain, in such a place, causes the king to demand who it was; answer was made him his name was Carr: he taking notice of his name, and calling to remembrance that such an one was his page, caused him to be had into the court, and there provides for him, untill such time as he was recovered of his hurt. After, in processe of time, the young man is called for, and made one of his majesties bed-chamber, where he had not long continued in that place before (by his good endevors, and diligent service in that office,) the king shewed extraordinary favour unto him, doubling the value of every action in estimation, so that many were obscured that hee might bee graced and dignified; thus, "the hand of the diligent maketh rich," and the dutifull servant cometh to honour, and so he of all other (either without fraud to obtain it, or desert to continue it,) is made the kings favourite. No suite, no petition, no grant, no letter, but Mr Carr must have a hand in it; so that great rewards are bestowed upon him by suitors, and large sums of money by his majesty, by which means his wealth encreased with his favour, and with both honour, for worth and riches dignifie their owners, being from a page raised to the dignity of knighthood. Afterwards his favour still encreasing with his honour, there was no demand but he had it, no suite but was granted, whether it were crownlands, lands forfeited or confiscated, nothing so dear but the king bestowed it upon him, whereby his revenues were enlarged, and his glory so resplendant, that he drowned the dignity of the best of the nobility, and the eminency of such as were much more excellent, by which means envy (the common companion of greatnesse,) procures him much discontent; but yet

[1] This is a mistake into which many of the English historians have fallen, in hatred of a favourite otherwise sufficiently unworthy, but far from being of ignoble birth. The father of Robert Car was Sir Thomas Ker of Fairnihirst, ancestor of the noble family of Lothian, a steady adherent of Queen Mary, and a man of so much power, that his influence extended from the borders of England, to the village of Preston Grange, near Edinburgh, where he had a castle.

[2] Afterwards Earl of Doncaster.

passing through all disadventures, continues his favour; and men (being drawn to applaud that which is either strange or new,) begin to sue to him, and most to purchase him to bee their friend and assistant in court, so great and eminent was his favour.

CHAP. V.—*Of the breach that happened between the Earl of Essex and his Countesse, her hatred towards him, his lenity, her lightnesse, and his constancy.*

Now the ears of the vulgar being filled with the fortunes of this gentleman, it ministers occasion to passe their opinions concerning his worth and desert; some extoll and laud his virtues, others the proportion of his personage, many his outward courtship, and most (as they stood affected,) either praised or dispraised him; insomuch, that amongst the rest, the Countesse of Essex [1] (a woman that at this time did not greatly affect her husband, and withall, being of a lustfull appetite, prodigall of expence, covetous of applause, ambitious of honor, and light of behaviour,) having taken notice of this gentlemans prosperity, and great favour that was shewed towards him, above others; in hope to make some profit of him, most admires him to every one, commending his worth, spirit, audacity, and agility of body; so that her lawfull, ancient, and accustomed love towards her lord, begins to be obscured, and those imbraces that heretofore seemed pleasing, are now turned into frownes, and harsh unseemly words usher her discontents unto her husbands eares. The good earle carrying an extraordinary affection towards her, and being a man of a milde and curteous condition, with all honest and religious love, ready rather to suffer, then correct those outrages, patiently admonisheth her to a better course of life, and to remember now that all her fortunes depend upon his prosperity, and therefore she in this offered more injury to her self, than hurt unto him. Yet neverthelesse she persisted, and from bare words returned to actions, thereby giving people occasion to passe their censure of this agreement; some attributing it to the unconstancy and loosenesse of the countesse, others to the earls travails, and that shee continued most unconstant, of a loose life, suffering her body to be abused, and made shipwracke of her modesty, and to abrogate the rites of marriage; but most because she could not have wherewith to satisfie her insatiate appetite and ambition, her husband living a private life. For these causes, I say, she ran at randome, and plaid her pranks as the toy took her in the head, sometimes publiquely, sometimes privately; whereby she both disparaged her reputation, and brought her selfe into the contempt of the world. Yet notwithstanding the earle retained her with him, allowed her honorable attendance, gave her means according to his place, shewed an extraordinary affection, endeavouring rather by friendly and faire perswasions to win her, than to become supercilious over her.

But these things little availe, where affections are carried to another scope, and those things that to the judgement of the wise become fit to be used, are of others contemned and despised. So that almost all men spake of the loosenesse of her carriage, and wonder that the earle will suffer these courses in her; whereupon hee modestly and privately tells her of it, giving her a check for her inordinate courses, shewing how much it both dishonoured him, and disparaged her, in persisting in the eye of the world, after so loose and unseemly sort; desiring her to bee more civill at home, and not so often abroad; and thus they part.

[1] Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard Earl of Sussex, and lord treasurer of England, and niece of Henry Howard Earl of Northampton, often mentioned in this tract. She was contracted, while under age, to the Earl of Essex son of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, and afterwards general for the parliament, in the civil wars.

CHAP. VI.—*Of my Lord Treasurer Cecill his Death, of Mr Overburies coming out of France, his Entertainment and growing into Favour.*

The Lord Treasurer Cecill growing into years, having been a good states-man, the onely supporter of the protestants faction, discloser of treasons, and the onely Mercurie of our time, having been well acquainted with the affairs of this common-wealth, falls into a dangerous sicknesse, and in processe of time, through the extremity of the malady, dies, not without suspicion of poison, according to the opinion of some, others say, of a secret disease, some naturally,[1] and many not without the privity of Sir Robert Carr; and the reasons of their opinion was, because the king upon a time having given Sir Robert Carr the summe of 20,000*l.* to be paid by my Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert was denyed it; upon which denyall there grew some difference between them: The king was made privy to it after this manner: My lord having told out 5000*l* laid it in a passage gallery in severall heapes, and invites the king to breakfast, bringing him through the gallery; the king demands whose that money was, answer was made by my Lord Treasurer, that it was but the fourth part of that which his majesty had given to Sir Robert Carr, whereupon the king retired from his former grant, and wishing Sir Robert to satisfie himselfe with that, holding it to bee a great gift.[2] Hee being thus crossed in his expectations, harboured in heart the hope of revenge, which after happened as was suspected, but is not certain, therefore I omit it.

Upon the death of this gentleman, one Mr Overbury[3] (sometimes a student of the law in the Middle Temple) was newly arrived out of France, who having obtained some favour in court, before-times, because of some discontents got licence to travaile, and now at his return was entertained into the favour of Sir Robert Carr; whether this proceeded of any love towards him, or to the intent to make use of him, is not certain; yet neverthelesse hee puts him in trust with his most secret imployment, in which hee behaves himselfe honestly and discreetly, purchasing by his wise carriage in that place the good affection and favour, not onely of Sir Robert Carr, but others also. In processe of time this favour procures profit, profit treasure, treasure honour, honour large imployments, and in him better execution; for where diligence and humility are associate in great affairs, there favour is accompanied with both, so that many courtiers perceiving great hopes, grew into familiarity with him; the knights expectations are performed, and his businesses accomplished rather more then lesse, according to his wishes; so that taking notice of his diligence, to outward appearance gives him an extraordinary countenance, uniting him into friendship with himselfe; insomuch, that to the shew of all the world this bond was indissolvible; neither could there bee more friendship used, since there was nothing so secret, nor any matter so private, but the knight imparted it to Mr Overbury.

[1] Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, died at St Margaret's, near Marlborough, on his way from Bath. His death was owing to a tertian ague, with a complication of dropsy and scurvy. But the calumnious ascribed it to the consequences of debauchery, and the suspicious to poison.

[2] Osborne, in telling the same story, says, that the king threw himself upon the heap of money, and scratching out two or three hundred pounds, swore Car should have no more. But Cecil, not caring to incense the minion too far, gave him the moiety of the sum originally intended. *Traditional Memoirs*, cap. 29.

[3] The unfortunate Sir Thomas Overbury, to whose tragical fate, and its consequences, the present Tract chiefly refers, was descended of an ancient family, received an academical education, and was designed for the law; but his disposition led him to cultivate miscellaneous literature, and to use the advantages which his acquisitions gave him, to push his fortune at court.

CHAP. VII.—*Of Mrs Turners Life, how the Countesse and shee came acquainted, the Combination of the Earle of Essex Death.*

The Countesse of Essex having harboured in her heart envy towards her husband, even untill this time, makes her repaire unto one Mrs Turner (a gentlewoman that from her youth had been given over to a loose kind of life) being of a low stature, faire visage, for outward behaviour comely, but in prodigality and excesse riotous, by which course of life she had consumed the greatest part of her husbands means, and her own; so that now wanting wherewith to fulfill her expectations, and extream pride, falls into evil courses, as to the prostitution of her body to common lust, to practise sorcery, and inchantment, and to many foul inconveniencies, little lesse than a flat bawd, by which meanes she is made apt to enter into any evill action, to entertain any motion, be it never so facinorous. A doctors wife who was (during her husbands life) her physitian, and at that time she having entertained into her company the said doctors wife, being neer of the said disposition and temperature, (as *pares cum paribus facile congregantur*); and from thence it was that she was suspected by her meanes and procurement to have lived a loose life (for who can touch pitch and not be defiled?) and by the wives acquaintance shee procured further hopes to effect any of her intended purposes; the countesse, I say, having got some acquaintance with this woman, and now taking some discontent at her husband, more then heretofore, by reason of her falling out with him, and his sharp answers (as she conceived) to her, shee repairs to her house, and there amongst other things, disgorges her selfe against her husband, whereby the cause of her grief might easily bee perceived. Mrs Turner (as feeling part of her pain) pities her, and in hope of her profit, being now in necessity and want, is easily drawn to effect any thing she requireth, whereupon (by the report of some) it was concluded at this time between them to administer poison to the Earle; but it not taking effect according to their expectation, the countesse writes unto Mrs Turner to this effect following, viz.

'Sweet Turner, as thou hast been hitherto, so art thou all my hopes of good in this world; my Lord is as lusty as ever he was, and hath complained to my brother Howard, that he hath not lain with mee, nor used mee as his wife; this makes mee mad, since of all men I loath him as the only obstacle and hinderance, that I shall never enjoy him whom I love.'

The Earle having overpast this evill, continuing still in his pensive estate, procures not any affection, but more hatred and loathsomenesse, so that it burst daily forth to my Lords great discontent, and draws her headlong into her own destruction.

CHAP. VIII.—*Sir Robert Carr made Viscount Rochester, the Acquaintance between my Lord of Northampton and hee, the new affection of the Countesse of Essex.*

The king taking greater liking unto this young man, to the intent hee might be no lesse eminent in honour, than he was powerfull in wealth and substance, advanceth him to the title of Viscount Rochester, bestowing the place of Secretary of State upon him; so that his honours and his wealth make him famous among forain nations. These things coming to my Lord of Northamptons ears, having been long time a favourite in court, and now grown into years, and by reason thereof but short-lived, and knowing the favour of the king to depend upon many uncertainties, and that although at this time he was the greatest actor in state-affairs, yet if this young man continued his height of glory, all his dignity would either be abated, or overshadowed, and that he

had not that free access to the kings ears which he had wont to have, endeavoureth as much as in him lyeth to make this courtier either fully his, or dependant upon his favour; that so having relation to him, hee might make use of his greatness: and for this purpose hee begins to applaud the wisdome and government of this Viscount, his vertues, outward courtship, comely carriage; and to conclude, holding him to bee a man of no lesse worth and desert then any about the king: Neither were these things spoken to private or particular persons alone, but even unto the ears of the king, to the intent the better to confirme the king's favour towards him. These things coming to this young gentlemans ears, takes it as a great favour from such a great personage, and therefore so much the more admires his own worth, raising his carriage above his wonted course; and in hopes of better things, applauded every action which was performed by the Earle, by which means there grows a kind of community between them, and there wants nothing but entercourse of speech for confirmation of acquaintance, and procuring further relation one to another. Time offers opportunity, the Earle and he meets, each changeth acquaintance with each other, so great a familiarity grows between them, that many times letters passe between them in their absence, and courtly discourses being present, by which means a constant amity on all hands is concluded.

In these times the Countesse of Essex being a spectator of these fortunes, and perceiving this Viscount to be still raised up unto honors, daily in hope of greater, is the more fired with a lustfull desire, and the greater is her endeavour, by the instigation of some of her friends, to accomplish what shee determined; for greatnesse doth not qualifie but set an edge upon lustful appetites, and where the most means are to bee maintained, the greater affections are cherished.

Chap. IX.—*The course shee takes to procure Affection, she combines with Doctor Forman, they conclude to bewitch the Viscount.*

In these furious fits shee makes repair to Mrs Turner, and begins a new complaint, whereby shee makes manifest an extraordinary affection towards the Viscount, so that shee could not rest without his company, neither knew shee any means to attaine her ends (there being no relation or acquaintance between them); whereupon Mrs Turner being still her second, and being ready to put any evill attempt into execution, concludes with the Countesse to inchant the Viscount to affect her; and for this purpose they fall acquainted with Dr Forman that dwelt at Lambeth, being an ancient gentleman, was thought to have skill in the magick art. This man by rewards and gifts was won to join with Mrs Turner, who now to the intent to pray upon the Countesse, endeavoured the best shee could to inchant the Viscounts affection towards the Countesse, much time is spent, many waies of witchcraft used, great cost in making pictures of wax, crosses of silver, little bables for that use, yet all to small purpose. At length, they continuing in their sorcery, advise her to live at court, where she had free accesse without controll, though small acquaintance with him whom she most respected. Nevertheless, shewing an affable countenance towards him, hoping in processe of time to obtain what shee most desired: Time offers opportunity, and amongst others at length these two fell in league; the Countesse being joyfull of her prey, admires him, uses all kindnesse that may be to entrap him; and he (whether by those enchantments, or by the lightnesse of his own disposition) is as much besotted on her, numbring her amongst the best women, and doubling every action in his estimation, insomuch that hee could scarce rest, but in her company; whereupon their meetings grew frequent, and their discourses pleasant, by these means inflaming the heat of a lustfull appetite.

These things having happened so well to her expectation, causes a great love towards those good couple, viz. Dr Forman and Mrs Turner, solliciting them with letters, with money, and large promises, to continue still her friends; they willing to make use of her wealth, more then expecting any good they could accomplish by their art, persist, and amongst other imployments Mrs Turner makes tryall for her selfe,[1] by which means many sleights and unaccustomed tricks are practised, and now reported to have turned to the hurt of many; for a womans hands being once entered into the act of sin, she runs headlong to her own destruction, turning those evill acts to evill ends, and endeavouring by that means to purchase profit and commodity.

CHAP. X.—*How it is thought the Earle of Northampton had a hand in the businesse; hee invites the Viscount to Supper; the Countesse and he meets; places of meeting are appointed; the Earle of Northampton made Chancellour of Cambridge.*

It was vulgarly opinionated, that the Countesse of Essex, having sustained these discontents with her husband, acquainted her uncle, the Earle of Northampton, therewith, and of her affection especially towards the viscount; whereupon the earle, weighing the profit that might redound to his owne imployments, if there were such affinity had between them, seemed to give a liking towards it, and endevoured rather to further it than at all to disswade her, or giving her that honest and good counsell, to be dutifull to her husband, as was fitting: howsoever, the first meeting they had, (wherein there was any conference,) was at the earls house, who invited the viscount to supper, and there finding the countesse, they, at their pleasure, appointed meetings for further discourses; but whether there was any one made privy to these things, it is not evident: but, from this time, the countesse and viscount continue their loose courses of life, and, as was commonly suspected, had further relation then was fitting, to the disparagement of them both, and the dishonour of so noble a house: what the issues of those things were, were continued in obscurity; notwithstanding, the Earle of Northampton is much blamed, the countesse defamed, and the viscount himselfe, for his loosenesse of life, suspected.

Now the Earle of Northampton was propounded at the Regent house to bee made Chancellour of Cambridge, the scholars fall into divers opinions, and the Ramists propound the prince to oppose him: the election passes on the earles side; he refuses, but still flatters the scholars; makes the king acquainted with it; and, though willing to undertake it, yet, shewing an unwillingnesse, endevoured rather to be urged to it, then receive it voluntarily. This was imputed because of his opposer the prince; but indeed it was to perceive whether the scholars affections were settled upon love and respect unto himselfe, or meerly to depend upon his greatnesse. The king writes in his behalfe to the vice chancellor; they proceed to the new election; the earle again is chosen; his title sent him; and hee, in requitall, sends many pleasant letters; and, that they might be the more acceptable, being sent to scholars, he wrote them in Latine, wherein it is intolerable the flattery that he used.

[1] She is said to have used Forman's art in furthering her own amours with Sir Arthur Mainwaring, as well as those of Lady Essex and Somerset. And, upon one occasion, she administered a philtre of such potency to her lover, that he came at full gallop, and bareheaded, to the house, from a distance of several miles, during a tempest of thunder and rain.

CHAP. XI.—*Overbury grows in grace with the King; is made Knight; the entercourse between the Countesse and the Viscount made known to Overbury.*

After some continuance of time, Mr Overbury grows eminent in court, as well by reason of the viscounts favour, and the good and carefull diligence he had in court-imployments, so that now, comparing his worth with his wealth, hee is had in more respect, and the honor of knighthood bestowed upon him, with hope of better things. This howsoever in it selfe it bee not valuable, yet in spectators it striketh a doubt, especially in the viscount, for soveraignty and love can abide no paragon.

Things that at the beginning proceed with modesty, are little or nothing regarded. But when men grow old in such things that are hatefull, they make every place alike, with a blushlesse face committing them to the open view. By this means, Overbury came acquainted with this intercourse between the viscount and the countesse; for they, having had some time of familiarity and intercourse in remote parts, shame not to commit the sin of venery in the court, and that to the privity of Sir Thomas, who both loaths and hates what he sees, avoiding rather than intruding himselfe to the knowledge of it; neither meddles hee any way or other in it, but lets them alone in their vitious courses, and rather seems to be ignorant then to take any notice of it.

Neverthelesse, hee is imployed to carry letters to and again between them, some to Paternoster-row, some to Hamersmith, and others to other places of meeting, which were appointed between them; by which means, comparing both actions together, he entred into the secrets of this mystery, and became acquainted with more things then the viscount would have had him, from whence a kind of jealousie was carried towards him.

CHAP. XII.—*Of the second Complaint of the Earle of Essex; the Countesse combines with Mrs Turner to bewitch him; it taketh effect; Dr Forman dies; one Gresham is entertained in the businesse.*

Now the Earle of Essex, perceiving himselfe to bee lesse regarded then any whit at all esteemed, enters into a new discourse with his lady, with many protestations both of his love and constancy towards her, but withall tells her of her loosenesse, and of the report of the vulgar, and what a strange course of life she led, contrary to all piety and honesty, which stung the countesse to the heart, and more incensed her, and augmented her malice towards him; so that, in a great furie, she takes her coach, and repairs to her ancient acquaintance, Mrs Turner, who, (according to her old custome,) is ready to perform any evill act, and there they combine to bewitch the earle, and procure frigidity *quoad hanc*. For this purpose, Dr Forman was sent for; letters are written for the procuring of means; pictures in wax are made; crosses, and many strange uncouth things; (for what will the devill leave unattempted?) to accomplish their ends: many attempts failed, and still the earle stood it out: at last, they framed a picture in wax, and got a thorne from a tree that boare leaves, and stuck upon the privity of the said picture, by which means they accomplished their desire.

This being done according to her expectation, she repairs to her house at Chartley, and thither the earle comes to her. But whether the earle was more lusty than she expected, or what other accident happened, it is unknown. Neverthelesse, she grew jealous of her act, and falls into a great fear that all their labour was lost; whereupon she wrote a letter to Dr Forman to this effect, viz.

Sweet Father,

Although I found you ready at all times to further mee, yet must I still crave your help, wherefore I beseech you that you keep the dores close, and that you still retain

the Lord with me, and his affection towards me: I have no cause but to be confident in you; although the world bee against me, yet Heaven failes mee not; many are the troubles I sustain; the doggednesse of my lord, the crossenesse of mine enemies, and the subversion of my fortunes, unlesse you, by your wisdome, doe deliver me out of the midst of this wildernesse, which I intreat for Gods sake.

From Chartley,

Your affectionate Daughter,
FRANCES ESSEX.

This letter coming to the hands of the old master, procures a new attempt; and now he goes and inchants a nutmeg, and a letter, one to be given the viscount in his drink, the other to be sent to him as a present; these things being accomplished, he, not long after, dyed, leaving behind him some of those letters, whereby the countesse had intercourse with him, in his pocket, which gave some light into the businesse, amongst which this aforesaid letter was one.

Dr Forman being dead,[1] Mrs Turner wanted one to assist her; whereupon, at the countesses coming to London, one Gresham was nominated to be entertained in this businesse, and, in processe of time, was wholly interested in it: this man was had in suspition to have had a hand in the Gun-powder plot, he wrote so near it in his almanack; but, without all question, he was a very skilful man in the mathematicks, and, in his latter time, in witchcraft, as was suspected, and therefore the fitter to bee imployed in those practises, which, as they were devilish, so the devil had a hand in them.

CHAP. XIII.—*The Countesse sends the Viscount this Letter enchanted by Dr Forman; places of meeting appointed; their intolerable loosenesse; Poets verses upon them.*

Upon her return, she sends gratulations to the viscount, and, with those, the letter sent her by Dr Forman: he reads it, and the more he reads it, the more he is entangled; for no man knows the mysteries that are contained in evill arts, and who can withstand the mischiefs that are in evill tongues? Whereupon he returns answer, and new places of meeting are assigned; amongst the rest, one at Hammersmith: in the mean time, the viscount makes dispatch of his businesse, leaves things halfe done, halfe undone, to the intent he might meet her, who had there staid for his coming above two houres, and being met, they solemnly saluted each other, fell into divers discourses, and insi nuating phrases, from words to deeds, and from speaking to acting the sinne of venery. The countesse having obtained that she desired, and the viscount caught in the net of adulation, the more he striveth to be loose, is caught the faster; so that lust, having by this means got liberty, being covered with greatnesse, like a fire concealed in a pile of rotten wood, burst forth in all loosenesse and licentiousnesse; places of more frequent and private meetings are concluded upon between them; persons fitting for their purposes, being acquainted with their proceedings, watch-words are given; all things having relation to a certain end, make them the bolder, and more safely to accomplish that which both time and memory cannot demonstrate in former histories. Now these good parts, which seemed heretofore to be hopefull in the viscount, consume to cin-

[1] Dr Forman is said to have kept up to the last his affectation of supernatural correspondence, commanding that his body should be laid deep in the earth, otherwise, said the astrologer, "I will fright you all." The truth was, that he eked out his profession of fortune-telling by that of a procurer. His house was the rendezvous of gallantry, and he kept a regular list of those who frequented it, by which he had their reputation at his mercy, to the no small exaltation of his own. It is said, when this scandalous chronicle was produced on Mrs Turner's trial, the first name which occurred to Sir Edward Coke, was that of his own lady.—*Court of King James*, p. 110.

ders, and the corruption remains to brand him in the forehead for his evill living,[1] his modesty becomes eclipsed, his behaviour light, his carriage unseemly, in his place nothing so costly, no attire so uncouth, but at all costs and charges hee obtaines it for the encrease of favour; new fashions are produced, that so hee might shew more beautifull and faire, and that his favour and personage might be made manifest to the world; and, for this purpose, yellow bands, dusted haire, curled, crisped, frisled, slicked skins, opened breasts, beyond accustomed modesty, with many other inordinate attires, were worn on both sides, to the shew of the world; so that, for the encrease of dishonest appetites, they were abundantly practised. Surfeiting thus upon pleasure, having been before accustomed unto hardinesse, causeth him to fall into all manner of forgetfulnesse, letting all things goe to wrack, carelesse in attendance, neglecting state-affairs, ignorant of his own worth, subjecting himselfe to the lustfull appetite of an evill woman, accounting no time well spent, nor hour deemed so happy, as when dalliance and pleasant discourses passe between them, either in words or writings; so that in him may be verified the old saying of the poet,

Non facile juvenem multis e millibus unum
Virtutem pretium qui putat esse suum;
Fallit eum vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
Cum sit triste habitu, vultuq. et veste severus,
Nec dubie tanquam fruge laudatur avarus.

Of thousand youths there scarce is one
That vertue valueth as his price;
For vice deceives them, and alone
The shew of vertue blinds their eyes:
Although their countenance pensive be,
Their garments and their habits grave,
Yet all their fruit, doubtlesse we see,
Is lust and glory that they crave.

These things laid him open to the evill affections of them that hated him, and laies the foundation of his utter subversion, since the eyes of all men are upon such as are eminent; and as black upon white is soonest discerned, so evill conditions and lascivious are soonest discerned in such persons.

Chap. XIV.—*The faithfulnesse of Sir Thomas Overbury unto the Viscount; the advice hee gave him contemned; favours are more bestowed upon him, made of the Privy Councell.*

This course of life being something strange to those that were ignorant of these designes, gives new occasion of wonder and admiration how hee should continue still his favour, many things being left undone, others done to the halfe, insomuch as all must now lie upon Overbury's neck; and this doth hee honestly to the viscounts credit, attributing every action to his doing, although of him neglected; answers for him in his absence, hastens dispatches in his presence, furthers the request of suitors, and through the neglect and carelessnesse of the viscount, grows into great credit and esteem, and so becomes eminent and beloved both of the king and councell; yet ne-

[1] Even the satirical Welldon allows, that Somerset was a most unfortunate man in his connection with Lady Essex, "being as generally beloved for himself and disposition, as hated afterwards for his linking himself into that family. Before this marriage, he did nothing obnoxious to the state, or any base thing for his private interest."—*The Court of King James.*

verthelesse he lessens his own worth, gives all the dignity to the viscount, endeavouring to search out how the people stood affected towards him, finds both many complaints, and some injuries to bee done unto him, who being blinded with pleasure, overslips and lets passe with small respect, whereupon he takes occasion, at a time convenient, to utter these or the like words unto him.

" Sir, howsoever other things may passe either with small regard, or bee smothered with honour and greatnesse; yet such things as lay a man open to publique and eminent contempt, can hardly be obscured in a person publique and eminent, (as your lordship is) which things are often to bee esteemed in a man that outwardly seemeth light and effeminate, or inwardly wanteth the ballance of government to poise externall actions. Of a truth, sir, (bee it spoken without offence) the court calls your modesty into question, and fears that those honors that should be hereditary to noble persons, will bee obscured with eminent evills, and blemished with levity and inconstancy."

These, with many other discourses, having at this time past between them, sounded something harshly in the viscounts ears, as all good counsell becomes evill to those that are evill, and in a kind of anger flung from him, though undeserved; yet neverthelesse all his countenance and his favour was not wholly obscured, but that he might still enjoy that which he expected, which was hope of preferment.

More favours are bestowed upon the viscount, being called to be one of the Privy Councell, which honour howsoever it was great, and more then was expected, yet because hee was young, one that (to the opinion of the world) was of no education, literature, and experience, (besides those inordinate courses) brings him into further contempt of the world, so that every man would take the freedome of their language, and speak harshly of these proceedings, some condemning his course of life, others his insufficiency because of his youth, and most of his want of experience, by which means his greatnesse overtops his substance, and as a ship without a ballast, tottered to and fro, to the terror of all those that are in it in a storm and high water, even so those honors suddenly bestowed upon him before the due time, laies him the more open to evill opinion of the envious, and with some doth the sooner hasten his ruine; for which cause, it behoveth such as are thus drawn up meerly by fortune, either to be possessed of such vertues before hand, that thereby they might maintain themselves in their greatnesse, or else to expect a suddaine overthrow at a time unexpected.

CHAP. XV.—*The Prince takes dislike at the Viscount. The Prince his Death. Rumours upon the same. Speeches of Marriage with the Palsgrave. Conditions concluded upon.*

Now Prince Henry was living, and having some intelligence of this loose kind of life which the viscount led, and being jealous of him because of that evill report hee had heard, doth utterly dislike him, forbears his company, and whether from that, or some other cause, (it is unknown) falls flat at odds with him, not once giving him any countenance, or vouchsafing him his company.[1] Not long after, being about the beginning of November, he fell sick, continued so some week or little more, the malady encreasing, hee dies. A man may say of this prince as was said of Mecænas, both for

[1] It is insinuated by the satirical writers of the time, that Prince Henry was for some time a rival with Car in the good graces of the Countess of Essex. Osborne informs us, that on one occasion the Prince either struck the favourite with a racket, or very hardly forbore it. It is certain, that, from whatever cause, Henry detested Car, and afforded him no farther countenance, than was wrung from him by his father's commands. Wilson, whose residence in the family of Essex ought to give credit to his testimony, says, that in a dance, when the countess dropped her glove, and one who took it up, offered it as an acceptable present to Prince Henry, he said publicly, " that he valued it not, since it had been stretched by another."

wisdome and strength of body, there was not such another to be found amongst the English. Strange was the accident, and many the rumours that insued upon his death. Some said that a French physitian killed him; others, that he was poisoned; again, others thought he was bewitched; yet no certainty could be found but that he died a naturall death.

Dissecto illustrissimi Principis corpore hæc à nobis notata sunt inspectione.

Primo, animadvertimus ipsius Iecur colore pallidius quibusdam in locis sublividam, cistam autem fellis a bile vacuam, flatu vero turgidam.
Secundo, Lienem habuit variis in locis præter naturam nigram.
Tertio, Ventriculum nulla ex parte læsum.
Quarto, Diaphragma multis in locis denigratum.
Quinto, Pulmones nigros varie maculatos et ichore multo repletos.
Venas habuit in posteriore cerebri parte pleniores; ventriculos autem aqua limpida plenos.

In quorum fidem præsentem relationem manu propria subsignavimus die 7 Novembris, 1612.

Dr Mayerne,	Dr Palmer,
Dr Atkins,	Dr Gifford.
Dr Hammond,	Dr Butler.

Mortuus est illustrissimus Princeps sexto die Novembr. 1612, *tempore vespertino: ejus que funus celebratum septimo die Decembris proxime sequentis.*

The Dissection of the Body of Prince Henry.

First, we found his liver paler then ordinary, in certain places somewhat wan, his gall without any choler in it, and distended with wind.
Secondly, his spleen was in divers places more then ordinarily black.
Thirdly, his stomach was in no part offended.
Fourthly, his midriffe was in divers places black.
Fiftly, his lungs were very black, and in divers places spotted, and full of a thin watery bloud.
Lastly, the veins in the hinder part of his head were fuller then ordinary, but the ventricles and hollownesse of the brain were full of clear water.

In witnesse whereof, with our own hands, we have subscribed this present relation the 7th day of November, 1612.

Mayerne,	Palmer,
Atkins,	Gifford,
Hammond,	Butler.

This filled all the kingdome with lamentations, and caused the wedding that followed at Candlemas after, to be kept in sable; the funeralls were performed in great state, and with much grief. More might be said, but I leave it; my purpose being onely in briefe to set out these matters to memory, that after ages may see the evills of our times, where the greatest part of many courtiers actions are to find out tricks

how to circumvent their fellow servants, and some (if it were possible) to dispossesse the king of his dignity, as hereafter shall bee shewed; so many are the discontents that are chiefly amongst them.

These domestique affairs having thus happened, and the death of the prince filling the court with sorrow, and the court being full of other imployment by reason of this marriage that was to be had with the Palsgrave of Rhine, and the Lady Elizabeth her grace, (who was now marriageable) passe over the rest in silence; the match is concluded, and great expectation and provision for his coming over (to performe the ceremonies of matrimony) are prepared, at whose coming many rumours were spread abroad; first, that the Spaniard took this to the heart, and therefore laid wait to doe him some mischief by the way; that there was a ship of pocket pistolls come out of Spain, and that it was intended by the papists to have made a massacre, and that Northampton did utterly oppose this match, for he was as great an enemy to the Dutch and protestants, as ever Cecill was their friend. And that many priests were arrived, and publique procession had by the papists and such like; yet neverthelesse the marriage was accomplished with great pompe and state; all or the greatest part of the nobility being there present. The nobles present a mask in the great Banqueting-house; the gentlemen of the Middle Temple another; and they of Graies Inne a third. Besides three dayes tilting and running at the ring; the king himselfe in person, with the young prince (that was since king) being there, besides many other pastimes both stately and becoming the dignity of a king.

At this time there was proclamation against farthingalls, but to little purpose, for they rather increased than diminished; for where a thing is once grown into a habit, it is hard to restraine it. Then was there another proclamation upon the former report of the coming of a ship with pocket pistols out of Spain; and that no man should carry a pistoll in his pocket, nor any that should bee lesse than a foote long in the barrell; about this time also the papists were disarmed, and many strange rumours raised; which things because they were uncertaine, I omit to relate, being rather pertinent unto state, then unto profit.

Chap. XVI.—*Ambassadors sent into Russia, Swethia, and other Provinces, for the renuing of Friendship; of the Rumour of the Leaguer in the Low-countries.*

Many outrages having been now of late commiited by the archduke upon the states, divers rumours are raised concerning the leaguer, both strange and almost universall; for there were parties, the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spaine, to aide the Archduke against the States. The foundation of this combustion was laid upon the sacking of a protestant town in Brabant; whereupon Grave Maurice drew out 10,000 men into the field, and some few blows happened, and it was suspected it would have gone further, and that there would have been a generall opposition between protestants and papists, but by the means of the Pope and our king it was agreed, and went no further, but left a scar to give a new occasion

The war of Denmarke was also brought unto a happy end, and the king thereof retained his right there; not long after the issue whereof, ambassadors were sent to Muscovie, to renew the league of friendship with the emperor, who now being brought low by continual wars, was glad to entertain such a motion; traffique is confirmed there with that nation And from thence the same ambassadors went to Swethia, to conclude a league of friendship, the reason whereof was thought to be for the ancient amity that had been heretofore between us, and the king of that nation. From whence they went to the Duke of Cleve, and so to the emperor, with salutations.

CHAP. XVII.—*The suite of the Cloathworkers, my Lord of Rochester stands for them. The Complaint of the Countesse, she sues for a divorce, it is granted.*

Now this year the cloathworkers being covetous of large imployments, petition the king and councell that there might goe no more white cloaths out of this kingdom, but that they might be all dressed and dyed here before they went over; and the reasons of the petition were three: first, that the Hollander making use of dressing and dying our cloath, sold us our own again almost double, and we impoverished; a second reason, that whereas there are a multitude of poor in this kingdome, that wanted imployment, if they might have the dieing and dressing of those cloathes, it would find them work, whereby they might be relieved, and there was no reason why any other should make benefit of that which wee might make good use of ourselves. Lastly, whereas the trade of dressing of cloath began to decay, if now they might but have this, in processe of time it may be restored, and they might have as good skill to dresse cloath as the Dutch men. My Lord of Rochester, my Lord of Northampton, and my Lord then treasurer, were great agents in this businesse, and were thought to have been promised great sums of money to accomplish it.

And now again the countesse begins new complaints, and finding her art to continue firm, and that indeed there was such frigiditie *quoad hanc* accomplished, that her husband, the good Earl of Essex, could not execute the office of a husband, shee up and tels her friends that she is still a maid, and that she had good cause to complaine, since that she having continued so long his wife, she never in that space had the fruition of that pleasure that ought to be between man and wife; for which cause shee protested, that she would not keep him company any longer, and desired a divorcement because of his insufficiency. This seemed strange unto the world, who took notice of the earle to bee of an able body, and likely to have many children, and to undertake any exploit for the good of the common-wealth, did value this to bee but an idle and vain rumor that was spread, (as often appeareth) to see how such a thing would be liked in the world, and therefore they let it passe with little taking notice thereof.

In the mean time there is a motion between Rochester and her for a marriage; and since it was so that the world took notice of their loosenesse, now to make some satisfaction, they would consummate a wedding between them. This motion was well liked of on both parts, but the obstacle remained, her husband was alive, and the law would not permit her to have two husbands; whereupon she grows so much the more eager of a divorce, that so she might have a new husband, (for women of her disposition delight in change) and therefore she renews her complaint; advice is taken in the businesse, whether such a thing may bee had, there being no cause publique, as adultery, or dislike of the husband: Again, it was a question whether a wife might sue a divorce or not, for that the bill of divorcement was given to the husband, and not to the wife. Many such like objections being disputed to and again, at last it is concluded, that in case the earle was so unable (as she reported) to execute the office of a husband, and that upon search, by the verdict of twelve matrons, shee appeared still to be a maid, it was lawfull that there might be a divorce; and the reason was twofold; one, that there might bee a frigidity *quoad hanc;* another, that marriage was appointed for procreations sake, for which cause it was thought lawfull to sue a divorce.

Upon this they proceeded to the search, twelve matrons were impanelled, the day appointed, the search made, and the verdict returned that shee was a true maid. Who should bring this to the ears of the king but my Lord of Northampton, and so like-

wise to the world, who grows jealous of fraud, double dealing, doubting either corruption or deceit, (for it was vulgarly reported that shee had had a child in my lord's absence) whereupon some saies this, and some saies that, and most that the countesse was not searched, but that one of Sir Thomas Monson's daughters was brought in to bee searched in her place,[1] and so both jury and judges deceived; but how true this is, is not credible; yet neverthelesse they grant a bill of divorce, and now a separation being had between them,[2] the earle in a great discontent leaves the court, and repairs to his house in Warwickshire near Draiton, and there lives a private life.

CHAP. XVIII.—*The motion of Marriage goes forward, Overbury's opinion concerning it, hee disswades the Viscount from it, the breech between them, the principall causes of it.*

Now might there bee a lawfull discourse of marriage, since there was a lawfull divorce had, yet neverthelesse kept private, and onely some particular friends made privy on Rochester's side; Overbury, whose advice he amongst others required in this businesse, to what end it is unknown; neverthelesse, Overbury was utterly against it, and being in serious discourse with him concerning this subject in the passage gallery at White-hall, entered into these or the like words, as was reported. First, how much hee stood obliged to him for his countenance and favour, would speak nothing but that which was truth; then how dutyfull and ready he was to perform all his commands, from whence he might easily perceive that what he spake was out of affection; and lastly, that hee had often endeavoured to avert his mind from those things that both time and the envy of man might turn to his prejudice, taxing him that he had made all this to become hurtfull unto him, and converting the meaning of good intentions towards him to his disparagement and losse. Notwithstanding the viscount still prest him to passe his opinion, protesting great kindnesse, and to doe nothing without his opinion; whereupon he lets him understand, that perceiving the common reports of the multitude, and weighing them with the greatnesse of his person, that hee found it no lesse hurtfull to his preferment, then helpfull to subvert and overthrow him; for who would, (being possest of so great possibilities as he was, so great honors, and large revenues, and daily in expectation of others,) cast all away upon a woman that is noted both for her injury and immodesty, and pull upon him the hatred and evill contempt of great personages for so small a matter? Then hee willed him to consider with himselfe the condition of the person whereof hee spoke, the manner of her carriage from her youth, her present conversation, the many envies, dishonors, and dislikes, that were attendant upon her; and besides, which is now the common report of the vulgar (and he should find it so,) many evills to attend his subversion and overthrow; it is not the nature of a wise man to make her his wife whom he hath made his whore. Lastly, willed him to expect no better requitall at her hands than such as she had shewed to her former husband; and with all to weigh the present condition that hee is in, and to compare it with the future. Now he had but as it were an inclination unto such a thing, neither were these things made evident that after ages would lay open. Never-

[1] According to Welldon, one Mrs Fines, near kinswoman to old Kettle, was the substitute on this occasion; which anecdote he delivers on the authority of a gentleman, who had it verbatim from a knight who ushered the lady into the place of inspection. *Court of King James*, p. 81.

[2] This singular case was tried by the bishops and other lords, under a commission from the great seal. Archbishop Abbot was so much scandalized, that he not only voted against the nullity of the marriage, but published his reasons of dissent, which the king was at the pains to answer with his own pen. Bishop Bilson was more tractable; which procured his son, shortly after knighted, the title of Sir Nullity Bilson.

thelesse, that he was taxed with incivility, levity, and indeed effeminatenesse, that by the opinion of the wise he was judged altogether unworthy of that honor that was bestowed upon him. But when these surmises should by this his marriage come to be made evident, what evills before were but suspected, should then bee enlarged and laid to his charge. Honour is not attended with voluptuousnesse, nor are the ruines of a rotten branch to be cherished upon a new planted tree; but if that he meant to be made famous, and to continue that with him, that now he freely enjoyed, his opinion was, that he should utterly leave and forsake her company, and to hold her both hurtfull and hatefull.[1]

These speeches drew on others, and the viscount being a little netled in his affection, grows something harsh, and Sir Thomas having been heretofore excepted at, with these kind of contentions grows so much the more carelesse, answers word for word, so that from fair and friendly speeches they grow to words of anger, and either to crosse other; in conclusion, Overbury requires his portion due to him, and so wills Rochester to leave him to his own fortunes, for that he could not endure those inordinate jangles which hee accustomed towards him of late, and that if there had been any thing said that was either offensive to him, or to the disparagement of the countesse, it was by his own procurement, and by reason of the good will and affection that hee bare to him; and with those, and many such like words, they parted.

Chap. XIX.—*Rochester and the Countesse meet, they conclude the death of Overbury; that Northampton had a hand in it, the causes why.*

The countesse having ere this borne a deadly hatred towards Overbury, because he had oftentimes before disswaded the viscount to abstain from her company, yet now having disclosed unto her this speech, she becomes much more revengefull, especially because he had taxed her with the name of a whore, ("for truth is hatefull to the evill,") and what she before concealed, now breaks forth with fire; for concealed anger is much worse then open violence; perswading Rochester that it was not possible that ever she should endure those injuries, or hope for any prosperity so long as he lived; he being the only man that withstood his purposes, with many other perswasions, that he of all men began to grow eminent, and what was so, or who was so likely to be the man to step up after him, as Overbury? insomuch as these perswasions, together with his own conceived evils, procures the viscount to give a liking to her determination, and to put his hands into the fire where he needed not, making himself accessary to that which hee had not occasion to put in practise at all. There were some that charged Northampton to have a hand in this businesse, and to have uttered these and the like words, *viz.* That he wondered how the viscount could be so much affected to this man Overbury, that without him hee could doe nothing, as it were, making him his right hand, seeing he being newly grown into the kings favour, and wholly depending upon his greatnesse, must expect to come to ruine when that man rose to preferment. Also he condemned Overbury for his boldnesse and peremptory saucinesse, that checkt and corrected the viscount for the love that past betwixt the countesse and him, and opposed

[1] "Overbury," says Welldon, "was that John Baptist that reproved the Lord for the sin of using the lady, and abusing the young Earl of Essex, would call her strumpet, her mother and brother bawds, and used them with such scorn as, in truth, was not to be endured by a fellow of his rank, to persons of that quality, how faulty soever they were. Thus to satisfy Overbury, and blot out the name of sin, his love led him into a more desperate course, by a resolution to marry another man's wife; against this, then, did Overbury bellow louder, and in it shewed himself more like an affectionate, than a discreet and moderate friend; had he compounded but one grain of discretion with an ounce of affection, he might, with such a receipt, have preserved his own life, and their fortunes and honours." *Court of King James*, p. 68.

many of his designes and purposes; whereupon he concluded, that unlesse he did either curb his greatnesse, or abate his pride, he in time would be equall to him both in power and greatnesse. Whether this proceeded out of feare of himselfe, or envy towards Overbury, or to collogue with his neece and Rochester, or to prevent the plainenesse of Sir Thomas, who altogether distasted these jugling courses, it cannot be conceived; but those are the last words which he spake of this subject (at that time.) That for his owne part hee knew himselfe to bee clear of all offences against the state, and their family was so eminent in the common-wealth, that he could not hurt him.[1] But for Rochester being made privy to all his designes, growing peremptory, and no whit tractable to his disposition; besides, to come to eminency and honor in the common-wealth, he finds it both necessary and fitting for his safety, that he should be a means to dispatch him. Whereupon the viscount being led by the nose, as he thought for the best, gives consent, and endeavours to put in practice that which they had determined. Now on all hands they cast about how this may be effected, and passe unregarded, so that they might sustaine no losse or disparagement by the attempt.

Chap. XX.—*Sir William Wade removed from the Lieutenantship of the Tower, and Sir Jarvis Yelvis preferred.*

For this purpose alone it was thought that a quarrell was pickt with Sir William Wade, who was now lieutenant of the Tower, and had continued in it a great while, but there were other causes objected. As first, that he was thought too severe against the Lady Aribella,[2] and gave some other prisoners too much liberty; another was, that he being now grown rich, began to grow carelesse, and neglected his office; but the very truth of the businesse was thought to be this. Sir Jarvis Yelvis being a Lincolneshire gentleman, having been brought up in the studies of the laws at Lincoins Inne, and ambitious of preferment, offered a sum of money for that honor and place;[3] for howsoever Sir William Wade might be one way taxed for his too much desire of wealth, which thing might bee tolerated in him, being prest with a great charge, yet he was wise, honest, and discreet in his place, and discharged it with much more sufficiency then hee that succeeded him; but according to the old saying of the poet,

Quisquis habet nummos secura naviget aura,
Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio.

Those men that store of money have,
with prosperous wind may sail;
And fortune plaies unto their wish,
to speed they cannot fail.

[1] Rochester, though possessed of the personal accomplishments necessary to gain the favour of James, was unable, from want of skill in business, to avail himself of that advantage, without the assistance of a more complete courtier. Hence, Northampton's jealousy of Overbury, who, from early intimacy, was likely to hold the office of tutor and manager of the favourite which he had carved out for himself. Besides, Overbury had railed so bitterly against the Howard family, that, in the opinion of Welldon, had any of the name dispatched him by rencountre or duel, the world would have justified the action, however it might have stood in the eye of God.

[2] The unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, whose sole cause of captivity was her relationship to the crown, had concerted an escape from the Tower in company of her husband William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford. Being retaken, disappointment, and the severity of her confinement, deranged her understanding. This unfortunate lady died 25th September, 1615.

[3] It appears from the evidence on Somerset's trial, that Sir Jarvis Yelvis, or Elvis, or Elwaies, purchased the place of lieutenant of the Tower for 2000l. He was a gentleman of good talents, and, according to Welldon, so religious, that few in the court equalled him, so prudent as to obtain the character of "wise Sir Jarvis Elvis."

By this means he is got into the lieutenancy, and for this cause Sir William Wade is put out. Things ordered after this sort, never proceed without envy; unlesse the persons that enjoy such places be very considerate, it is likely they will have a suddain fall; but what care men of power for such things? hee being established in his office, must (to recollect the money paid,) use some kind of extortion, and to bear out this, be observant to such as preferred him, that so by their countenance he might use the greater liberty; for this cause he made the Earle of Northampton and Rochester the whole end of all his actions, fearing more the displeasing of them then the king, and so a fit man for their purposes.

CHAP. XXI.—*The Countesse repairs to Mrs Turner to enquire a man out for her, makes complaint of Overbury's insolency, discloses her determination; whereupon Weston is nominated, and undertakes it.*

In the mean time the countesse thought it not enough to hear, nor to fret and fume, nor to perswade, and intreat my Lord of Rochester to undertake this dangerous enterprise, but to Mrs Turner she must goe, and there renue her complaints with tears, (found at all times in a woman's eye, but seldome in a woman of her disposition,) protesting that she was never so defamed, neither did she ever think that any man durst have been so saucy as to call her whore, and base woman, and that to Rochester, her onely hopes, and with an impudent face; but Overbury, that negroe, that scumme of men, that devill incarnate, he might do any thing, and passe either unregarded or unpunished. This moves pity in this pitifull woman Mrs Turner, who frets as fast to see her fret so, that there is such storming between them, as is incredible; at length even as wee see two clouds after long strife in the aire, which shall have priority in place, join in one, so these two women after they had fulfilled their frantick humors, joine in this to bee the death of him, that must be the end, (there is no malice to the malice of a woman,) no submission, no intreaty, no perswasion could prevaile but he must die, Mrs Turner soothes her with (I that shee would,) and it is pity he should live to defame so honorable a lady, so well descended, to the utter disparaging of her house, and that rather then he should passe with life, shee would be his deaths man her selfe; words of course in such causes where people are carried away with heady malice, and not with reason. Yet for all this, coming to their senses they begin to weigh the matter, and that it was no small thing to kill a man, both in respect of conscience and law, therefore they cast about which is the best way to do it; and at last they conclude, that to poison him was the onely way, and that with least suspect; but then the party that should doe it was to seek, for he must bee no ordinary man, some apothecary or physitian that might temper the poison rightly to take effect, according to their mind. After long study one Weston was named, that had been sometimes servant to Dr Turner, and thereby learned some experience, that none was so fitting to accomplish this exploit as hee. This man (being now in the countrey,) must bee sent for, Mrs Turner must work upon him to bring him to this exploit, for things of this nature must bee carried with wisdome and discretion. For who will hazzard his life for had I wist, two hundred pounds are proferred him, lucre constraines him, and hee of all men undertakes it.

CHAP. XXII.—*Overbury's great favour, the motion of the Councell to send him Ambassador to the Archduke, hee contemplates on it, and is perswaded by the Viscount to refuse it.*

These things notwithstanding, Overbury grows in favour still, and the councell finding his diligence and sufficiency in his place, nominates him as a fit man to bee ambassador into the Low Countries to the archduke,[1] making that a means to draw him up to greater preferments. This comes to Overburies eare, who knowing the Earle of Northampton to bee his bitter enemy, and growing jealous of Rochester, begins to contemplate what the meaning of this might bee; thus between hope and fear he stands at a maze; to refuse would bee to his great disgrace, and to undertake it would be to the losse of his preferment; standing in this doubt, the viscount, after these many jangles, comes to him, and salutes him, and after many discourses, falls into speech of the intention of the councell concerning this ambassage, not so much to assist or encourage him to it, as to see how he stood affected; whereupon, finding him hammering upon his determination, not being certainly determined of any thing, joynes with him, and utterly disswades him from undertaking it; "for" quoth he, "your preferment and your expectations lie not among forain nations, you are now in credit at home, and have already made triall of the dangers of travile, why then should you hazard all upon uncertainties, being in possession," as a man might say, "of all that you may expect by these means already?" These speeches, what with the trust hee put in the viscount, what with the doubtfulnesse of his mind, doth in a manner confirme his opinion, rather to leave it, then to take it; but neverthelesse gives him to understand, that it was no small thing to oppose the determination of the councell, and to contradict the kings imployment; for in either of these hee must expect the displeasure of both, and to be in danger to receive condigne punishment. But Rochester, to get these deeds out of his mind, with great protestations and long discourses, lets him understand, that hee had so much experience of his worth, and found him so faithfull and diligent in his imployments, that he could as well misse his right hand, as misse him, and that in case any such danger should happen to him, yet neverthelesse, if either his word, his letter, credit or favour, could either mitigate, release, or relieve him, it should not bee wanting to do him ease and pleasure. Being led on with these hopes, hee is in a manner drawn utterly to deny that which was intended for his profit, and to give him a fit opportunity to excuse their malice towards him, as after happened thus, according to the saying of the poet,

Ne cuiquam crede, haud credere quisquam,
——————Nam fronte politi,
Astutam vapido celant sub pectore vulpem.

Believe thou not scarce any man,
For oft a Phrygian face
Is smoothly covered with a smile,
But within seeks thy disgrace.

The viscount seeing him at this time in so fit a vein to bee wrought upon, and so easily to be perswaded from his purpose, doth shew him much more favour then here-

[1] Authorities differ as to the embassy proposed to Overbury. In the State Trials, Russia is said to have been the place of his destination. Welldon and Heylin mention France, which is least likely. See *the Court and Character of King James, and Aulicus Coquinariæ.*

tofore he had done; the better to confirme credence in him towards his perswasions, and to encourage him in his determinations, that by this means he is utterly deceived, and grows confident to forsake; in this mind the viscount leaves him, and betakes himself to his purpose.

CHAP. XXIII.—*The Countesse, Earle, and Viscount meet; they determine of the matter: the King is incensed against Overbury.*

Sir Jervas being now grown old in his office, and acquainted with it, amongst other things, is sounded whether he stand faithful towards his two patrons Northampton and Rochester; whereby, it is found that hee would bee pliant to any thing they desired, but yet not made acquainted with this determination, neverthelesse it feeds them with hope to execute their purposes with better prosperity; for the lieutenant being their friend, and Weston (a man that had gotten the art of poysoning,) entertained for the same purpose, and with a resolute mind, ready to effect it, made them neither suspect nor doubt any thing, onely how they might get him to the Tower; and for this purpose it is thought that Rochester having the kings eare, shall bee a means to possesse the king with some misdemeanors that hee had committed, that thereby the king being incenst against him, and the refusall of the ambassage, making evident the truth of those complaints, that they need not doubt of any such matter; whereupon my Lord of Rochester, amongst many other things (at a time convenient,) lets the king understand how insolent Overbury was grown, that hee not onely contemned him, but his majesty also, esteeming this imployment to be sent ambassador, either too light a preferment for his deserts, or else intended to procure him some further evill, and that he utterly disliked it, and intended to refuse it. The king being possest of these things, and by him, who to the judgment of the world was his greatest friend, took displeasure at it, so that by his countenance one might perceive his anger; for "the frowning of a king is like the roaring of a lyon," terrible to the spectators and hearers; so that now they doubt not of their expectations to get him into the Tower, where being as a prisoner in the kings disgrace, under the protection of one who more esteemed their favour then the kings displeasure, sequestered from his friends, no entercourse suffered to come unto him, but what came from the Countesse, Northampton, and the Viscount, and Weston, that fit agent to execute all manner of evills; and to the judgement of all the world it is impossible that this evill should come to light; thus being cockered up in their own conceipts, they run headlong to their own destruction; never remembring that were there but two persons privy to the act of murther, as in Cain and Abell, it could not passe unpunished, but that Cain must be markt with a perpetuall brand of ignominy; and how much lesse should this goe undiscovered, when there are so many privy to it: thus wee see, that one sin provokes another, and that murther is as neer to lust as flame to smoak.

CHAP. XXIV.—*Sir Thomas refuseth the Ambassage, incurs the Kings displeasure, hee is sent to the Tower, Weston is preferred to him; Gresham dies, Franckling entertained into the businesse; a new speech of marriage between Rochester and the Countesse.*

Sir Thomas Overbury and Rochester having (for some private occasion,) fallen into a new breach at New-market, returns very pensively to London; and now the time being come, that he should give an answer, what he would doe concerning this ambassage, hee answered, that hee acknowledged himselfe much bound to his majesty for

many favours that hee had bestowed upon him, as to preferre him to so great an honor; but yet neverthelesse knowing himselfe to bee unworthy of such a place, unexperienced how to execute it, and besides tied to many domestique businesses, desired to be excused. This seeming something strange and harsh, that he should withstand his own good, and by these meanes incurre the displeasure of the king, and lose his expectations, makes some of his friends to wonder, others to stand in a maze. But in conclusion (as hee had justly deserved for his contempt,) hee is committed to the Tower, but not to bee kept as a close prisoner. But my Lord of Northampton and Rochester being both of the privy counceli, and in great favour at court, send to the lieutenant, that hee should keep him close prisoner, and afterwards received by word of mouth from Sir Thomas Monson, that he should not suffer any letters, tokens, or other things to be delivered unto him.

Their expectation in this thing being accomplished, Mrs Turner, by the instigation of the countesse, becomes a great suitor to Sir Thomas Monson to have his letter to preferre Weston unto Sir Thomas Overbury, to wait on him in the Tower, who hearing the name of the countesse, and withall understanding of the great affection between her and Rochester, condescended, wrote, and sent him with his letter to Sir Jervas in the Tower; hee shewed it to Sir Thomas Overbury, willing to deserve his pretious chief's[1] favour, with the more readinesse entertained him; as when a man ignorantly treads upon a serpent is stung for his labour, so Sir Thomas harbours in his own breast his own destruction.

Now Gresham growing into years, having spent much time in many foule practises to accomplish those things at this time, gathers all his bables together, *viz.* pictures in lead, in wax, in plates of gold, of naked men and women with crosses, crucifixes, and other implements, wrapping them all up together in a scarfe, crossed every letter in the sacred word Trinity, crossed these things very holily delivered into the hands of one Weston to bee hid in the earth that no man might find them, and so in Thames-street having finished his evill times he died, leaving behind him a man and a maid, one hanged for a witch, and the other for a thief very shortly after.

After his death (with much writing, many intreatings, and rewards,) one Francklin, a Yorkshire man, was entertained into those actions; a man of a reasonable stature, crooked shouldred, of a swarthy complexion, and thought to bee no lesse a witch then the two former, Forman and Gresham; this man was more imployed to make poysons fit to bee administred by Weston then otherwise; for hee was excellent in that art to miti gate or increase their strength, so that sometimes a poyson should bee a moneth ere it would worke.* Verily evill actions shall never want evill actors, and in all ages physitians, apothecaries, druggists, cashired serving men that have fallen into want, have still been the agents in such enterprises. Tiberius by his physitian, Spado an apothe-

[1] So Overbury used to term Somerset.

[2] Francklin's person is thus described in "Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision:"

> A man he was of stature meanly tall,
> His body's lineaments true shaped, and all
> His limbs compacted well and strongly knit,
> Nature's kind hand no error made in it.
> His beard was ruddy hue, and from his head
> A wanton lock itself did down dispread
> Upon his back, to which while he did live
> The ambiguous name of *Elf Lock* he did give.

According to this poem, Francklin was originally bred to the law, but deserted that profession to follow medicine. He had travelled, and is said to have become acquainted in Italy with the practices of murder by different sorts of poison. On his return to England, he became an associate of Forman in all the branches of his scandalous profession.

cary, and Ligdo, Drusus servant, are made agents to bee his poysoners. Nero's bondmen must kill him; Pisoes, captain under Germanicus, must poyson him; and by the help of a woman poysoner of a town in Grecia who was so skilfull, that he had poyson in his haire to poyson him. A centurion to Maximus must poison him. Alexanders physitian, Antipater, and Aristotle must bee the author of his death. And here Franck-lin (a kind of physitian,) Weston a servant to Sir Thomas and Sir Jervays Yelvis, who is, as you shall hereafter hear, privado to the Earle, the Viscount, and the Countesse, and Mrs Turner, are all made the instruments to kill and dispatch Sir Thomas: So that it hath been almost in all ages, and in all such outrages, found, that either such persons or women have been actors in such attempts. Overbury being thus confined in the Tower, and accompted amongst them as a friare (a dead person in law,) in whose brest many secrets are contained, being still led on with hope of preferment or liberty, lest he should disclose what he knew, they at their will and pleasure carouse full healths of sin, and abomination, and freely discourse of a marriage to be consummated between the countesse and Rochester, that so being tyed in this bond of matrimony, and joined in affinity with my Lord of Northampton, more trust might be had in him, and better use might be made of his honour and greatnesse. Now there is no man to support him, no man to disswade him, his loosenesse with the Countesse galls his conscience, and that it might bee more offensive to him, and make him the willinger to consent unto his motion, he is still prest with it, and that it is both unfit and unseemly; whereas on the other side it will be both lawfull, honorable, and commendable, and the ears of the vulgar will not be so bold as to touch him with it. This carries such a shew of truth, so that what with his former affection, what with his present offence that he conceives at these courses, concludes the marriage, times are appointed to conferre how impediments might be avoided, and what should bee fitting to be done in this behalf.

Chap. XXV.—*How the Lieutenant came acquainted with this businesse, incouraged to persist by Northampton, rewards promised him, hee examines Sir Thomas to find out his affection, most thinke of Religion, others how he stood affected towards the Countesse.*

It is now high time to enter into this action, and the countesse means to be the first; and for this purpose shee went and got a glasse of blew water, some two inches long, wrapped in a paper; she delivered it to Westons son, with instructions that he should goe to the Tower, and deliver it to his father; hee doth so; now Weston having this water aforehand put into his hand at supper time, takes his glasse in one hand, and part of Sir Thomas his supper in the other; and who should hee meet withall, but Sir Jervas Yelvis; so he demanded of him, with a kind of caution, whether he should give it him now or no? the lieutenant stopt, and asked, what? to which Weston answered; Sir, know you not what is to be done? This made him stand in a maze, and doubted the worst, whereupon he takes Weston into examination, and makes him confesse all his intention, from what grounds, from whom hee received it, and partly the cause of it. Hee now being made a slave unto greatnesse, and having laid out much money to purchase his place, for fear to lose the one, and offend the other, lets Weston goe with this caution, to omit it for that time; whereas a wise man, rather then he would have run himselfe headlong into perdition, would have discovered them, and made them a means to have manifested his faithfulnesse and diligence in his office. But what shall wee say to a man lost? The next day he is sent for by the Lord Northampton; there, after many long and large discourses, at length the earle discloses to him his intentions concerning Overbury, and with those things mingles many of his insolencies against the countesse, his obstinacy towards the viscount, his opposition almost against all good men,

and that from these causes, if such a thing happened, there being none to look after him, it would passe unregarded or unrespected, but withall gives him many cautions how hee should manage himselfe in this businesse, letting him understand what manner of man hee was, a scholar, and one that had an excellent tongue, and wit, a travailer, and experienced in the course of the world; and besides that, favoured of the contrary faction, and as great a politician as any was in England. Therefore in this regard he ought to bee so much the more wary, both who came to him, and who went from him, and above all, that no letters passe to and fro. These and many other such like speeches having past between them (for the Earle was two houres by his own confession prompting him with cautions and considerations, that hee might bee the readyer to act his part in this adventure, hee was to deal in.) Lastly, he concludes, that above all he should insinuate with him to see how hee stood affected to these proceedings, and what words he spake or burst, and his service and diligence herein shall be rewarded with 1000*l.* Whether it was the greedinesse of the reward, or the foolish desire hee had to give content to the earle and viscount (they being his onely favourers) or some other hope, it is unknown, but he by this means is brought unto his own destruction, and so gives consent to conceale that which was intended. At his coming back hee repaires to Sir Thomas Overbury, under pretence to comfort him in his sorrows, and advises him to be more lightsome, and not to consume himself in grief, by this means insinuates himselfe into his intentions. Sir Thomas having a good opinion of him, and supposing that all was done out of faith and honesty; and having by this means learned what he could out of him, writes unto the Earl of Northampton to this effect, viz.

" My speciall good lord, having undertook my prisoner, according to your instructions, after long silence, as standing betwixt hope and fear, hee takes his bible, and after hee had read upon it, laid it by, and protested his innocency; afterward upon further conference concerning the countesse, he said, that he had justified her already, and that he can doe no more then what hee had done already. But for my selfe (alas, quoth he) what will they doe with mee? I answered, so reason you as you shall make no question hereafter of your purenesse. And I left him in some sense to work upon him; as I was going he concluded, that in the generality she was so worthy, that shee might bee a wife in particular for my Lord of Rochester, hee would not say it, lest my Lord should condemn him for weighing his worth. At my next coming to him, I found him not in sense, but in fury; he let fly at you, but was respective to my Lord of Rochester, whose part he took altogether. I see the event, I desire it may be safely carried, what my service may doe in this or any thing else, I will be faithfull to your Lordship, and so I rest

Yours,

JARVIS YELVIS."

These, and many other things, being inserted in this letter, was sent unto the Earle, who in reading laughed and smiled at the simplicity of the one, and the ignorance of the other; neverthelesse, in outward shew and appearance he applauded all the actions of Sir Jervas, but especially to my Lord of Rochester, holding him both a discreet and wise man, and that his secrecie and honest dealing in this employment, deserves everlasting praises with after ages.

CHAP. XXVI.—*More poysons are sent from the Countesse, Sir Thomas Monson is suspected to have a hand in this businesse, Overbury grows sickly, jealous of his diet, no accesse is suffered unto him.*

Weston having received 80*l.* of his allowance, and yet neverthelesse nothing ac-

complished according to the Countesses expectation, is checkt by Mrs Turner for delaying of it; whereupon he gets into his hands certaine poysons, viz. rosater, white arsenick, mercury, sublimate, cantharides, red mercury, with three or four more severall poysons, tempering them both with his broth and meat, according as he saw them affected, increasing or diminishing their strength, as he was instructed by his ancient friend Mr Francklin.

Besides these, tarts and jellies are sent by the Viscount to Sir Thomas Monson, and from thence to the hands of one Simon Master, servant unto Sir Thomas, to be delivered to Weston, and so to Overbury, every of which tarts and jellies were poysoned with severall poysons. These courses caused Sir Thomas Monson to bee suspected of this act, and to have a hand in it. First, in respect he preferred Weston to his service; secondly, because poysoned tarts and jellies went out of his house; and lastly, for that he did not discover these things, his man onely having accesse unto the Tower, and that onely to speak with Weston. Now his salt, his sauce, his meat, his drink, and whatsoever hee eats is mingled with poyson, and for the encrease of the torment, is either encreased or diminished, as he saw Sir Thomas Overbury affected.

By this means he begins to grow extream sickly, having been heretofore accustomed to very good health, in so much as he can scarce stand or goe, what with the pain of his body, and the heat; yet neverthelesse, being a strong man, he stood it out a long time, till at length he began to grow jealous of his man Weston, for his malady encreased or diminished as he affected. But yet some physick he desired, and at last at his speciall instance and request, and not without some gratuity, as was thought, one Paul de la Bell an apothecary, by the advice of Dr Mervin, brought a bath to coole his body, with advice to be spare of his dyet, for that hee suspected that his meat was not wholesome; surely this did him much good, and preserved his life longer then was expected, insomuch as they doubt some fallacy or fraud, and therefore sent new letters to the lieutenant, to have a speciall care, that none may be suffered to see him, or speak with him, for evill men are full of needlesse fears. And now there is such speciall watch set over him, that none of his men might be permitted so much liberty as to speak with him at a window, and the reason being asked, answer was made that the lieutenant had commandment from the councell that it should be so.

Thus this good gentleman passeth away his tedious and sorrowful daies with many discontents, being filled with paines and grief, without friends or comforters, ready to be vexed or tormented upon every new occasion, and consuming and languishing away without any common society that was allowed to the meanest prisoner in the house.

In this man we may see the misery of such as fall into the hands of Popish Catholiques, for by Northamptons means was this strictnesse shewed towards him: here will we leave him languishing in sorrow, and lamenting his misfortune.

Chap. XXVII.—*The Marriage between the Viscount and the Countesse published, questioned if it were lawfull. A nullity obtained to make it lawfull. My Lord of Essex repaires her portion; the Viscount made an Earle.*

Time can no longer conceal these secret meetings, but it must come to light, the marriage between the viscount and the countesse is published; this is strange to the world, and so much the more strange, by how much three such great persons, as the earle of Essex, the viscount, and the countesse, were interested in it. And now according to the common course, every one speaks as they stand affected, some boldly, some sparingly: some call her a loose woman, and pities the good earle of Essex, said that hee had sustained more wrongs, than ever any English peer had done. First, to suffer disgrace by the prince, now by his wife. Others blame her, and give words sharp and

unseemly. A third sort Rochester, and that it were pity but that she should prove as bad a wife to him, as ever she did to the Earle of Essex: then, if ever Overbury had been at liberty, this had never happened. Others, that were more staid and judicious in their opinion, foresaw the ruine and downfall of Rochester by this means, but none durst stirre, for who will put his finger into the fire, unlesse hee bee compelled? Neverthelesse, to stop the mouths of the vulgar, this marriage is called into question whether it may bee lawful or not, because her husband was living. For this cause the bishops of this land were divided, and by the opinion of some she might, and by the opinion of others she might not. My Lord of Canterbury and many others were utterly against it. But Winchester and Ely stood stifly, it might be provided that a nullity might be granted, for by that means the former marriage should be utterly determined. A nullity was obtained, and upon grant of that, it was ordered that my Lord of Essex should repay her portion that he received with her at her marriage, that so to the shew of all the world it might be said there had been no marriage between them. This afterwards was called into question, and thought a meer trick of Northampton to disparage some of the greatest of our clergy, and to discountenance our religion; it left a foul scar, and gave a foul occasion to the adversary to speak broadly where they had liberty, and of some even in our kingdome.

This order being sent to my Lord of Essex, he forthwith prepares for the repayment of 5000l. for so much he received with her, and for this purpose he sold and felled divers woods at Adderston, and neer thereabout; his grandmother the Countesse of Leicester helpt him much, or else he should have been constrained to sell much land to have paid it; verily a hard course, having sustained so many injuries.

The king neverthelesse continues his favour towards Rochester, and that he might be as eminent as the best, hee is installed Earle of Somerset; thus favours are heapt upon him though hee little deserved them, and the countesse what she desireth still to be a countesse, but called after another name, that is Countesse of Somerset. Many are the chances that happen in the world, some good, some bad, and those things we least suspect doe soonest hapen to subvert us. At this time my Lord of Somerset little thought to have been laid in the Tower, and have been made heir of Overbury's bedchamber, but by this course we may see that all things are in the hands of God.

CHAP. XXVIII.—*The Marriage comes to Overbury's ears, he prophesieth his own death, he falleth into a relapse, he writes to the Earle of Sommerset to remember his promise, answer is sent him, and with it white mercury instead of medicinable powder, his death, the state of his body after his death, the rumor that is spread abroad of him. The author's lamentation.*

Now although Sir Thomas Overbury was kept private, and that no man might have accesse to him; yet the news of this marriage comes to his ears, and presently upon hearing of it, he tells the messenger, that he had almost as good have said that to morrow he must die, for hee was sure now not to live long, and thereupon falls into a great lamentation, as well in regard of the earle of Sommerset, that he had so cast away his fortunes, as of himselfe, for that now he more suspected his life than ever heretofore; whereupon he falls into a relapse, and his malady increaseth more and more upon him, whether weakened with grief, or for want of liberty, or through abstinence, it is not known, but the poyson hath now more power over him, then ever heretofore: insomuch that he could scarce contain himself by reason of his extream languishing away, as a man in a consumption, but with much more extremity. So that now being in this extremity, hee thinks it high time to put Sommerset in mind of his promise, and for this purpose he writes him a letter to this effect.

" Right noble and worthy Sir, your former accustomed favours, and absolute promise concerning my present deliverance, hath caused mee at this time, by these lines, to solicite your lordship, and to put you in remembrance of the same, not doubting that your honour is at all forgetfull of mee, but only (by reason of my imprisonment) being possest of divers diseases, would for my bodies health and safety taste the felicity of the open aire. In which cause if your lordship please to commiserate my present necessities, and procure me my speedy deliverance, I shall not onely stand so much the more obliged to you, but also acknowledge you the preserver of my life "

These lines (being subscribed) were sent to Sommerset, and delivered into his own hands; the messenger returns answer, that presently he could not accomplish what he required, but willed him not to doubt, for shortly he should hear of his deliverance. Thus being fed with hopes, he taketh new comfort to him; in the mean time, Weston repaires to Mrs Turner, for more of his pay, being now in want: answer was made, that he, so soon as he had ended his employment, should not fail to receive it, but before then he must not expect any thing; whereupon he returns and enters into new designes, for in all this time from the 21 of Aprill, untill the beginning of September following, in the year 1613, Sir Thomas had held out. Whiles he was thus puzling himself to bring this to perfection, Sommerset sent him a letter to this effect.

" That as yet the court was busie about important businesse, and the kings ears were not at leasure to entertaine any motion, but as soon as he could find opportunity, he would not faile to speak in his behalf. In the mean time, to ease the pain of his malady, hee had sent him a soveraign powder, either to be eaten or drunk (which powder was rank poyson.)" This feeds him still with hopes, but brings him small comfort. Now Weston had found out an unknown apothecarie, and with him concludes for twenty pounds, to administer a glister, wherein should be put mercury sublimate; the youth was won to doe it; Weston prepares it, perswades Sir Thomas that it will bee much for his health; whereupon about the 14 day of September, he brings the said apothecary to execute his office, assists him therein, and by the infusion thereof he falls into a languishing disease, with a pain in his guts, the next day after which extremity of pain, he gives up the ghost; after his death Weston receives the rest of his pay, and dispatcheth the unknown apothecary into France. After it was given out, that Sir Thomas lived a loose kind of life in the Tower, and not according to that strictnesse that became a prisoner, but being suffered to have too much liberty, he ran into excesse of lasciviousnesse, so that thereby he got the poxe, and thereof dyed. For De La Bell, the apothecary before spoken of, having relation to him, a little before his death, reported he was changed in his complexion, his body consumed away, and full of yellow blisters, ugly to look upon, and it appeared by a letter that my lord of Northampton wrote unto Sommerset, to pick a thank, that there was found in his arm a blister, and upon his belly twelve kernells, raised, not like to break, each as broad as threepence, or as big as a small button, one issue upon his back, whereupon was a plaister, and from his shoulders downwards of a dark tawny colour, ugly to behold, he stunk so intolerably as was not to be born withall, glad to be thrown in a lousie sheet into the coffin, buried without knowledge or privity of his friends upon the Tower-hill. At last he concludes that God is gracious in cutting off ill instruments before their time, and that some of their factious crew had a purpose if hee had got out, to have made some use of him. From this it may bee gathered, that Northampton held protestants factious, and suspected Sir Thomas to have farther knowledge of his secrets then hee would have had him, which was the cause as was thought (besides the former evills) that hastened his end, and caused him to bee taxed with so great infamy, as to die of the pox. This past currant, and the mischiefe lies concealed, who dares to speak of it, two such great persons having their hands in it?

Thus we see that as well good, as bad men come to miserable ends, and oft-times

those that are virtuous do soonest suffer disgrace and contempt. This man before he came to court was brought up in all gentleman-like qualities: in his youth at Cambridge, after in the Middle Temple, there instructed in those qualities, became a gentleman: by the intreaty of my lord treasurer Cecil preferred to court; found favour extraordinarly, yet hindred in his expectation by some of his enemies, and to shift off discontents was forced to travell, and therein spent not his time as most do to losse, but furnisht himselfe with things fitting a states-man by experience in forain governments, knowledge of the language, passages of imployment, externall courtship, and good behaviour, things not common to every man; notwithstanding, such are the imperfections of the times. hee is brought into ignominy and contempt, and all those good qualities obscured by the disgracefull reproaches of a dissolute woman. What shall we then say, since both vice and vertue doe both end with misery? (hee is most happy that liveth most private) for according to the saying of the poet,

Vitam, animas, opera et sumptus impendimus Aula,
Præmia pro meritis quæ retributa putas?
Aula dedit nobis rescripta votata papyro,
Et sine mente sonos, et sine corde manus.
Paucos beavit Aula, plures perdidit,
Sed et hos quoque ipsa quos beavit perdidit.

Our lives, our souls, our wealth we spend
In court to purchase praise,
But what reward is in the end;
For our deserts in these our dayes?
Their vowes and protestations deep,
Not prest in paper, but in wind,
Their sounds of words to lull's asleep,
From body forced, not from the mind.
Hands there we join, but not our hearts,
Whereby it happeneth few are blest,
But many thousand that resort
Unto the court, by it are lost;
And of those few that blessed are,
We often see they fall again,
Their blessed dayes they spend in care,
And after end their lives in pain.

But to conclude, amongst courtiers, enmity is holden for perfect amity, and those friends whom most we trust, doe soonest seek to subvert and overthrow us, as appeareth even in this example before our eyes.

CHAP. XXIX.—*The Complaint for want of treasure, the King sets many lands to fee farme; the death of the Lord Harrington; the death of his Son.*

Great sums of money being disbursed upon her graces wedding, and daily imployments for others, some for Ireland, the treasurer wanting there to defray ordinary expences; some for the kings own use, and some for other occasions, causeth a great complaint for want of treasure. Officers of the court go unpaid, and many of the kings servants receive not their wages at set time, so that the king is forced to set many of

his lands to fee farm, and the four deputy treasurers, with some few others, have the passing of them.

Now my Lord Harrington obtained a patent from the King, for the making of brasse farthings, a thing that brought with it some contempt though lawfull, for all things lawfull are not expedient; who being enjoyned to goe into the Low Countries with her grace, by the way lost his life; his sonne succeeded him both in his honour and his patent, and enjoyed them not long, for he died within a short time after, the hopefullest gentleman of that name, more fit for imployment then a private life, and for a statesman than a souldier; he had been at Cambridge, there reputed for a great scholar; he travailed into Italy, Venice, and France; he imployed his time for the most part in study, whereby hee made himself apt for great matters, but yet it pleased God even then in his greatest hope to cut off his days. He gave all hee had to the Countesse of Bedford his sister, defeating her neither of the land nor baronie, esteeming her worthy of much more then hee had to leave her; he made a worthy and godly end. These things coming so thick one after another, left no time for men to dream of Overburies death.

Chap. XXX.—*The Earle of Somerset his Conscience accuseth him; Northampton's Speech to him; he becometh a neuter in Religion; the Earle of Northampton's course.*

A nullity being thus purchased, he dignified, as is aforesaid, and the match concluded about Candlemas, 1614, they marry with much joy and solemnity,[*] a maske being performed at Sommerset's charges, and many rumors passe without any respect; all these things notwithstanding, a guilty conscience can never goe without accusation; pensivenesse and sullenesse doe possesse the earl, his wonted mirth forsakes him, he is cast down, hee takes not that felicity in company he was wont, but still something troubles him. Verily it is a dangerous thing to fall within the compasse of a guilty conscience; it eateth and consumeth the soule of a man, as rust the iron, or as beating waves the hollow rocks; and though these things are not made publique, yet, nevertheless, Northampton observed it in him, and having so admirable a capacity, he could make use of all things; wherefore knowing his disease, viz. his mind seared with a murder, and knowing the earle tractable as he desired, enters into more familiar discourse with

[*] The following is the account of the festivities on occasion of this marriage:

"All things are now prepared for the hopeful marriage; and that the solemnity at the ending of it might outvie that of the Palsgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, upon the 6th of December, the Earl and Countess were married at Whitehall in the presence of the king and queen, prince, and a great confluence of the bishops and temporal nobility; the Bishop of Bath and Wells married them, and Dr Mountaine, Dean of Westminster, preached the nuptial sermon, and that night there was a gallant masque of lords; but upon the Wednesday following, the 29th, there was another of the Prince's gentlemen which quite outdid this, and pleased the King so well, that he caused it to be acted again on the Monday following, being the 3d of January.

"But Whitehall was too narrow to contain the triumphs for this marriage, they must be extended into the city; and upon the 4th of January, the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by the Duke of Lenox, my Lord Privy Seal, (Northampton) the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of Worcester, Pembroke, and Montgomery, with a numerous train of nobility and gentry, were invited to a treat in the city at Merchant-Taylors Hall, where my Lord and Aldermen entertained them in their scarlet gowns. At their entry they were accosted by a gratulatory speech and music, the feast (which was most sumptuous) served by the choicest citizens, selected out of the 12 companies, in their gowns and rich foines: After supper they were entertained with a wassaile, two pleasant masques, a play, and dancing; and after all, the bride and bridegroom, with all this noble crew, were invited to a princely banquet, and at three in the morning the bride and bridegroom returned to Whitehall: and before this surfeit of pleasure and excess was well digested, the gentlemen of Gray's Inn, upon the twelfth day, invited the bride and bridegroom to a masque. Thus these gaities, though they outlived the year, yet ended in the holidays of Christmas, as they began with them, being the next day after Christmas. But before the end of the year, these joys shall turn sharp and sour."—Roger Coke's *Detection*, p. 70.

him; for when the mind of a young man is corrupted with evil, he runs headlong into sin without fear, wherefore, amongst many other discourses, this falls between them. That, in case the death of Overbury should come to light, they were then in a most dangerous state, and the next thing they must expect is losse of life, goods, lands, honors; their names to bee made scandalous to the world, and, to conclude, to be branded with an ignominious death; neither that there was any way left for to escape this, but either by making their own fortunes so great, that they might oppose all occasions, or else, being catholiques, to endeavour that in defending them, they again might assist their cause, in case that any matter came against them. This carrying some shew and likelihood of truth, and that indeed his case was desperate, if ever it should come to light, concludes to combine with Northampton in whatsoever he should undertake, and, in conclusion, became a neuter in religion; whereupon, to the intent he might set further evills on foot, besides these before remembred, hee begins to rub up the ancient quarrel between the Welsh and the English, who now murmur at some discontents: and, to the intent to hearten on the Irish, sends letters thither by the hands of one Hamon, a poor man, unto such whom hee knows to be faithfull in the Romish religion, and thereby confirmes them in their opinion, assuring them that God will still provide one way or other to protect his church, and that now the greatest favourite of England would stand for them. Upon which letters, the Irish grow obstinate, and altogether reject the service of God, and utterly deny the oath of supremacy, protesting losse of life and goods, rather then to bee inforced to so damnable a thing. Now may wee see there the churches utterly forsaken, none to hear divine service, the discipline of their own church established, and the Irish in generall expecting a day to have their liberty and freedome in religion. The same man that returns this news, is afterwards sent into Yorkshire, with a black staffe and a knob upon the end, within which knob letters were conveyed from place to place, as well for appointing assemblies, as meetings for masses, and entertaining of priests. Now might a man go to masse in many places of the city, and who were so much publiquely favoured as papists? their number increased, their priests are entertained, confession in many places publiquely practised; and, although it was contrary to the laws, yet greatnesse countenancing them, it was little regarded. In the mean time, quarrels went forward, between the Scots and English continuall complaints, and the suit of the cloath-workers, with hope of obtaining their request, not so much because of the profit, as to raise up a discontent between the Dutch and them: these courses caused divers men to passe divers opinions, and every man to passe their opinion as they affected either parties.

CHAP. XXXI.—*The Rumors of the Spanish Fleet; a Proclamation against Spanish Money; a Leaguer in the Low Countries; the publique Rumor against my Lord of Northampton; hee exhibits a Bill in the Star-chamber against the Publishers; they are justified by my Lord of Canterbury's Speech. The Death of my Lord of Northampton; his Funerall; his Will; the Names of those who succeeded him in his Offices.*

Not long after, it was rumored abroad, that the Spaniard had drawn out a navy of ships of an hundred saile, but to what purpose no man knew; many suspected for England, because they were come so far upon these coasts; others said, for the use of their mariners, to accustome them to the sea; but most of all were of opinion, that those were but shadows, and that the full intent of the Spaniard was, to have taken the advantage of the time. Howsoever, upon this, there followed a proclamation against Spanish money, that their money should not goe currant in England, which caused many to suspect the worst, and some said one thing, and some another; upon the neck of

that, comes news of wars in the Low Countries, some say against the Palsgrave, some say against the States. The Scots began to fly out in rebellion, and are supprest; the wild Irish in Ireland begin to stir; sometimes 40, 50, and sometimes 300 fly out, and stand upon their guard. These things administer occasion of wonder to the ignorant, and many of them, who knew the truth of things, knew not what to say to it: priests come into the relm by tens, fifteens, and twenties at a time, and have free accesse to my Lord of Northampton, (being Warden of the Cinque Ports,) begins to be called in question; some say, he hath a hand in these businesses; others say, he lets priests have this free accesse, and that in Bloomesbury, amongst his own lodgings, they have free harbour; others say, that through his countenance thither any man may goe to publique masse; besides, many other intelligencies being brought from beyond seas, drawes him into further suspicion, and the king begins to withdraw his favour from him. Wherefore he exhibiteth his bill against such as defamed him in the star-chamber; some are for this cause committed to the Tower, others to Newgate, others to the Fleet, till they come to their answer, and, in the end, openly in the star-chamber he is accused for suffering priests to have free accesse into Yorkshire, under pretence of his office; for countenancing them, for sending letters to and again, to encourage men in their opinions, and many other such like things And when the Lords should come to passe their voices, my Lord of Canterbury, to this effect, amongst the rest, made a speech: "That although many had been the rumors and reports that had passed in these times, some of them shoot up for uncertain truths, and flying tales, then entertained for approved truths, yet, neverthelesse, such things as are grounded upon reason, and for which men of upright conscience have some occasion to speak, to have such either lightly valued or punished, was rather injustice, then any way beseeming the equity of that court. But, in truth, these whereof wee now speake, are grounded upon some cause; and my lords own letters made evident, that hee hath done some things both against his own conscience and meaning, meerly to attain to honor and soveraignty, and to please the king:" and with that hee pulls out a letter written from my lord to Cardinall Bellarmine, to this effect:

"That howsoever the condition of the times compelled him, and his majesty urged him to turne protestant, yet neverthelesse his heart stood with the papists, and that he would be ready to further them in any attempt."

This, and much more, being read to some such purpose, hee procecded, and shewed how that those things were not meerly uncertaine, but even the actions that followed did justifie them to be true; for there was never known to be so many priests come over into this kingdome, in so short a time, as of late there had done; neither could hee assure himselfe that my lord was true-hearted unto the state, since also hee harboured such about him, as could undertake to write in defence of the Gunpowder Treason. This and much more being said, about the latter end of Easter term, in the year 1614, my lord being hereat much discouraged, after the court brake up, took his barge, and went to Greenwich, there made his will, wherein he published himselfe to die in the same faith wherein he was baptized, made some of his servants his executors; others hee bestowed gifts upon; his faire house he disposed of to my Lord Chamberlain; his lands to my lord Theophilus Howard; retired back to his house at London, and before Midsummer following, was dead. Many were the rumors that were raised of this man after his death; that hee was a traitor to the state, and that he was not dead, but carryed beyond sea to blind the world; and the reason was, because hee would be buryed at Dover, and not at London. Others say, that if he had lived, he would have been the author of much mischief. Many disliked him, and, as was reported, even the king himselfe now, towards his latter end, which makes him fall into these courses; but truly he was a notable politician, and carryed things more commodiously

for the papists, then ever any before him. His funerall was kept privately at Rochester, where he desired to be buried, because it was the chiefest port town in his office, without any state to appearance.

My Lord succeeded him in his treasurership; my Lord of Sommerset made Lord Chancellour of Cambridge; my Lord Zouch, Warden of the Cinque Ports; my Lord of Worcester, in some short time after, made Privy Seal; and these succeeded him in his offices.

CHAP. XXXII.—*The Cloath-workers obtain their Petition; the old Charter of the Merchant Adventurers is seized into the Kings hand; the Dutch grew discontented at it; the doubtfulnesse of Sommersets mind; he sues for his Pardon; obtains it; my Lord Chancellour refuseth to seal it; falls into suspicion; begins to be neglected.*

The cloath-workers still persisting in their suit, and having such friends to stand for them, and Alderman Cocking, a rich merchant, to back them, that at length they obtained what they desired, and proclamation goes forth, that no more white cloaths shall be carryed over undied or undrest; and, for this purpose, the old charter of the Merchant Adventurers is seized into the kings hands, so that that company falls to decay: now the Dutchmen begin to murmur against the English, and make proclamation there that no man shall buy any such cloaths as come over so drest and dyed. Whereupon, the English make a new proclamation, that no man shall transport woolles out of this kingdom. These things fed some with hope of some further troubles; yet, neverthelesse, it is so ordered by the councell, that all things are pacified, and some quantity, amounting to a certain number, of white cloaths are suffered to be transported, as well to give content to the Hollander, as satisfaction and imployment to some young merchants that had entred into this trade, by which means those clamors are a little staid, yet neverthelesse great impression of envy is between these two companies.

Now one of the greatest friends that Sommerset had being dead, and himself still jealous of his safety, hee begins to cast about how he might avoid the danger of the law, for his intelligencers gave him notice of many desperate words that were uttered concerning Overbury's death; whereupon, finding the king in a good humour, he moves him to this effect: that whereas it had pleased his majesty to commit many things unto his charge, and some of them proving something too weighty for him to undergo, it was so, that ignorantly he had run himself into a *premunire*, whereby he had forfeited to him both his lands, goods, and liberty; and that he came now to surrender them all up into his majesties hands, unlesse it pleased him, of his wonted favour towards him, to grant him pardon for that, and many other offences that hee had ignorantly committed. The king, still bearing a good affection towards him, bid him draw his pardon, and he would sign it. Whereupon he makes his repair to Sir Robert Cotton, and intreats him to look him a pardon, and the largest he could find in former presidents; so he brings him one that was made by the pope to Cardinal Wolsey, the effect of which was, "That the king of his mere motion, and special favor, did pardon all and all manner of treasons, misprisons of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatsoever, by the said Sir Robert Carr, Earl of Sommerset, committed, or hereafter to be committed," with many other words, to make it more ample and large, according to form, which he caused to be drawn and engrossed, and brought it to the king. The king signed it: at length it came to my Lord Chancellors hands, he peruses it, and refuses to let it passe the seal; my lord asks the reason; answer was made, that hee could not justifie the doing it, because he should incurre a *premunire* as well as himself. This struck Sommerset to the heart, and now hee was in greater doubt then ever he was before; for still hee is stung

with feare to be touched with Overbury's death, and so very pensively retires to Whitehall, and there remains.

The king coming to London, my Lord Chancellor Elsemore acquainted the king with the pardon, and shewed the king what danger he had incurred in case he had sealed it. The king perceiving the truth of the businesse, besides suspecting greater matters then he knew of, withdraws his countenance from Sommerset, who now wanting vertue to support his greatnesse, without the kings favour falls into contempt of many, and those that are his enemies neglect him, and doe as it were deride his manner of carriage, by which means he runs headlong into his own perdition, as shall be hereafter shewed.

CHAP. XXXIII.—*My Lord Chancellor sued in the Starchamber, for being within the compasse of a Premunire: The King goes to Cambridge: A Breach about Ignoramus. My Lord Coke stands against my Lord Chancellour. The King graces Sir George Villiers, bestowes great honors on him. Sommerset's courses to conceal Overbury's Death, his Covetousnesse, his insolencies, he is crost by Villiers, the report of the Vulgar.*

In this year 1614, the king by the entreaty of Sommerset goes to Cambridge, and there was entertained with great solemnity, but amongst the rest there was a play called by the name of *Ignoramus*, that stirred up a great contention betwixt the common lawyers and the scholars, insomuch that their flouts grew insufferable, but at the last it was staid by my Lord Chancellour, and the explaining of the meaning.

About this time it happened that divers citizens having recovered certain sums of money in the Kings Bench, and therefore having had judgment, the party defendant neverthelesse exhibits his bill in Chancery to have relief, the plaintifs at the common law having had judgement already for the same matter, they stand out and disobey the kings processe, whereupon a writ of contempt issues against them, they are taken, committed to the Fleet, and there continue in their obstinacy; neverthelesse not long after, upon some advice, they exhibit their bill in the Starchamber against my Lord Chancellour, pretending that he ought not to intermeddle with any matter that was already determined at the common law, and whereof a judgment had been passed, and by their means it was ordained by the statute of 4 Hen. IV. cap. 23. whereby it was enacted, that judgment given in the Kings Court shall not bee examined in the Chancery, Parliament, or elsewhere, untill it be undone by attaint or error, &c. Now my Lord having laid them fast upon a bill exhibited before him, and judgment being already given, that therefore my Lord had incurred a *premunire*, and humbly prayed relief in this case. Many were the opinions of lawyers in this matter, some stood on my Lord Chancellors side, some said that the poor men had injury, and that they might justifie what they had done: and amongst the rest my Lord Coke stood out stifly that my Lord Chancellor could not justifie that action; and thus it stands still in question whether my Lord Chancellor be in a *premunire*, yea or no.

My Lord of Sommerset still continuing his loose courses, and utterly neglecting the severity that ought to be in a man of his place; besides the former suspicions and jealousies, gives occasion of others also, whereby the king doth more and more fall into dislike. There being at this time a young gentleman about the court, that not long before had arrived from travails out of France, his name was Villiers, a Leicestershire gentleman, and one of an ancient house, where as well in respect of his carriage, as of his[1] countenance, was more remarkable then many others. On this man the king casts

[1] Villiers was brought into the king's eye and favour by a cabal of the English nobles, who wished to supplant Somerset. The plan, according to Heylin, was laid at a great but private entertainment at Baynard's Castle,

a particular affection, holding him to bee the onely properest, and best proportioned and deserving gentleman of England, whereupon he entertained him into favour, bestows upon him 1000*l.*, afterwards adornes him with title of knighthood, and now he begins to grow every day more eminent then other, greater honours are bestowed upon him, as the dignity to be knight of the garter, and master of the horse, places not common to every person, and so much the more remarkable, because they are bestowed upon him being young in years, his wisdom is commended of the wisest, and his expectations greater then many that went before him.

This stung Sommerset to the heart, to see another step in his place, and he now more fears his subversion and downfall, wherefore he goes about to circumvent danger, and for this purpose sends into France to make away the apothecary that administred the physick that killed Overbury; endeavoured to get in all letters and writings that had past concerning that businesse, and disgracing and discountenancing all such as at any time once spake of the death of Overbury, to the intent that it might be concealed; but what God will have disclosed shall never be concealed. Messengers are sent from place to place, he being a privy counsellor, and in favour, his warrant passes currant, so that in all places, trunkes, chests, boxes, studies, and such like houses wherein he suspected any letters or other matters that appertained to that mischief lay hid, were broken open, and searched, to the intent that they might bring such writings to my Lord; neverthelesse many (and more then he dreamt on) of those letters came to my Lord of Canterbury's hand, and my Lord Cokes, so that those courses make him rather more suspected, then any whit at all eases his grief.

At home in his office he used extraordinary covetousness and parsimony, he thereby heaped up to himself great store of money, and would not undertake any enterprise, without he was well rewarded for his pains, and every new occasion and occurrence that came to his hands brought him also a fleece of money: offices in court that lay in his gift he bestowed not without money, the kings letters were not purchased without money, no pardon obtained without money, so that he was as great a bribe-taker, as his mother the Countess of Suff, and many rumours and hard reports were spread on him for the same; yet nevertheless he stil continued his favor in despight (as a man might say) of his opposites, even unto the greatest dignity, which caused him to be as proud as covetous, and to commit as many insolencies as he had received sweet bribes; he thought it no matter to lean on the kings cushion, in publique, to check some of the nobility, and amongst the rest to make a flat breach with my Lord of Canterbury, a grave and reverend gentleman, one of the pillars of this kingdome, and that could discerne the follies of that young man: thus admiring of his owne worth hee works his own subversion, and by these insolencies plucking more evills upon his own head, and daily adding more enemies to those that before he had deserved.

These things laying him open to the envy of the greatest, and Sir George Villiers seeing his exceeding covetousnesse, having now the ears of the king, would oftentimes cross his expectations, as it is credibly reported, and deceived him of many a bribe which hee hoped for, doing those things voluntarily and for thanks, which my Lord would not without much money. These courses laid him open to the contempt of the vulgar also, and now all men according to their custome began to exclaim of his great extortion: Thus we may see visible signes of his fall.

by the families of Herbert, Hertfort, and Bedford. In passing towards the place of meeting, one of the party caused his footman to throw a handful of dirt at Somerset's picture, which was hung out on a painter's stall in Fleet-street. This was a sort of public defiance of the late favourite. *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, p. 166.

CHAP. XXXIV.—*Overbury's Death called in question, Weston sent for by my Lord Coke, and examined, stands out, but upon my Lord of Londons perswasion, confesses all; the Earle and the Countesse attached, they deny the deed, &c. Sir Thomas Monson committed to the Tower. Sir Walter Raleigh and the Countesse of Shrewsbury set at liberty. The Death of the Lady Arbella. The conviction of the Earle and Countesse, the manner of their Arraignment, and the many rumours that were spread upon those things.*

The death of Overbury having been now concealed about two years, and the Earls insolency growing every day greater then other, procures him many more enemies, as is said, yet there was no man that was so hardy for fear of the kings displeasure (hee carrying a very good affection still towards him) to make him acquainted with it, or to bring it to the triall of the law; at last (for divers are the rumors how it was discovered) one was, that Sir Thomas Overbury's man petitions to my Lord Coke, and the substance of the petition was to let his Lordship understand, that whereas his master had been committed to the Tower, by the consent of Northampton and Sommerset, and there languishing to death unnaturally, that if it pleased his Lordship to call Weston before him, hee might gather that out of him, that would discover the whole practise of it. Others say, that my Lord of Canterbury having conceived (as it is said) some dislike against Sommerset, and willing to make himselfe gracious with the king, possesses Sir Ralph Winwood with the businesse, one that was preferred to bee the kings secretary under my Lord of Sommerset, and to assist him, and lets him understand the whole matter as hath been related, and that many letters came unto his hands, and presumptions therein that it should be true, and that there remained a trunk in such a place wherein many writings were that would make evident the truth. Sir Ralph being willing likewise to become more eminent with the king, possest him with the businesse, and proceeding upon a confident ground and warrant, was sent to my Lord Coke to prosecute the matter. Others say, that by the losse of a letter it was disclosed, and divers opinions there were how it should come to light, it having been kept close so long; for things of this nature when they are so long concealed bring more wonder. But howsoever it was made known, my Lord Coke by vertue of his warrant, sent for Weston to come before him, and examined him upon divers articles concerning this subject, and perswaded, threatened, and intreated him to tell the truth. Weston stood out still, and would not. Thus he persisted some week or fortnight, many men urged him to it, accusers were brought before him, and deposed upon their oaths, that whatsoever was objected to him was true; all this prevailed little; at last my Lord of London went to him, and by his perswasions he tells all, how Mrs Turner and the Countesse came acquainted, what relation she had to witches, sorcerers and conjurers; that Northampton, Sommerset, and Franklin, the Monsons, and Yelvis, had all their hands in it; whereupon they were all apprehended, some sent to the Tower, others to Newgate Having thus confest this evill, being convicted according to course of law, hee was had to Tiborne to be hanged, and there Sir John Hollis and others imagining this to be but a fable, and that he was hired to accuse those persons (for who almost would have believed it?) examines him at the gallows, and upon his examination hee justified what hee had done, to the great wonder of all those that stood by and heard it:[1] After him Mrs Turner, after her Franklin, then Sir Jervas

[1] Sir John Hollis, Sir John Wentworth, and Mr Lumsden, were proceeded against in the Star Chamber 10th November 1615, for traducing public justice, and punished by fine and imprisonment. It would seem they had

Yelvis upon their severall arraignments of the fact were found guilty, and hanged, and died all very penitent and sorrowfull for what they had done; the particulars of their arraignments, confessions, and the manner of their death, I have set downe by itselfe in the latter end of this treatise, being both very needfull and necessary for the clearing of the whole truth of this businesse, to take away those ambiguous doubts that did arise of the certainty thereof. Now this confession of Westons being taken, the Countesse and the Earle are attached, and one of them (viz. the Earle) being committed to the protection of the dean of Westminster, the other to the sheriff of London, and according to the course of such cases, there are great reports raised, watch and ward kept more then ordinary, and the guard more observant. This makes the king in a maze, and to imagine that there is no truth in men, growes more jealous of himselfe then heretofore, because his onely favourite, and that lay as it were in his bosome, should be entrapt in such an evill: And the tongues of the vulgar began to walke; some say that Northampton and Sommerset, had combined with the Spaniard for a summe of money to deliver them up the navy, and that Sir William Monson vice-admiral should have done it the next spring; that the king and the whole state should have been poysoned at the christening of the Countesses child (for she was then with child) and many more such like rumours were spread, not worth the speaking of, to the intent to incense the people against them, and to make the matter more hainous and grievous to the world: At this time the lady Arbella dyed, a matter more remarkable then was observed, and gave some occasion of speech to many, but yet neverthelesse past over in silence.

These hurly burlies being grown something common, and the minds of men a little setled, the Countesse and Sommerset now called before my Lord Chancellour, and others (authorized for that purpose) to be examined, and my Lord Coke was the man that pressed evidence against them, which (as it was thought) procured him some great enemies, 22 articles were objected against them: Sommerset pleaded ignorance, and that those objections were mere tricks to intrap him, and incense the king against him. The same answer was in the Countess, and that it might rather seem to proceed out of envy, then of any just cause, they cause it to bee given out that their accusation was wrongfull, and that none were accused but those that were the greatest favourites of the king, so that there was much adoe to little purpose; at last when they heard that Weston, Turner, Franklin, Yelvis, were all hanged, and that they had confest the matters; the Countess being brought before the councell, confest the whole truth, but Sommerset stood to it still that he was not agent in it, and that these accusations did nothing touch him; and therefore ought to be excused: Neverthelesse, his lands and goods were committed to the custody, part to my Lord Treasurer, and part to others for the kings use. The money, plate, and jewells, which hee had heaped up together, amounted to 200,000*l.* his lands to 19,000*l.* *per annum*, and the king bestowed many of them upon the prince.

There was little speech of this, in regard both person and matter wherein hee was agent were both envyed, and facinorous, neither was there any that pityed him, but most said that he had his just deserts, for the injuries and wrong that he had done to Essex.

The arraignment was put off, and in the mean time Sir Walter Raleigh was set at liberty; this man had continued in the Tower almost ten years a condemned person for a plot intended against his majesty at his first coming into England: hee bare a great

made themselves busy both at the trial and place of execution to brow-beat the criminal Weston, and suppress his accusation against Somerset, thus scandalizing the course of justice past, and perhaps cutting the thread of that which was to follow.

envy against Sommerset because he had begged his lands of the king, and got it into possession, giving him many quippes and taunts during the time that he was in the Tower: These two accidents happening beyond all expectation, that the one being the special favourite of the king, the other a condemned man, the one imprisoned, the other set at liberty, gave great occasion of speech and rumor, and so much the more wonder and admiration, because of Raleigh's wit and policy.

And this year also the Countess of Shrewsbury (who was privy to the scape of the Lady Arbella)[1] was set at liberty, and the Earle her husband died, leaving the greatest part of his lands unto his daughters: during all this time, that is, from Michaelmas term unto the short vacation between Easter and Trinity, the arraignment was put off; some attributed the cause to be for that the Countesse was with child, and in the mean time was delivered of a daughter; some that further proofes of uncertainties might bee brought in; others to give them further time to consider upon the matter, and that it was a great favour: I say, these rumors being published among the people, at length the king authorized my Lord Chancellour to bee Lord High Steward of England for the time being, and joined eight of the judges with him for his assistants, viz. the four judges of the Kings Bench, my Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Justice Nichols, and my Lord Chief Baron, and another of the barons there, with full power to call Sommerset and the Countess there before them, to shew cause why they should not have sentence of death passe upon them for this offence committed both against the laws of the land, and against the king his crown and dignity.

So now they having authority given them, upon the foure and twentyeth day of May, in the yeare 1616, there being a seat royall, placed at the upper end of Westminster-hall, a little short of the Kings Bench, and seats made round about it for the rest of the justices and peeres to sit on, and a little cabin built close by the Common Pleas for the prisoners when they came from the Tower, to bee put to rest them in. They proceeded to the tryall after this manner:

As soon as my Lord High Steward with great state came into Westminster-hall, with his assistants the judges, divers lords and gentlemen attending, and four serjeants at arms before him ascending a little gallery, made of purpose to keep off the crowd, he takes his seat, and the rest of the assistants and peers according to their places.

This being done, after silence proclaimed, one of the heraulds at armes reaches the High Steward his patent, and he delivers it to the Clerk of the Crown to read it: After Sir Ralph Conesby reaches him his staffe, and is there present according to his place to give attendance.

After the patent read, and proclamation for silence made, and that the answers should come in: The prisoners were sent for by the Clerk of the Chequer, whose office it was to attend the prisoners.

This being done, and the prisoners placed at the barre, Sir Henry Fanshaw reads the indictment, to which the Countesse pleaded guilty, and confessed the fact. But Sommerset pleaded not guilty, and had time from ten of the clock in the morning till ten at night to clear himselfe; much was said but to little purpose; at last the peers having conferred of the matter, return their verdict, laying their hands upon their breasts, and swearing by their honors (for they doe not take an oath as ordinary jurors doe) that he was guilty of the murther and poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury; whereupon my Lord High Steward pronounced sentence of death against him, and so he was had back to the Tower, where he remained at the mercy of the king.

This man may justly say, as sometimes Pope Barbarossa said when he was put from the popedom.

[1] She had been imprisoned two years, notwithstanding her repeated request to be brought to an open trial.

Qui modo nuper eram lætatus nomine Præsul,
Tristis et abjectus nunc mea fata gemo,
Excelsus solio nuper versabar in alto,
Cunctaque gens pedibus oscula prona dabant.
Nunc ego Pœnarum fundo devolvor in imo;
Vultum deformem, pallidaque ora gero.
Omnibus ex terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant,
Sed nec gaza, nec quis amicus adest.
Sic varians fortuna vices adversa secundis
Subdit, et ambiguo nomine ludit atrox.
Cedit in exemplum cunctos quos gloria tollit,
Vertice de summo mox ego Papa cado.

Loe, here I am, that sometime took
Delight in name of Pope;
Now being sad and abject, doe
Bewail my fate and hope.
Of late preferr'd, stately I did
Converse with pompe and grace,
And every nation to my feet
Their ready kisses place.
But now in dungeon deep am thrown
Of pains, in mortall fear,
A countenance pale, a body lean,
Deform'd with grief I bear.

From all parts of the earth they brought
Me gold, without restraint;
But now no gold, nor precious stones,
Nor friends can ease my plaint.
So variable fortune is,
So nice to great attempts,
So subject and so doubtfull too;
So adverse in events:
This actrix with our name doth play,
As with a tennis ball,
For being lifted up with fame,
The greater is our fall.

Let this example bee to such,
Whom fortune doth advance,
That they, as I from popedom fell,
May fall by like mischance.

For we cannot read of any that ever was so great a favourite as Sommerset was; neither the Spencers with Edward the Second, nor the Earle of Warwicke with Henry the Sixth, nor the Duke of Norfolke with Henry the Eighth, as this man was with the king: neither was there any that ever came to so suddain and unexpected a fall. They therefore that do but rightly consider this discourse shall find in it three things worthy of their observance.

First, That neither honour nor wealth are any certaine inheritance, but occasions

(unlesse God bee mercifull to us) for the devill to pick a quarrell against us to bring us to infamy.

Secondly, That God never leaves murder (though never so closely carryed) undiscovered, and unpunished.

Thirdly, and lastly, That there was never known in so short a time, so many great men die with suspition of poyson, and witchcraft: for there was first my Lord Treasurer, the Prince, the Lord Harrington and his sonne; Sir Thomas Overbury, Northampton; and besides these, which are no lesse than sixe executed within three years and a half; and the two Monsons, which yet remaine untryed.

Truth brought to light by time. The proceedings touching the Divorce between the Lady Frances Howard, and Robert Earl of Essex, before the King's Delegate, George Canterbury, John, Bishop of London, Lancelot, Bishop of Ely, Richard, Bishop of Lichfeild and Coventry, Doctor Cæsar, Thomas Parrey, Dr. Donne, John Bennet, Frances James, and Thomas Edwards, authorized under the King's Broad Seale; with his Majesties answer. Also, the Arraignment of Sir Jervas Yelvis, Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Thomas Monson, Knight, Anne Turner, Widow, Richard Weston, and James Francklin, &c. touching the Murdering and Poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, Knight, his Majesties Prisoner in the Tower. With all their Examinations, Arraignments, Evidences, Confessions, Answers, and Tryalls; with their Sentence and sufferings; with his Majesties gracious Pardon and favour to the Countesse. London, printed by R. C. for Michael Sparke, 1652.

After our very hearty commendations to your lordship; whereas the king's majestie hath resolved that the Earle of Sommerset, and the countesse his wife, lately indicted of felonie, for the murder and poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, then his majesties prisoner in the Tower, shall now receive their lawfull and publick triall by their peers, immediately after the end of this present Easter term. At the triall of which noble personages, your lordship's presence, as being a peer of the realm, and one of approved wisdome and integritie, is requisite, to passe upon them. These are to let your lordship understand, that his majesties pleasure is, and so commandeth by these our letters, that your lordship make your repair to the citie of London, by the eleventh day of the moneth of May following, being some few dayes before the triall intended. At which time your lordship shall understand more of his majesties pleasure. So not doubting of your lordship's care to observe his majesties direction, wee commit you to God.

From Whitehall, this 24th of April 1616.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

G. Cant.
T. Elsemore, Canc.
Pembroke.
Fenton.
E. Wotton.
Tho. Lake.
Lo. Dacre of the South.
C. Edmonds.
E. Worcester.
Lennox.
P. Herbert.
Ralph Winwood.
Fulke Grevyll.
Jul. Cæsar.

Delivered the 24th of April 1616.

Lo. Privy Seale Lo. Steward Lo. Chamberlain Ea. of Rutland Ea. of Sussex	Delivered to Nicholas Stott.
Ea. of Huntingdon	to Robert Browne.
Ea. of Montgomerie Lo. Visc. Lisle Lo. Zouch Lo. Willoughbie of Eresbie Lo. De La Ware	to William Waterton.
Lo. Dacre of the South Lo. Darcie of Menell Lo. Monteagle Lo. Wentworth	to Mundick Edwards.
Lo. Eure	to Christopher Porter.
Lo. Gerrard	to Ralph Robinson.
Lo. Norris Lo. Compton Lo. North Lo. Hunsdon Lo. Cavendish Lo. Russell Lo. Dormer	to John Leigh.
Lo. Willoughbie of Parram Ea. of Hartford	Bennet Bloomfield.
Lo. Rich Lo. Darcie of Chich.	Thomas Welsh.

The Proceedings touching the Divorce between the Lady Frances Howard, and Robert Earle of Essex. And also the Arraignment of Sir Jervis Yelvis, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower; Sir Thomas Monson, Knight; Anne Turner, Widow; Richard Weston, and James Francklin, touching the Murthering and Poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, Knight, his Majesties Prisoner in the Tower.

The Lady Frances Howard before the king's delegate, George Canterbury, John, bishop of London, Lancelot, bishop of Ely, Richard, bishop of Lichfeild and Coventry, Dr Cæsar, Thomas Parrey, Dr Donne, John Bennet, Francis James, and Thomas Edwards, authorized under the king's Broad Seal.

The preceding parliament in January 1613.

1. That she at that time was 13 years old, and is at this time 22, or 23.

2. That shee and Robert Earle of Essex were marryed by publike rites and ceremonies of the church, in January 1603.

3. That the aforesaid Robert, at the time of the pretended marriage, was about 14, and is about 22 or 23 at this time, and ever since, and at this present is a man, (as far forth as a man may judge) and hath been in good health, and perfect estate of body, not any way hindered by any ague or sicknesse, but that hee might have carnall copulation with a woman.

4. That since the pretended marriage, at least by the space of whole and continuate three yeares, after the said Robert had fully attained the age of eighteen years, as time and place did serve, after the fashion of other marryed folkes, the said Frances Howard in hope of lawfull issue, and desirous to bee made a mother, lived together with the said Robert, at bed and board, and lay both naked and alone in the same bed, as marryed folks use; and desirous to bee made a mother, from time to time, again and again, yeelded her selfe to his power, and as much as lay in her offered her selfe and her body to bee known, and earnestly desired conjunction and copulation.

5. And also the said earle in the same time very often, again and again, did try to have copulation, as with his lawfull wife, which shee refused not, but used the best means shee could; notwithstanding all this, the said earle could never carnally know her, nor have that copulation in any sort which the marryed bed alloweth.

6. Yet before the said pretended marriage, and since the said earle hath had, and hath power and ability of body to deal with other women, and to know them carnally, and sometimes hath felt the motion and pricks of the flesh carnally, and tending to carnall copulation, as hee saith and beleeveth, and peradventure, by a perpetual and natural impediment hath been hindred all the former time, and is at this present, that hee can have no copulation with the said Lady Frances.

7. Furthermore, the said Lady Frances hath been, and is fit and able to have copulation with a man, and such an one as may be carnally known, neither hath in this regard any impediment.

8. Moreover, the said Lady Frances remaineth, and is at this present a virgin. Also at the time of the pretended marriage, the said Lady Frances was unacquainted with the earl's want of ability and impediment, formerly mentioned.

9. And furthermore the said earl, long before this suit commenced, hath very often and at sundry times confessed in good earnest, before witnesses of good credit, and his friends and kinsfolks, that although he did his best endeavour, yet he never could, nor at this time can, have copulation with the said Lady Frances, no not once.

10. And lastly, in regard of womanish modesty, the Lady Frances hath concealed all the former matters, and had a purpose ever to conceale them, if shee had not been forced through false rumours of disobedience to the said earle to reveale them.

She requireth, since this pretended matrimony is but a fact, and not in right, it may be pronounced, declared, and adjudged as none, and of none effect; and shee may bee quit and free from all knots and bonds of the same, by your sentence and authority.

The Earle of Essex replyeth, 5th July 1614.

To 1. and 2. hee answereth affirmatively.

To the 3. he thinketh that at the time of his marriage, hee was full 14 yeers, and is now 22 and upwards, neither since hath had, or hath any sicknesse or impediment to hinder him, but that he might have had copulation with a woman, saving in the time of his sicknesse of the small pox, for two or three years after his marriage, which con-

tinued for a moneth or six weeks, and at another time, when hee had a few fits of an ague.

To the 4. he affirmeth, that for one year hee divers times attempted, that the two other years, when hee was willing, shee shewed herselfe sometimes willing, but other times refused, and hee lay in bed most commonly with her, but felt no motions or provocations, and therefore attempted the first year.

To the 5. he answereth, that hee never carnally knew her, but found not any defect in himselfe, yet was not able to penetrate in her wombe, nor enjoy her.

To the 6. he beleeveth, that before and after the marriage he hath found an ability of body to know any other woman, and hath oftentimes felt motions and provocations of the flesh, tending to carnall copulation; but for perpetuall and naturall impediments, he knoweth not what the words mean, but that hee hath lain by the Lady Frances two or three yeares last past, and had no motion to know her, and he beleeves never shall.

To the 7. he beleeveth not that the said Lady Frances is a woman able and fit for carnall copulation, because he hath not found it.

To the 8. and 9. hee beleeveth them both to be true, and thinketh that once before some witnesses of credit hee did speak to this purpose, that hee oftentimes had endeavoured carnally to know her, but that hee did not, nor could not.

Doubts conceived out of the Fact and Processe in the suite between the Lady Frances Howard, and the Earle of Essex.

1. Whether the libell be defective, especially in the fourth article, where it is said, that *Dominus Comes Essex pluribus et iteratis vicibus*, (which may bee verified and satisfied in two or three times) *dictam dominam Franciscam ejus uxorem prætensam cognoscere tentavit*, &c.

2. Whether the answer of my Lord of Essex to the said fourth article in that behalf, being but thus, (that he did divers times attempt, &c.) be full, certain, and sufficient.

3. Whether in this case my Lord of Essex his oath *(cum 7 manu propinquorum)* bee not by law requisite, as well as my ladie's.

4. Whether my Lord of Essex should bee inspected by physitians, to certifie (so far as they can by art) the true cause and nature of the impediment.

5. Whether by trienniall cohabitation, there having been no carnall copulation between them, *(Impedimentum maleficii*, being accidentall) *præsumatur præcessisse vel potius subsecutum fuisse matrimonium contractum et solemnizatum.*

6. Whether they ought *post præceptum Judicis* (notwithstanding their trienniall cohabitation before the suit began) to cohabit together *saltem per aliquod temporis spatium arbitrio Judicis moderandum*, for further triall, &c.

His G. Arguments.

The Lord Archbishop his Speech to his Majesty.*

In as much as we firmly beleeve, that the Scripture doth directly or by consequence contain in it sufficient matter to decide all controversies, especially in things apper-

* The pious and learned Dr Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, resisted, to the uttermost, the scandalous decision pronounced in this singular question. He was shortly afterwards unfortunate enough, in aiming at a stag with a cross-bow, to kill Lord Zouch's park-keeper, who officiously came between him and the animal. This in-

taining to the church, as that marriage among Christians can bee no lesse accounted then a sacred thing, as being instituted by God himselfe in Paradise, honored by the presence of our Saviour himself, declared by St Paul to be a sign of the spirituall conjunction between Christ and the church;

I would be glad to know, and by what text of Scripture, either by the Old or New Testament, a man may have a warrant to make a nullity of a marriage solemnly celebrated, *Propter maleficium versus hanc.*

Which I doe the rather aske, because I find warrant expressely in the Scriptures to make a nullity of a marriage *propter frigiditatem*, by the words of our Saviour, Mat. 19. 12. " For there be some chaste, or eunuches, which are so borne of their mothers belly, and there bee some which are made chaste of men, and there bee some which have made themselves chaste for the kingdome of heaven."

I would also know gladly what ancient father amongst the Greeks or Latines by occasion of interpretation of scripture, or any disputation, hath mentioned *maleficium versus hanc.*

The like I demand touching ancient councells, either generall or provinciall, and concerning stories ecclesiasticall, whether any such matter be to be found in them.

If for ought that appeareth never mention was made of this, till Hircanus Rhemesis Episcopus, who lived 400 years after Christ, it may well be conceived that this was a concomitant of darknesse or popish superstition, which about that time grew to so great an height (God permitting them) that punishment might fall upon the children of unbelief.

But since the light of the gospell is now in so great a measure broken forth again, why should not I hope that those, who have imbraced the gospell, should be free from this *maleficium*, especially since amongst a million of men in our age, there is but one found in all our countrey, who is clearly and evidently known to be troubled with the same; and if there should be any which should seem to be molested, we are taught to use two remedies, the one temporall physick, the other eternal.

For the first, our Saviour said, *hoc genus Dæmoniorium non ejicitur, nisi per orationem et jejunium.* And St Peter, speaking of the Devil, *Cui resistite firmi in fide.* And the Canonists themselves prescribe almes, fasting, and prayer, to be used in this cause; but that they join supplication and their exorcismes thereunto, and for corporeall medicine to be applyed therewith as against a disease: so is the judgment of our late divines, whether they speak of *maleficium* or not.

Now admit the Earle of Essex might be imagined to be troubled with *maleficium versus hanc*; I demand what almes hath been given, what fasting hath been used, and what prayers have been poured forth to appease the wrath of God towards him or his wife; or what physick hath been taken, or medicine hath been applyed for three years together; not one of these things, but the first hearing must be to pronounce a nullity in the marriage, of which declaration we know the beginning, but no mortall man's wit can foresee the end, either in his person, or in the example.

Then the Archbishop for confirmation of his opinion, shewed the testimony of Melancthon, Pezelius, Heningius, Polanus, Arcularius, Beza, Zanchius.

Judicium Philippi Melancthonis de divortiis ex impotentiâ.

Personæ quæ non sunt idoneæ ad commixtionem conjugalem nequaquam fiunt conjuges,

voluntary homicide occasioned a great dispute as to the Archbishop's having become irregular. And although he was pardoned, and restored to the king's favour, there seems reason to think, that for some time he suffered the harder measure on account of his manful and becoming opposition to the infamous sentence of nullity, and to the royal arguments by which it was inforced.

sed cum explorata est frigiditas, Judex pronunciet illas personas liberas esse. Nec fit tunc divortium, quia non erat conjugium, juxta dictum, Mat. 19. *sed fit declaratio, ut alii sciant, illam societatem non esse conjugium, et personæ quæ habet naturæ vires integras, concedi aliam fæliciorem copulationem legitimam. Sed ad explorandam frigiditatem Jura tempus constituunt, si res dubia est, ne ante triennium fiat sejunctio. Eodem modo pronunciant de iis in quibus natura ita læsa est fascino aut veneficio, ut ope medicâ sanari non possit, si toto triennio frustra tentata est medicatio.*

Tanta autem est virtus aliquarum mulierum, ut occultent imbecillitatem virorum, sicuti viri doctissimi Simonis Grynei soror narravit, se, mortuâ primâ conjuge, duxisse viduam virginem, quae undecem annos nupta fuerit viro frigido, nec unquam ulli ante mortem viri hanc rem patefecit. Haec Melancthon in locis: Loco de conjugio, quae Christopherus Pezelius suis in Melancthonis examen explicationibus inseruit, et eis adjecit hanc annotationem. Impotentia alia naturalis, alia accidentaria est. Naturalis, cum quis natura non est idoneus ad commixtionem conjugalem. Accidentale, cum quis est castratus, aut veneficio corruptus. Rursus quae ex veneficio accedit impotentia, aut curari potest medicamentis, aut est perpetua. Ex his distinctionibus sumitur explicatio quaestionis, An, et quomodo impotentia sit causa divortii. Nam inter impotentes, non potest constare conjugium, quia deest causa sufficiens et finalis. Primum, n. persona illa quae sana est, decepta fuit, et ignorans duxit impotentem, non igitur potuit esse consensus, qui est causa efficiens Matrimonii. Secundo, duplex est finis conjugii, unus est generatio sobolis, sicut dicitur, Crescite et multiplicamini: Alter finis est Vitatio confusionis libidinum, juxta dictum: Vitandae fornicationis causâ unusquisq. habeat uxorem. Haec Pezelius 2 parte explicat: in Examen Melancthon.

In eadem Causa Heningii Judicium.

Inhabilitas corporum ad usum matrimonii divortii causa est, et nonnunquam fascino et veneficio adeo inhabiles redduntur viri, ut nunquam sanari possint. Sed plura sunt Judici perpendenda, antequam divortii sententiam ferat. Primum, an impotentia precesserit Nuptias. Secundum, an sit subsecuta Nuptias. Tertium, an sit curabilis. Quartum, an ejus rei mulier conscia fuerit ante Nuptias. Si praecesserit Nuptias, potest liberari persona sana divortium petens, non enim fuit verum conjugium, siquidem non legitime consentiunt, cum unus fallit, alter errat, fallit impotens, errat potens. Cum ergo Deus nec fallaciam nec errorem probat, non est dicendus eos conjunxisse. Proinde Judex, si intellexerit ex probationibus incurabile esse vitium, mox declarabit suo testimonio, non fuisse Matrimonium; verum si spes sit curationis, triennium statuatur, in quo patienter expectetur curatio, quae si frustra tentata fuerit, Judex pronunciabit Conjugium nullum fuisse.

Si subsecutum est vitium post nuptias et complexum maritalem conjugum, nullo pacto permittendum est divortium: fortuna enim afflicta, si absit culpa, patienter in conjugio ferenda est. Si alter fuerit conscius infirmitatis alterius ante nuptias, cogantur simul habitare, et alia officia sibi mutuo praestare: Nam persona conscia vitii alterius absque dubio fraudem meditata est, quae fraus non debet illi prodesse, si postea divortium petat. Haec Hemingius libello de Conjugio, Repudio, et Divortio.

Polani professoris Theo. nuper in Academia Basiliensi Judicium.

Conjugium inire possunt, qui non sunt natura vel arte spadones, aut quibus natura non est laesa fascino aut veneficio. Tales enim personæ nequaquam fiunt conjuges. Ideo etiam nuptiis celebratis, cum triennii spatio explorata est spadonis frigiditas, aut toto tri-

ennio tentata est naturæ læsæ medicatio, Judex pronunciare potest illas personas liberas. Polanus lib. 10. *syntag. cap.* 53.

Arcularii *(sive Treularii)* nuper professoris Theol. in Academia Marpurgensi Judicium.

Inter personas quæ propter frigiditatem aliudve naturæ vitium ad usum conjugii sunt ineptæ, cum non sit conjugium, teste Christo, Mat. 19. *divortium hic locum habere poterit. Si quam igitur personam talem alteri jungi contingat, Judex, explorata frigiditate aut naturæ vitio, utramque personam liberam pronunciabit. Porro ad explorandam frigiditatem Jura triennii tempus præscribunt, præsertim si res dubia sit. Idem judicium est de eis quorum natura vel fascino vel veneficio ita sit læsa, ut ad conjugii usum reddantur inepti; et omnem medicorum operam intra triennium inanem fuerint experti. Hæc Arcularius, in arcu fœderis cap.* 28.

Theodori Bezæ Judicium.

Sponsalia cum personis paralysi immedicabili, quæ corpus prorsus enervavit frigiditate insanabili, genitalium partium privatione, vel adeo insigni læsione, ut perpetua coitus impotentia necessario consequatur, affectis, contracta prorsus inutilia sunt, cum ad matrimonium a Deo vocati videri non possint, qui fidem in sponsalibus datam præstare, naturali objecto vitio nequeunt. Quod si sponsalibus factis, conjugio tamen nondum reipsa consummato, ejusmodi malum supervenerit, sentio ejusmodi sponsalia, veluti Deo ipso jubente, dirimenda, ut, qui objecto perpetuo impedimento, palam demonstret, sibi istiusmodi sponsalia non placere. Beza lib. de Divort. et Repud. pag. 91. *Genev.* 1591 *impress.*

Atque hanc suam doctrinam Beza multis ex sacræ scripturæ testimoniis probat: sed tantum pag. 94. *ei duas cautiones adjecit. Primam, si frigidus postea convaluit, repetere priorem uxorem, errore viz. separatam oportet, etiamsi alteri postea esset conjuncta: secundam cautionem, recte omnino in istiusmodi controversiis constitutum est: ne (quod videlicet fieret, quod postea mutari sine magno offendiculo non posset) ut triennium saltem ab ipso copulationis i. e. ductæ uxoris die expectaretur, priusquam isti morbi insanabiles esse, et sponsalia conjugiave dirimenda pronunciarentur. Hoc autem omnino de iis vitiis accipiendum est quæ per se non patent. Nam alioqui, ut in executione, vel siquis naturæ vitio, testibus aut genitali membro careat, quorsum ullum temporis intervallum.*

Zanchii Judicium.

Quemadmodum Beza, sic nec Zanchius impotentiam ex veneficio attigit, sed tantum docet, quosdam esse casus, quibus matrimonia in ipsa ecclesia benedicta nulla sint, et subinde hæc exempla subjungit. Si cum eo contrahitur, qui vir non erat, sed spado, aut propter perpetuum ei insanabilem morbum, officium conjugis præstare nullo modo potest. Hæc Zanchius lib. 4. *de op. Dei, cap.* 3. *sed illam nec scripturæ testimoniis nec rationibus confirmat.*

The Kings Answer.[1]

To the first article, that the scripture doth directly, or by consequence, contain suffi-

[1] The king was pleased to preface the answer in the text, with a letter addressed to the Archbishop on his unreasonable scruples, of which the following passage is a sufficient specimen:

cient matter to decide all controversies, especially in this appertaining to the church; this, in mine opinion, is preposterous, and one of the puritans arguments, without a better distinction or explanation.

For the orthodox proposition is, that the scripture doth directly, or by consequence, contain in it sufficient matter to decide all controversies in points of faith and salvation, of which sort a nullity of marriage cannot be accounted for one; and therefore your consequence upon the former proposition must faile.

For further satisfaction of your following question (I say) your 2. question doth answer it, if there be warrant in scripture for pronouncing a nullity *propter frigiditatem*, then all the means which may make him *frigidus versus hanc*,[1] must be comprehended therein; for why doth our church justly condemn the marriage of a man with his sisters daughters, or the marriage of two sisters, but *ut paritate rationis*, for none of them are *in terminis* prohibited by the scripture, onely the conclusion is gathered *a paritate rationis:* for if it be not lawfull to marry the fathers wife, because thereby you discover your fathers shame; nor his sister, because shee is his kinswoman; nor your own sister, because thereby you discover your fathers and your mothers shame: it can no more be lawfull to marry your sisters daughter, for thereby also you discover your own shame; as also the same reason serves for ascending, or descending in points of consanguinity: *quia par est ratio.*

The like is in this case; for although Christ spake onely of three sorts of eunuches, yet *ratio est quia non potest esse copulatio inter eunuchum, et mulierem;* and therefore St Paul, 1 Cor. 7. telleth us cleerly, that it is not *conjugium sine copulatione:* I conclude therefore, *a paritate rationis*, that Christ did comprehend under these three sorts all inability which doth perpetually hinder *copulationem versus hanc:* whether it be naturall or accidentall; for what difference is there between cutting off the hand, and being made impotent thereof; *amputatio et mutilatio membri*, is all one in the civill law; and that is a like defrauding of the woman, when either he who is to be her husband is gelded, or when the use of that member towards her is by any unlawful means taken from him; neither is it any way needfull to crave the particular warrant of scripture for a nullity, no more then of warrant in this place for any nullity at all; for Christ doth not directly say, that a marriage so married shall be nullyfied, neither doth he teach us what forme or processe shall be used in that, neither makes he mention of the trienniall probation, no more then hee forbiddeth marriage within the fourth degree without leave obtained of the bishop of the diocesse: It is then sufficient to all moderate christians to be taught out of the word of God, that marriage is *nulla sine copulatione*, and these words *quos Deus conjunxit*, are never found in scripture, where *et erunt eis* doth not proceed, viz. they two shall bee one flesh.

" After I had fully perused and rightly considered of all your papers, I found your principles so strange, and your doubts so far sought, that I thought it necessary, as I have already said, to set down unto you, my observations upon them. But to conclude my letter with that plainness that becometh one of my quality, I must freely confess, that I find the grounds of your opposition so weak, as I have reason to apprehend that the prejudice you have of the persons, is the greatest motive of breeding these doubts into you; which prejudice is the most dangerous thing that can fall in a judge, for misleading of his mind. And the reason moving me to this apprehension, is partly grounded upon your last words to me at your parting from Windsor, and partly upon a line scraped out in your paper of doubts; for I am sure you think me not so blunt a secretary, but that I can read a line so scraped out. In your last speeches with me, you remember you told me what assurance you had of the earl's ability out of his own mouth, which you said you could not but trust, because he was so religious a nobleman. But when I told you, of the other party's contrary affirmation, you remember how you used the word iniquity; and how far your interlined line seems to have a harmony with this word, yourself can best judge. Now then if I would ask you, what proof you have of the one's religion more than the other's, you must answer me by judging of the exterior; and how deceivable that guess is, daily experience teaches us: but with a holy protestation, that I never knew any thing but good of the young earl. Was not this the ground of Master Robert Bruse's incredulity, because he knew the Earl of Gowry to be truly religious?"

[1] This absurd distinction of *frigiditas versus hanc*, was humorously compared to the case of a man whose stomach could digest every thing except Bagshot mutton.

But whether the impediment be universall, or *versus hanc* onely; or whether the fault thereof hath been borne with him, or done to him by violence, or fallen unto him by disease, or disproportion or inaptitude betwixt the parties, or unnaturall practises, that is ever *par ratio,* hee is *eunuch versus hanc et omnes alias,* seeing to him only was she married.

Then *paritate rationis,* such nullities are grounded upon the aforesaid warrant of scripture, neither had Christ any occasion to speak of the Jews marriage concerning *maleficium versus hanc,* for though it be apparent that God made king Abimelech and his servants unable to abuse Sarah, Abrahams wife, and so was he made by God himself *eunuchus versus hanc,* and that be not improbable, that the devill being Gods ape, should imitate Gods works, by his filthy witchcraft, by making such as God will permit him, unable *versus hanc*; howbeit, it is very probable, that it was long after that time, the devill put that trick upon the earth.

As for the third and fourth questions, what mention the fathers and councells doe make of *maleficium versus hanc;* I answer, that it may be (if they were well searched) that either something to this purpose in them, or at the least *aliquid analogum,* with *a paritate rationis,* or by consequence, may serve to decide the question.

But leaving this to search, my mean answer is, that we must distinguish oft-times; for in all the first ages, as long as persecution lay heavy upon the church, and before the empire christian, the church did not meddle with any thing, which drew a consequence after it of possessions, or inheritance, as marriage doth; nay, even divers hundred years after the conversion of the emperors, the judgment and decision of all such questions did still remain *in foro civili,* till the popedome began to wax great, and assume, or rather usurp to her self, a supream and independent judicatory in all ecclesiastical causes; and therefore the fathers and councells had no occasion to make mention of that which was not *de præfori* at that time.

And besides, that is an evil argument to say such a thing is not lawfull, because the fathers and councells made no mention of it; for you know much better then I, divers and many points betwixt the papists and us, are never mentioned by the fathers, because they could never have dreamed, that such questions would arise, and therefore are the fathers exact only in such questions as were agitated upon the state at that time, as *de Trinitate, de duabus in Christo naturis,* and such like, and therefore sufficient that there can be nothing found which may justly bee understood to contradict this opinion.

And it is very probable (as I said before) that this trick of *maleficium* had not then been put in practise in the world, and therefore not known or mentioned by them; for why may not the devil as well find out new tricks of witchcraft (when God will permit him) as hee did daily new sects of heresies? for his malice can never end untill the end of time.

To the 5. argument my former answer doth also serve, for till the 400 year after Christ, it may bee, that devillish trick came never to be discovered; you know the old proverb *ex malis moribus bonæ leges,* and it is not unlikely, that the time of darknesse gave the devill occasion to devise such new tricks (look my *Dæmonologie*) and yet was that law for which you cite Hircanus by Charles the Great, who in many great points (as you know) had so great light, as I doe scarce term this time a time of blindnesse, but howsoever the darknesse was in points of superstition: I will still maintain (as I have ever done) that for matters of order and policy all the world shall never bee able to find out any so good, and so old an order of argument to be put in the place of it, in signe whereof there is no well governed common-wealth in the christian world, wherein the common law is not received to judge in questions of that nature; and it is certain, that this question now in hand, is only a question of order and policy; for the ground of this

question, that the essentiall point of matrimony cannot be accomplished *sine copula* is warranted by expresse scripture, and confessed by your selfe.

To your 6. argument (or rather hope) I fear that hope shall prove contrary to faith; for as sure as God is, there be devills, and some devills must have some power, and their power is in this world, neither are the elect exempted from this power; Job was not, Paul was not, Christ said to all his disciples, *Cribaverit vos Sathanas*; and if the devill hath any power it is over the flesh, rather over the filthiest and most sinfull part thereof, whereunto originall sin is soldred, as God before and under the law to shew *officialem*, of purging mans original sin, ordained the *præputium* of the foreskin, and to exempt this of our profession from the power of witchcraft, is a paradox never yet maintained by any learned or wise man.

That the devills power is not so universall against us, that I freely confesse; but that it is utterly restrained *quoad nos*, how was then a minister of Genevah bewitched to death, and were the witches daily punished by our law; if they can harm none but the papists, wee are too charitable for avenging of them onely.

Sathan is permitted to punish man as well for his breach of the second as of the first table, and thereof are wee no lesse guilty then the papists are, and if the power of witchcraft may reach to our life, much more to a member, not so governed by the fancy, wherein the devill hath his principall operation; and he may so estrange the husbands affection towards the wife, as he cannot be able to performe that duty to her; for that is a common thing in many mens natures, that they cannot doe that thing, but where they love, nor fight but where they are angry; God keep us therefore from putting the triall of our profession upon miracles; let the miracle-mongers live by their own trade.

To the 7. argument touching remedies, what doe you know, whether both parties, or either of them, hath used these means of remedy or not? and that speciall remedy should be used publickely, for there I can see no necessity, for *non interest reipub. nec Eccles.* and private persons are commanded to their fastings and almes secretly and in private; no such cure also is likely to succeed well, except the parties own hearts and desires be set thereupon.

And as for your conclusion upon your *incommodum*, whether upon his person or the example, I can see none in either, so as to the couple, between them marriage was never accomplished truely, they will peradventure both of them by the declaration of the nullity bee capable to accomplish marriage with others, which they could never doe between themselves, wherein they may have the satisfaction of their hearts, and enjoy the blessing of procreation of children.

And as for the example, the law shall be fulfilled with due administration of justice, which cannot prove for an example or president of a counterfeit nullity hereafter, *authoritas facti*, or rather *non facti, sed luce clarior* in this case, besides the many probations and confessions of the parties which have been taken in this processe; whereas by the contrary, they shall be forcibly kept together, but never their persons or affections, and they still be forced to live in perpetuall scandall, or misery, or both; and what such a kind of forced continency may avail, the monkes continency may teach us, and for a president in time to come, that reacheth no further, then to open a way of lawfull relief, to any person who shall chance to bee distressed in that sort.

And for legall doubts, they concern none of their calling; if your conscience be resolved in points of divinity, it is your part to give your consent to the nullity, and let the lawyers take the burthen of making that firmall; and as for the triennial probation, I hope no man can be so blind, as to make a doubt, whether that be taken before or after the suit begun; and in conclusion of divine solution of this question proved cleerly, that this resolution of this doubt, howsoever it was in blindnesse as you thinke, that

is now proved in the greatest time of light and purity of the profession of the gospell.

And for your extract upon the late divines opinions, upon this question, I cannot guess what your intent was in sending them to mee, for they all agree in terms with mine opinion; but there is such a thing as *maleficium et maleficiale versus hanc*; and your very interlude passages prove that clearest; and for that advice concerning the remedies, that is but *concilium non decretum*, not imposing a necessity, but is to be used by discretion, as occasion shall prove and require it.

To conclude then, if this may satisfie your doubts, I will end with our Saviours words to Peter, *cum conversus fueris, confirma fratres tuos;* for on my conscience, all the doubts I have yet seen, are nothing but *nodos in scirpo quærere.*

The midwives appointed to make inspection upon the ladies body, gave in that the lady Essex is a woman apt to have copulation, and to bring forth children, and that the said lady is a virgin and uncorrupted.

Three ladies affirme, that they beleeve the same, for that they were present when the midwives made the inspection, and did see them give good reasons for it.

There is a sentence of divorce given for the nullity of the marriage, and both parties licenced to be married again.

The Commissioners that gave sentence.

Winchester,
Ely,
Litchfield and Coventry, } Bishops.
Rochester,

Sir Julius Cæsar,
Sir Tho. Parrey, } Doctors.
Sir Daniel Dunne,

The Commissioners dissenting.

Archbishop of Cant.
Bishop of London, } Bishops.

Sir Juan Bennet,
Francis James, } Doctors.
Tho. Edwards,

The proceedings against Rich. Weston, at his Arraignment at Guild-hall, 19 *Novemb.* 1615.

Haies Lord Maior.

Before the Lord Maior, the Lord Chief Justice of England, and three other Justices of the Kings Bench, viz. Crook, Daudriage, and Haughton, and Serjeant Crew, and other of the Commissioners.

Sir Henry Montague Recorder.

The court being set, the kings speciall commission being read, the Lord Chief Justice gave the charge, the effect whereof was,

First, to expresse the kings pious inclination and command unto just proceedings against all such as should be any way proved to be guilty of the murthering and poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, his majesties prisoner in the Tower.

Secondly, to aggravate the manner and quality of the murther, in shewing the basenesse of poysoning, above all other kinds of murther, declaring the vengeance of God, and his justness in punishing the offenders, he alledged 9 Gen. 6. *Quicunque effuderit humanum sanguinem, effundetur sanguis illius, ad imaginem Dei quippe factus est homo:* He also took the example of Uriah by David, he therein observed how adultery is most often the begetter of that sinne.

Then he declared, that of all felonies, murther is the most horrible; of all murthers, poysoning the most detestable; and of all poysoning, the lingering poysoning.

He shewed how that by an act of parliament 22 H. 8. cap. 9. it was made treason, and that wilfull poysoners should be boiled to death, rehearsing the example of one Richard Rowse, that had poisoned a man and a woman, and was therefore scalded to death.

Then he laid open to the jury the baseness and cowardliness of poisoners, who attempt that secretly, against which there is no means of preservation or defence for a mans life, and how rare it was to hear of poysoning in England, so detestable it was to our nation; but that since the devil hath taught divers to bee cunning in it, so that they can poyson in what distance of space they please, by consuming the *Nativum Calidum*, or *Humidum Radicale* in one moneth, two, or three, or more, as they list; which they four manner of wayes do execute. 1 *Gustu.* 2 *Haustu.* 3. *Odore.* 4. *Contactu.*

He finished his charge with serious exhortations to the jury to doe justice in presenting the truth, notwithstanding the greatnesse of any, that upon their evidence should appear to be guilty of the same offence; comforting both judge and jury with the scripture, Psal. 5. ver. *ultimo.* " For thou, Lord, wilt blesse the righteous; with favour wilt thou compasse them as with a shield."

The charge being ended, the jury consisting of 14 persons, did for the space of an hour depart from the court into a private room, where they received their evidence from Mr Fanshaw his majesties coroner, and his highnesse councell, prepared and instructed for that purpose, with the examinations and confessions, as well of the prisoner himself, as of divers other witnesses, before that time taken, by the Lord Chief Justice of England, and others the lords of his majesties councell.

In the mean time Mr William Goare, sheriff of London, was commanded to fetch his prisoner, remaining at his house, to be ready in court for his arraignment.

So a certain space after, the grand jury returned to the barre, and delivered in their bill of indictment, signed *Billa Vera,* whereupon the prisoner was set up to the barre, and the indictment read by Mr Fanshawe, which contained in effect as followeth.

The Indictment.

That Richard Weston, being about the age of 60 yeares, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but instigated and seduced by the devill, devised and contrived, not only to bring upon the body of Sir Thomas Overbury, knight, great sicknesse and diseases, but also to deprive him of his life; and to bring the same to passe 9 *Maii* 1613, 11 *Jacobi*, &c. at the Tower of London, in the parish of Alhallowes Barkin, did obtain, and get into his hands, certain poyson of green and yellow colour, called Rosalgar, (knowing the same to be deadly poison,) and the same did maliciously and feloniously mingle and compound in a kind of broath poured out into a certain dish, and the same broath so infected and poysoned, did give and deliver to the said Sir Thomas Overbury,

as wholesome and good broath, to the intent therewith to kill and poyson the said Sir Thomas, which broath he took and did eat.

Also the said Weston upon the 1 *Julii*, 11 *Jacobi*, aforesaid, did in like manner get another poyson or poysons compounded, called White Arsenick, (and knowing the same to be deadly poyson) did give unto the said Sir Thomas Overbury, as good and wholesome to eat, who took and did eat.

Also, that Weston upon the said 19 of July following did get another poison called Mercury Sublimat (knowing the same to bee mortall poyson) and put and mingled the same in tarts and jellies, and gave the same unto Sir Thomas Overbury, as good and wholesome to eat, which he in like manner tooke and did eat.

Also the said Weston and another man, being an apothecary, afterwards upon the 14 of September, feloniously did get a poyson called Mercury Sublimat, (knowing the same to be deadly poyson) and put the same into a glyster mingled with the said poyson, and the said glyster the said apothecary for the reward of 20*l.* promised unto him, did put and minister (as good and wholesome) into the guts of the said Sir Thomas, and that Weston was present, and aiding to the said apothecary, in ministring and infusing the said glyster; and that immediately after, as well the taking of the said poysoned meats, and ministring the said glyster, the said Sir Thomas did languish and fell into diseases and distemper; and from the aforesaid times of taking and eating the said poysoned meats, and ministring the said glyster, he died, and so the jury gave their verdict, that Weston in this manner, had killed, poysoned, and murthered the said Sir Tho. against the kings peace and dignity.

Which indictment being read, he was demanded if hee were guilty of the felony, murthering, and poysoning, as aforesaid, yea or no; to which he answered, doubling his speech, Lord have mercy upon me, Lord have mercy upon me! but being again demanded, he answered, Not guilty; and being then demanded how he would be tryed, hee answered, hee referred himself to God, and would be tryed by God, refusing to put himselfe and his cause upon the jury or countrey, according to the law or custome.

Hereupon the Lord Chief Justice and all other in their order spent the space of an hour in perswading him to put himselfe upon the tryall of the law; declaring unto him the danger and mischief he ran into by resisting his ordinary course of tryall, being the means ordained by God for his deliverance, if he were innocent, and how by this means he should make himselfe the author of his owne death, even as if he should with a knife or dagger kill or stab himselfe, exhorting him very earnestly, either with repentance to confesse his fault, or else with humility and duty to submit himselfe to his ordinary tryall; whereunto he stubbornly answered, "Welcome, by the grace of God," and hee referred himselfe to God; and so when no perswasions could prevaile, the Lord Chief Justice plainly delivered his opinion, that he was perswaded that Weston had been dealt withall by some great ones guilty of the same fact, as accessary, to stand mute, whereby they might escape their punishment, and therefore he commanded (for satisfaction of the world) that the queens atturney there present should declare and set forth the whole evidence, without any fear or partiality; and yet notwithstanding he once more used much perswasion to the prisoner to consider what destruction he brought upon himselfe by his contempt, and declaring unto him, how his offence of contempt was, in refusing his tryall, and how the laws of the land had provided a sharper and more severe punishment to such offenders, then unto those that were guilty of high treason; and so he repeated the form of judgment given against such; the extremity and rigour thereof was expressed in these words, *Onere, frigore, et fame*: For the first he was to receive his punishment by the law, to be extended, and then to have weights laid upon him, no more than he was able to bear, which were by little and little to be increased.

For the second, that hee was to bee exposed in an open place, neer to prison, in the open aire, being naked.

And lastly, that he was to bee preserved with the coursest bread that could be got, and water out of the next sinke or puddle to the place of execution, and that day hee had water, hee should have no bread, and that day he had bread he should have no water; and in this torment hee was to linger as long as nature could linger out, so that oftentimes they lived in that extremity eight or nine dayes; adding further, that as life left him, so judgment should find him; and therefore hee required, upon consideration of these reasons, to advice himselfe to plead to the countrey, who notwithstanding absolutely refused.

Hereupon the Lord Chief Justice willed Sir Laurence Hide, the queens atturney, and there of councell for the king, to manifest unto the audience the guiltynesse of the said Weston, by his own confession, signed with his own hand; and if in the declaration thereof they may meet with any great persons whatsoever, as certainly there were great ones confederate in that fact, hee should boldly and faithfully open whatsoever was necessary and he could prove against them; whereupon Mr Attorney began his accusation.

First, hee charged the countesse of Sommerset and the earle to be principal movers unto this unhappy conclusion, Mrs Turner to be of the confederacy, and the pay-mistris of the poisoners rewards; in which I could not but observe, the atturney his boldnesse in termining the countesse a dead and rotten branch, which being lopt off, the noble tree, meaning that noble family, would prosper the better.[1]

Secondly, he proceeded to the cause, which he affirmed to be the malice of the countesse, and the ground of this malice he alledged, and by many inducements he evidently affirmed, that Sir Thomas Overbury had perswaded him from that adulterate marriage of the countesse of Sommerset, then countesse of Essex; and for this he alledged as followeth.

Sir Thomas Overbury having divers times disswaded the earle, then viscount Rochester, from seeking by any means to procure marriage with the countesse of Essex, to which he saw the earle too much inclined, having very earnest conference with the earle one night in private in the gallery at Whitehall, concerning his intendment, perceiving the earle too much at that time to desire that unlawfull communication, in the ardency of his fervent affection unto the earle, and great prescience of the future misery it would inevitably bring unto him (his well-beloved lord and friend) used speeches to this effect.

Well, my lord, if you doe marry that filthy base woman, you will utterly ruine your honour and your selfe; you shall never doe it by mine advice or consent, and if you doe, you had best looke to stand fast.

My lord replyed, bewitched with the love of the said countesse, moved with Sir Thomas Overbury for so slighting her, answered, my own legs are streight and strong enough to beare me up; but in faith I will be even with you for this; and so parted from him in a great rage.

This conference was overheard by some in an adjoining roome, and their depositions for the truth thereof were read in court.

Although this conference moved the earle to such a sudden choler, yet it seemed Sir Thomas Overbury conceited it no otherwise then a sudden extream distemperature or passion, and not a final conclusion of their bosome friendship as before, in which the earle seemed as reciprocall; howsoever in his double dealing, it seemed to be cleerly otherwise.

[1] The favourite had not as yet been publicly disgraced, so that any direct attack upon him from the bench of justice was considered as a bold measure. Indeed this speech of the Attorney General was represented by Mr Lumsden, and others at court, as an insolent attack upon majesty itself, through the medium of the minion Somerset.

For upon this the earle moved the king to appoint Sir Thomas Overbury embassador for Russia; the king willing to preferre Sir Thomas Overbury as one whose worth and valour was yet unknown to his majesty, accordingly adjoined him that service, the which Sir Thomas was most willing to accept of, as a gracious aspect of the king towards him; which willingnesse of his was proved by the deposition of two or three severall witnesses read in court, and by the oath of Sir Dudley Diggs, who voluntarily at the arraignment in open court upon his oath witnessed, how Sir Thomas had imparted to him his readinesse to be employed of an ambassage.

The earl as well abusing the kings favours in moving to shew favour where he meant the party should take no benefit, as bearing unhonest friendship, in conference with Sir Thomas concerning that imployment, perswaded him to refuse to serve ambassador, where (quoth he) I shall not be able to perform such kindnesse to your advantage, as having you with mee; and (quoth he) if you be blamed or committed for it, care not, I will quickly free you from all harm: Sir Thomas thus betrayed by a friend, refused to serve in that nature; where, upon just equity, he was committed to the Tower.

Being thus committed, hee was presently committed close prisoner, and a keeper he must have, and who must that bee, but this Weston, who was commended by the Countesse of Essex to Sir Thomas Monson to be by him recommended over unto the lieutenant of the Tower to be keeper to Sir Thomas Overbury: Sir Thomas Monson, according to the countesse request, commended the said Weston to Sir Jervas Yelvis; whereupon the said lieutenant entertained the said Weston, and appointed him to keep Sir Thomas Overbury. The said Weston, upon his own confession read in court, signed with his marke, had during the time that she was Countesse of Essex, been a procurer and pandor to the said earle then Viscount Rochester, and the Countesse of Essex, for the conveying and effecting of their adulterate desires; which they did divers times consummate, meeting in Mrs Turners house once between the hours of eleven and twelve, and at Hammersmith, and at divers times elsewhere for that purpose, that now by the procuremene of the Countesse (who hated Sir Thomas Overbury, for being a good means to keep from contaminating themselves with such lustfull imbracements, and from the purposed marriage they mutually laboured to compasse) her pandor was become his keeper, a fit agent for lust and murther

Weston now being become Sir Thomas Overburies keeper, kept him so close, hat he scarce had the comfort of the dayes brightnesse; neither suffered he any one to visit him, father, brother, his best friends, his nearest kindred, were estrangers to him from the beginning of his imprisonment unto the end.

Mrs Turner, upon the first dayes keeping, promised to give him a contenting reward, if he would administer such things to Sir Thomas Overbury, as should be sent unto him, thinking him a fit instrument to compasse black murther that was so well acquainted with foul lust; and so (indeed) they found him, for he agreed and did promise to administer whatsoever shee would send him. Mrs Turner, upon this murderous promise, the very same day that Weston became Sir Thomas Overbury his keeper, being 6 May, 1613, sent unto him, the said Weston, certaine yellow poyson, called rosalgar, in a viall.

Weston having received that poyson, the aforesaid 6 of May at night, bringing Sir Thomas Overbury's supper in one hand, and the viall of poyson in the other, meets with the lieutenant, and asks him in these terms, "Sir, shall I give it him now?" Upon this word *now*, the Lord Chief Justice demurs, to aggravate the maliciousnesse, affirming that this particle *now*, shewed a resolution to poyson him. What shall you give him, replies the lieutenant? Weston replies, as if you did not know, Sir. The lieutenant blaming him, he carries the poyson into an inner room, which Weston the 9 of May did administer to Sir Thomas Overbury in broath; this was proved both by Weston and the lieutenants confession.

Weston having given this poyson, which wrought very vehemently with him by vo-

mits and extream purging, he presently demands his reward of Mrs Turner, who replies, " The man is not yet dead, perfit your worke, and you shall have your hire:" this was also confessed by Weston under his marks.

Sir Thomas Overbury, by his close imprisonment, growing sick, and daily languishing, after three or four weeks space (considering he had not got his freedome and release, having not friends suffered to come unto him, but only such as the earle sent to comfort him, of his owne followers) writ to the earle to remember his imprisonment; who received answer, the time would not suffer, but so soon as possibly might be, he would hasten his delivery, (so indeed it seems he intended to doe) but not so as Sir Thomas Overbury conceived, whose true affection would not admit his judgement to debate the strangenesse of his imprisonment, which he might well think the earle might easily have relieved.

The 5 June Viscount Rochester sent a letter to Sir Tho. Overbury; in the letter he sent him a white powder, willing Sir Tho. to take it; it will (quoth he) make you more sick, but fear not, I will make this a means for your delivery, and for the recovery of your health. Sir Thomas Overbury never dreaming of base treachery, but conceiving it as a friendly policy, received the said powder, which wrought upon him more vehemently; whereupon his sicknesse grew more vehement or violent, and his languishment increasing, which white powder upon Westons confession was poyson.

Sir Thomas Overbury his sicknesse increasing, and with it his wondering that he could not in two months space be released, after his physick taking he thus writes to the earle, lamenting his own estate; for his faith being thus shaken with the earles unkindnesse, gave way for his judgment to scan those actions, rather like an understanding man then like a loving friend, as appeareth by his letter sent to Viscount Rochester, the effect whereof was thus, as it is averred by the depositions of Sir Thomas Overbury his servants, who saw the letter.

Sir Thomas Overbury's Letter to the Viscount Rochester.

" Sir, I wonder you have not yet found means to effect my delivery, but I remember you said, you would bee even with mee (not suspecting, as it seemeth, any poysoning, but an unkind forgetfulnesse of my Lord of Rochester,) and so indeed you are; but assure your selfe, my lord, if you doe not release mee, but suffer mee thus to die, my blood will bee required at your hands."

My Lord comforts him, and excuses, that it cannot yet be compassed; Sir Thomas, after the powder taken, languisheth deadly; and to comfort him, some followers of my Lord of Rochesters are sent to him daily, in the name of my Lord, by the appointment and procurement too of the Lady of Essex (as Weston confessed) to visit and comfort him, and to entreat him if hee desired any meat, that he should speake, and it might bee better perhaps provided for him, then he should have in the Tower: this was about three months after his imprisonment.

He (as men sick desire lushious meats) desired tarts and jellies, which were provided by Mrs Turner, with the knowledge of the said Countesse, and sent unto him, of which he did eat; the which tarts were poysoned with mercury sublimate, not being so well coloured as other tarts are, and Weston confessed that hee was straightly charged not to taste thereof.

Sir Thomas thus continuing languishing with the extremity of sicknesse, untill 6 September, when the aforesaid Mrs Turner did procure an apothecaries boy for 20l. to poyson a glyster, which was by the boy and Weston afterwards administred as good physick, upon the 7 of October; after the receipt of the glyster, hee fell into a great extremity

of vomiting and other purging, which left him not, till it caused his soule to leave his poysoned body; this Weston confessed and signed.

Being thus dead, he was presently and very unreverently buryed in a pit digged in a very mean place: on his body thus venomously infected, appeared divers blanes and blisters; whereupon they, to take away as well his good name, as his life, did slaunderously report, that he died of the French pox; but this report was cleared in court, by the depositions of his servants, and other men of worth there read.

That before his imprisonment he had a clean and sound body, only he had an issue in his left arm, purposely made for the benefit of his nature, for the avoyding of reume and ill humors, which with continuall sitting at his study hee had submitted himselfe unto.

He further observed the confession of the lieutenant to be, that if any prisoner died there, his body to be viewed, and inquisition to be taken by the coroner.

But Sir Thomas Overbury's friends and others, by no means might be suffered to see his body; and although it was reported that there was an inquisition taken, yet it could by no means be found.

After Mr Attourney had ended his speech, Mr Warr also of councell for the King, declared to the court what familiarity he had with Sir Thomas. being both of the Temple together, much commending his singular, honest, and virtuous conversation, affirming that he was addicted to no dishonest actions; and from this he proceeded to urge his hard usage in the Tower, where he might have no company, but the apothecary, and the walloone; and repeating the sending of the tarts and jellies in my Lord of Somersets name, he ended his speech with this saying, *Pereat unus ne pereant omnes, pereat peccans, ne pereat Respub.* Then by the commandment of the court were read by Mr Fanshaw the examinations of divers witnesses taken before my Lord Chief Justice, and others, which in effect were as followeth.

Laurence Davies, servant to Sir Thomas Overbury, examined 15 *October, before the Lord Chief Justice.*

Hee saith, that he had served Sir Thomas Overbury eight or nine years; in all which time he was very healthfull, and never kept his bed for any sicknesse; only he was sometimes troubled with the spleen, for ease whereof he had by the advice of his physitian an issue made in his left arme; but before his imprisonment, he had no soares, blisters, or other defects in all his body.

Also he saith, Sir Thomas would have gone over upon the ambassage, but was disswaded by Sommerset, who promised to beare him out; he complained he needed not to be prisoner if Somerset would, and that if he died, his blood should be required at his hands.

That Somerset was as good as his word, who told him at Newmarket, he would be even with Sir Thomas Overbury.

Henry Payton, another servant of Sir Thomas Overbury, examined the 15 *October* 1615.

He affirmeth, that Sir Thomas was of a very good constitution of body, that he used sometimes to run, to play at foiles, and such like, that he was of a moderate dyet, never had any sores, saving the said issue in his arm.

That Sir Thomas writ letters to Sommerset, signifying, that he needed not to lie in prison, if Sommerset would; and if he died, his blood should be required at his hands.

Also that Sir Thomas at one of the clock at night, meeting Sommerset in the gallery

at Whitehall, had speeches with him touching the countesse, whom he called base woman, and told Sommerset he would overthrow all the kings favours and honours; and upon displeasure between them at this conference, Sir Thomas Overbury desired Sommerset that he might have his portion due, and he would shift for himself; whereunto Sommerset answered, and my legs are streight enough to carry me; and so flung away in anger; all which this examinant heard, being in a chamber next to the gallery.

Sir Dudley Diggs being present in court, and sworne, declared *viva voce*, that he was sent by a privy counsellor (a great man) to Sir Thomas Overbury to bring him to this great man, which he did; and coming back together over the water in a boat, Sir Thomas was much discontented, the reason whereof he said was, that hee was perswaded by the great man to withdraw himselfe from the court for some reasons which he disclosed not; and Sir Dudley afterwards being sent by the Lords, to know the resolution of Sir Thomas touching the ambassage, he found him to relie upon the Lord of Sommerset, saying, my precious chief knows the kings mind better than any, and I the mind of my precious chief.

Richard Weston the Prisoner examined 6 *October* 1615, coram *Coke and Crew.*

He affirmeth, that before Sir Thomas Overbury was in the Tower, he, this examinant, carryed three letters to Sommerset, from the Lady Essex, to Royston, New-market, and Hampton Court, and hee delivered answer to Mrs Turner; and that upon the letter to Hampton Court, hee had answer onely by word of mouth that his Lordship would come, and that coming back he met with the countess and Mrs Turner half way, in the coach, whom he told, that the Lord onely answered so; whereupon, the countesse strook out of the way into a farmers house hard by, whither within a little space Sommerset came, and that afterwards they met in the night at Mrs Turners house in Paternoster Row; and he confesseth, that of a year before Sir Thomas his imprisonment, no man carryed letters between them but hee.

Sir Thomas Monson examined 5 *October,* coram *Coke and Crew.*

He saith, that he never knew Weston untill Sir Thomas Overbury was prisoner in the Tower, and that he preferred him to the Lieutenant, to be keeper of Sir Thomas Overbury, at the request of the countesse.

Ann Turner, widow, examined 11 *October,* 1615, coram *Coke.*

She saith, that Weston was an ancient servant, and her husbands bailiffe in the countrey; she denyeth to have any thing to doe in placing him in the Tower, but saith that the Countesse of Essex did effect it, and used the help of Sir Thomas Monson therein.

Sir Jervas Yelvis examined 3 *October,* 1615, coram *Coke and Crew.*

He saith he had a letter from Sir Thomas Monson; requesting him that Weston might be keeper of Sir Thomas Overbury, and that he did perform it; and afterwards having conference with Sir Thomas Monson, he told him, that his keeper was not to suffer any letters or tokens, or any thing, to be delivered unto him.

Richard Weston, the prisoner, examined again.

He confesseth he shewed him the glasse that was delivered him by his son from the countesse to the lieutenant, and told him that it came from the Countesse of Essex, and that he perswaded him not to give it to Sir Thomas.

He saith, that he had divers tarts from the countesse to give to Sir Thomas, with caveats that hee himselfe should not tast of them, and confesseth that hee thought they were poysoned.

He saith, Mrs Turner appointed him to come to Whitehall, and that she dealt with him to give Sir Thomas Overbury the water, and told him he should not drinke thereof, and was promised a great reward, and he suspected it was poyson; his son afterwards delivered him the glasse, which he shewed to the lieutenant, who rebuked him; and so he set the glasse in a study neer to Sir Thomas his chamber, but gave it him not, although hee told Mrs Turner, the next day, he had given the water, which made Sir Thomas to vomit often, and to be exceeding sick.

He saith, Mr James, and Mr Rawlins, servants to the countesse, came often to know of the examinant how Sir Thomas Overbury did, and what he would eat; and they delivered him jellies and tarts, which he gave to Sir Thomas, who did eat thereof.

He saith, he demanded of Mrs Turner his reward, who answered, he was to have no reward untill Sir Thomas was dead, and he was promised a pursevants place; but confesseth, that afterwards, at two severall times, he received secretly after the death of Sir Thomas, for a reward of Mrs Turner from the Countesse, 180l.

William Weston, son to the prisoner, examined.

He confesseth he received a glasse from the Countesse (by her servant) two inches long, being wrapped in paper, which hee delivered to his father in the Tower.

Then was read the confession of the Lieutenant to the King.

He saith, that Weston met him, carrying Sir Thomas his supper in the one hand, and the glasse in the other, and demanded of the lieutenant this, Sir, shall I give it him now? whereat the lieutenant stepped to him, and asked him, what? To which Weston said, why, Sir, know you not what is to be done? And so the lieutenant having made him to confesse the matter, disswaded him, and hee seemed to be resolved not to doe it; and afterwards this Weston confessed that an apothecary had 20l. for administring a glyster to Sir Thomas Overbury.

Weston, the prisoner, examined before the Lord Zouch, and others.

Confesseth, that Sir Thomas had a glyster which gave him sixty stools and vomit; also being confronted with the writings of Sir Jervas Yelvis, and charged therewith, he confesseth the same to bee true.

Symon Marson, musician, examined.[*]

Saith he served Sir Thomas Monson, six yeares, and is preferred by him to the

[*] This Symon Marson was an excellent musician in the service of Sir Thomas Monson.—But it is impossible,

kings service, but waiteth sometime upon Sir Thomas Monson; he saith that he received divers tarts and jellies from the Countesse of Essex to be carryed to the lieutenant of the Tower for Sir Thomas Overbury.

Paul de la Bell examined.

Saith, that on the 3 of July hee made Sir Thomas Overbury a bath, by Dr Michams advice, to cool his body, and that he did see his body very exceeding faire and cleer, and again he saw his body (being dead) full of blysters, and so consumed away as hee never saw the like body.

George Raulyns, a kinsman to Sir Thomas Overbury, examined.

Saith, that upon the bruit of the murther of Sir Thomas, he was taxed by some why hee made no prosecution; hee thereupon made a petition, and delivered it to the king, that the examination of the cause might bee referred to law; and denyeth that hee was perswaded by any to the contrary: hee saith, that he coming often to the Tower to see Sir Thomas, could not be suffered to see him so much as out at the windows: and Weston told him it was the commandment of the councel and of the lieutenant.

The Lieutenant of the Tower examined, coram *Coke and Crew.*

He saith, that after the death of Sir Thomas, Weston came to him and told him he was much neglected and slighted by the countesse, and could receive no reward; but afterwards he confessed he had received 100l. and should receive more; and the lieutenant also saith, that Sir Thomas Overbury was very angry with his apothecary at certain vomits which he had, and also at the tarts and jellies which he had, would be found within a day or two standing, ill coloured, and that no body did eate thereof but Sir Thomas; and Weston confessed unto him, that the apothecary had twenty pound for administering the glyster.

These examinations being read and applyed to the purpose, the Lord Chief Justice said, hee would discharge his duty first to God, in giving all glory, for the bringing to light of so horrible and wicked a fact; and next to the king, his great master, who as in case of the like nature, as in the case of Zanquer and Turner,[1] so especially in this, hath given streight charge of just and due examination to be had, without any manner of partiality or fear in the world, to the intent, that as well the innocent might be freed, as the nocent and guilty severely punished.

And for this purpose his majesty hath, with his owne hand, written two sheets of paper on both sides, concerning justice to be administred to all parties which were to be examined;[2] which writing the Lord Chief Justice shewed to the Lord Maior, and the rest

here to tell, after Welldon, upon what instrument he could mimic the performance of a tabor and a pipe, to which Mrs Turner and the young ladies used to dance after supper. He was sometimes employed in carrying the poisoned tarts to Overbury, which caused the Lord Chief Justice to charge him with having had a hand in the murder; to which he readily replied, "No, my Lord, I had but a *finger*, which has cost me all my hair and nails." He alluded to the consequences of having dipped his finger into the syrup of one of the tarts, and then licked it.

[1] Lord Sanquhar, executed for the murder of a fencing-master, named John Turner, which was termed by Lord Bacon the most noble act of justice which modern times afforded.

[2] King James, on hearing the detail of the murder, is said to have prayed upon his knees, that God would visit with a similar judgment him and his posterity, if for whatever reason he suffered any of the persons con-

of the commissioners; and then he declared the kings justice, who, albeit the many favours and honours which his majesty had bestowed on the Lord Sommerset, and his neernesse to his person by reason of his office, yet he had committed him prisoner to the Dean of Westminster his house, under the custody of Sir Oliver St Juan, and also had committed his lady; so having last of all, again, demanded of the prisoner if hee would put himselfe to be tryed by the country, which he refused,

The court was adjourned untill Monday following, at two of the clock in the afternoon.

The Second Arraignment of Richard Weston.

On Monday the 23 of October, 1615, to which day the court was adjourned by the said commissioners, after proclamation made, the jury of life and death called, the prisoner Weston was set to the barre, and Mr Fanshaw, clerk of the crown, declared unto him, that he had been formerly arraigned, and had pleaded *not guilty*, so he demanded of him how he would be tryed; whereupon the prisoner answered, by God and his countrey: and thereupon the jury being sworn, and the indictment being read as before, Sir Laurence Hide, the queens attorney, being of councell with the king, having briefly rehearsed the effect of the indictment, shewed how that he must necessarily mention others that were guilty of the same fact, wherein if any other man or woman were touched, the cause it was, and not he that touched them.

And therefore Weston being but a stranger to Sir Thomas Overbury, and one, who by himself could reap no benefit by his death, it was against all reason that he would do it of himselfe; therefore (said he) I must needs open the whole plot: and having first declared the worth and honesty of Sir Thomas Overbury, shewed his familiarity with Rochester, and how often he willed him to forbear the company of the Lady Essex, terming her a vile and base woman, which stirred up the anger and malice of the countesse against him.

And that afterwards, the king intended, for the honor of preferment of Sir Thomas Overbury, to send him upon an ambassage, whereunto he was willing, but was dealt with and perswaded by the Lord Rochester, to disobey the kings direction, and counsell, with promises that he would bear him out; by which contempt Sir Thomas was committed to the Tower, 22 Aprill 1613. Sir William Wade being lieutenant of the Tower, the 6 of May following Sir William was removed, and Sir Jervas Yelvis put in his place.

And the next day after, Weston, by the procurement of the Countesse, was preferred to the service of the lieutenant, and to be keeper of Sir Thomas; which Weston had been servant to Mrs Turner, and the only agent in conveighing letters and messages between Rochester and the Countesse; and he, whose office should have been to save and keep, was now appointed to kill and murther him.

He shewed, how the very same day of his entertainment at the Tower, he was sent for to the countesse, who perswaded him, that if he would give Sir Thomas a water that should be delivered him, he should be well rewarded, and she bid him not taste of it himselfe.

And that the 9 of the same moneth of May, the said water was secretly sent from the countesse to Weston by his son; and the same night Weston meeting with the lieutenant, and having Sir Thomas his supper in one hand, and the said glasse in the other, hee demanded of the lieutenant, Sir, shall I give it him now? whereupon the liutenant took

cerned in such an atrocity to pass unpunished. As he pardoned Somerset and his lady, although their instruments were executed, this solemn imprecation was often remembered during the subsequent misfortunes of the House of Stuart.

him aside, and disswaded him so far forth, that he confessed he thanked God on his knees that hee had met with him.

But Mr Attorney observed this notwithstanding, that the lieutenant did let him goe away with the poyson, and albeit hee now denyeth he ever gave the poyson, yet said he delivered it, he confessed to Mrs Turner he had done it, saying it made him very sick, and to vomit often, demanding of her his reward, to which she answered, he was not to have his reward untill Sir Thomas were dead.

Then he shewed how the last of June following, a certaine powder was sent in a letter to Sir Thomas Overbury, from Rochester, perswading him not to fear, though it made him sick, for that should be his reason to move the king for his enlargement.

And that 14 September, Weston and the apothecary ministred the glyster to Sir Thomas, which gave him sixty stools and vomits, and that he died the next day, remembring the strangenesse of the blotches and blisters on his body, being dead; he shewed how Weston came to Mrs Turner for his reward, which was referred till his death; and that hee had received in secret from the countesse, by Mrs Turner at severall times for his reward, 180l. and that the apothecary had for his reward 20l. all which Weston had confessed to be true.

Then remembring how ignominiously they buryed him, not suffering any to see him, for fear he should be digged up again, and without any coroners inquest that should be found; and thus he ended his speech.

And to all this opened and set forth by Mr Attorney, Mr Warr onely added thus much, which he desired the jury to consider, that Weston was servant to Mrs Turner when Sir Thomas was committed, and then he was entertained and made keeper to Sir Thomas Overbury; and having dispatched his businesse (Sir Thomas being dead and poysoned) he stayed no longer at the Tower, but returns again to his Mrs Turner.

Then the Lord Chief Justice exhorted the Jury to take God before their eyes, and with equall ballance to weigh as well the answer of the prisoner, as the proofs and examinations against him, declaring unto them how quietly and freely he had examined him from time to time, without menacing or rough usage, which the prisoner confessed: and my lord for matter of law satisfied the Jury, that albeit the poysoning in the indictment be said to be with rosalgar, white arsenick, and mercury sublimat, yet the Jury were not to expect so precise proof in that point, shewing how impossible it were to convict a poysoner, who useth not to take any witnesses, to the composing of his fibbersauces; wherefore he declared the law in the like case; as if a man be indicted for murthering a man with a dagger, and it fal out upon evidence to have been done with a sword or with a rapier, or with neither, but with a staffe; in this case the instrument skilleth not, so that the jury find the murther; and so in this prisoners case, if they would be satisfied of the poysoning, it skilleth not with what, therefore hee required them to attend the proof.

Then were read, first the examinations of Laurence Davies, as at the first arraignement, then of Henry Payton, both servants to Sir Thomas Overbury, then of Weston himself formerly read.

Then the examination of Sir David Wood, taken 21 *October*, 1615, *since the first arraignment.*

He saith, he had obtained the kings consent to a suit, for which he was a petitioner, and that he was crossed by the Lord Rochester, and Sir Thomas Overbury: that for certain words he had received from Sir Thomas Overbury, he intended to bastinado him, that his suit would have been worth 2200l. and that Rochester would not let it passe, unlesse he might have 1200l.

That the Lady Essex sent for this examinate upon the day that the king and queen went to Rochester with the Lady Elizabeth, and told him shee understood that hee had received much wrong from Sir Thomas Overbury, and that hee was a gentleman that could revenge himselfe, and that Sir Thomas had much wronged her; and Sir David answered, that Sir Thomas had refused him the field, she perswaded him to kill him and promised him 1000l. for his reward, and protection from his enemies; which he refused, saying, he would be loath to hazard going to Tiburn upon a womans word; but shee still perswaded him he might easily do it, as he returned late home from Sir Charles Wilmots in his coach.

Then were read the Examinations of Sir Thomas Monson, and Mrs Turner, as at the first Arraignment.

Next, the examination of Weston before the Lord Zouch, and Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Thomas Parrey, and Sir Foulke Grevill, at the Dutchie-house, 29 Sept. 1615, where Weston did confesse, that he was preferred to the keeping of Sir Tho. Overbury, by Mrs Turner, upon the means and request of Sir Tho. Monson, to the lieut. and that she told him, if he would give Sir Tho. Overb. a water which the Countesse would send him, he should be well rewarded; and being confronted with a relation in writing, which Sir Jervas Yelvis had made to the king, as touching Sir Tho. Overbury, he confessed the same to be all true.

The Examination of the Lieutenant, taken 5 Octob. 1615.

He saith, that having conferred with his servants about the time of Westons coming to the Tower, he found it to be the very next day after himselfe was made lieutenant, and had the possession of the Tower, and that he had letters from Sir Thomas Monson that Weston might bee keeper to Sir Thomas Overbury; which letters he had lost: Sir Tho. Monson told him the chiefe purpose of Westons keeping of Sir Tho. Overbury, was to suffer no letters or other messengers to passe to or from, and to that purpose hee advised the lieutenant.

Westons Examination, 5 Octob. 1615.

Hee confesseth, that the next day hee was preferred to the Tower, he had the keeping of Sir Thomas Overbury, and soon after he received the glasse by his son secretly from the countesse; and that the lieutenant told him, all the tarts came likewise from her; and he confesseth the countesse willed him to give them to Sir Tho. but not to taste of them himselfe.

Westons Examination, 1 *October,* 1615.

Confesseth, that Mrs Turner appointed him to come to Whitehall to the countesse, the next day that he was at the Tower, and that hee went, and the countesse did request him to give to Sir Thomas Overbury a water, which shee would deliver him, but not to drink of it himselfe; shee promised to give him a good reward, and he suspected it was poyson; hee received the glasse by his sonne, and told the lieutenant of it, who

did rebuke him, and he set the glasse into a little study; hee confesseth he told Mrs Turner, he had given it him, and demanded his reward; that Mr James, and Mr Rawlins, my Lord of Somersets men, came often to know of him what tarts, jellies, or wine, Sir Tho. would have, and that they brought divers times tarts and jellies, whereof he did eat.

He confesseth to have received of the countesse in rewards after Sir Tho. Overburies death, by Mrs Turner secretly, in all 180l.

The Confession of the Lieutenant to his Majesty.

After Weston was placed in the Tower, he met with mee with Sir Tho. his supper, and the glasse, and asked me, Sir, shall I give it him now? Wherein I protest unto your majesty my ignorance, as I would also be glad to protest the same to the world; so I privately conferred with West. and by this means made him assured unto me, and knew all, but disswaded him; and as Weston hath since the death of Sir Tho. Overbury confessed to me, that the glyster was his overthrow, and the apothecary had 20l. for administring it.

Your majesties servant, Sir Jervas Yelvis.

Here the lord-chief-justice observed by this question of Weston to the lieut. Shall I give it him now? that it was presently agreed and plotted before what should be done, and that nothing more was doubted on, but the time when it should be done.

The Testimony of Laurence Davies, taken upon oath before Coke and Crew.

He affirmeth, that Weston delivered him a letter from Sir Thomas Overbury to Rochester, the effect whereof was, that he would doe his endeavour in being a means of friendship between Rochester and some others: but as touching the marriage with the Countesse of Essex, he would never give his consent; and also bringing a letter from Rochester to Sir Thomas Overbury, he delivered it to Weston, and a paper of white powder fell out, which Rochester perswaded Sir Thomas to eat, and not to fear, though it made him sick, for that should be a means for his enlargement; so they put the powder into the letter again; he saith that he saw some part of the powder in Weston's hands after the death of Sir Thomas Overbury.

The examination of Simon Weston and Paul de la Bell as at the first Arraignment.

Giles Raulins, Esq. 15 October 1615, saith, that upon the bruit of poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, being taxed of divers, for that he stirred not in the matter, Sir Thomas being his kinsman and means of his preferment, he did of himselfe preferre a petition to the king, that the cause might be referred to the judges of the law, for ordinary course of justice, rather then to the lords of the councell, by them to be examined, of which he had a gracious answer; and saith, that of 14 dayes before the death of Sir Thomas Overbury, hee could never be suffered to see him either in his chamber, or at the window, which Weston said, was the commandment of the lords and the lieutenant.

And here the Lord Chief Justice declared what a scandall they put upon his majesty and the state, that a gentleman and a freeman being onely committed upon contempt, should be more straitly and closely kept then a traitor or bond slave, so that neither his father, brother, nor friend might possibly see him; and to that point Mr Overbury, fa-

ther to Sir Thomas, swore, being present in court, who said, that his son being prisoner in the Tower, and himselfe not being suffered to have accesse unto him, found at last, that Rochester was the man that withstood it.

The Lieutenant examined 5 October.

Saith, that after the death of Sir Thomas Overbury, Weston told him, that he was neglected by the countesse, and demanded his reward; Mrs Turner told him, the countesse had not money, but afterwards hee confessed he had received some, and should have more, and that Mr James told him my Lord of Somerset would reward him for the pains he took with Sir Thomas Overbury: he saith, that the tarts were sent from the countesse to Sir Thomas, which looked ill-favouredly, and that the jellies with a little standing, would be furred, and thinketh they were poysoned: also Weston told him, that the apothecary had 20 l. for giving the glyster, and that he was poysoned with that glyster.

Here was as well observed by the court as the queens attorney, that Weston was not single in his confession, but whensoever he had confessed any thing in any of his examinations, it was likewise confirmed by the examinations of others, as the lieutenant, his son, &c.

The examination of William Goare, one of the Sheriffs of London.

Saith, Weston being in his custody, he often perswaded him to put himselfe to be tryed by his country, telling him he would first kill himself, and aske God forgivenesse afterwarde; and Weston answered, he hoped he would not make a net to catch little birds and let the great ones goe.

Then Mr Warr craving leave of the court to speak, protested, in his experience he never found a businesse so prosecuted with degrees of malice, which was the ground of Sir Thomas Overbury's overthrow: hee urged the evidence in the examination of Sir David Wood, and shewed the reasons of the malice against him to be for that he was so great an impediment to affections; then he made the dependency Mrs Turner had to the lady, and Weston to Mrs Turner, and how they all concluded to kill Sir Thomas Overbury, the like whereof he said our fathers never saw before us; and he lamented the place from whence the poyson came, should be from the court, the place (said he) from whence all men exact their safeties and protection.

Lastly, he observed the finger of God, even in this, that the poyson had been scarcely suspected at all, or enquired after, had it not been for the extraordinary strange things appearing after his death, which was the first only cause of suspicion and muttering.

The evidence being given, Weston was demanded what hee could say for himselfe, who although hee had before confessed all his examinations to be true, yet hee seemed to excuse himself in a kind of ignorance or unawares: he said he received the said glasse, and thought it was not good, but denyed the giving of it to Sir Thomas. Being demanded why he had formerly accused one Francklin, for delivering him the said glasse from the countesse (from whom indeed it was sent) he confessed it was to save his child, and finally could say nothing that had any colour of material or substantial point to excuse or argue innocency in him; so the court referred him to the jury, who went together, and within short space returned, being agreed upon their verdict, and there at the barr gave in, that Weston was guilty of the felonious murthering and poysoning of

Sir Thomas Overbury; and then the clerk of the crowne demanded of Weston what hee could say for himselfe, why judgment should not be pronounced against him, according to the law: to which he answered, he referred himselfe to my lord, and to the countrey; and then the Lord Chief Justice, before hee pronounced sentence of death, spake to this effect, that for the duty of the place, he must say somewhat, and that to two severall persons.

First, to the auditory: and

Secondly, to the prisoner.

And that which he spake to the auditory, he divided into four parts.

First, the manifestation of the glory of God, and honour of the King,

Secondly, the preventing of other damned crimes of poysoning.

Thirdly, an answer to certain objections.

Fourthly, that there is no practice of conspiracy in prosecution of the businesse.

For the first, he observed the finger of God in the manifestation and bringing to light of this matter, having slept two years, being shadowed with greatnesse, which cannot overcome the cry of the people.

He observed also the providence and goodnesse of God, to put in the hearts of himself, and the rest of the judges, the day of his last arraignment, when the prisoner stood mute, not to give judgment against him for that time, but defer it till now; and how in the mean time it pleased his majesty, out of his gracious care and pity, to send to the prisoner; first, the Bishop of London; next, the Bishop of Ely, to admonish and perswade him for the saving of his soul, who after each of them had spent two hours with him, it pleased God (when they had left him) to move his heart, so that now he did put himselfe to be tryed by the countrey; by which means (using Westons own words) he said the great flyes shall not escape, but receive their punishment. For conclusion of his first point, he lastly observed, *Divinum quiddam in vulgi opinione*, for that so many uncertain rumors touching this case, at last it proved to be true.

Secondly, hee declared, how for prevention of this damned crime of poysoning, justice was the golden mean, and declared his majesties resolution straightly to execute justice for that treason; and he used this saying, *Nemo prudens*, &c. and desired God that this president of Overbury might be an example and terror against this horrible crime, and therefore it might be called the great oyer of poysoning.

Thirdly, he said, that at the arraignment were certain critiques put, who had given out, the prisoner should deny his examinations, and found so much fault, for that the examinations were read, the prisoner standing mute; but for the first, how untrue it was, all the world saw, the prisoner here confessing them, all being read and shewed unto him; and for the second, besides that it was exceeding discreet and convenient the world should receive some satisfaction in a cause of that nature, he cited and shewed, that by the laws of the land they ought and were bound to do, notwithstanding the greatnesse of any that might thereby be impeached, of whom he said, although this was *unicum crimen*, yet it was not *unicum crimen*.

Fourthly, as touching the supposed practise or conspiracy, he solemnly protested to God, he knew of none, nor of any semblance for colour thereof, and therefore he much inveighed against the basenesse and unworthinesse of such as went about so untruly and wickedly to slander the course of justice; and so hee came last of all to that which he had to speak of Weston, the prisoner.

First, touching the wickednesse of his fact, he very seriously exhorted him to an unfained confession and contrition for the same, declaring unto him, how that his confession would be a satisfaction to God and the world, by his faith and true repentance he would lay hold upon the merits of his Saviour.

He perswaded him, that no vain hope (which is a witch) should keep him back from

giving satisfaction to the world, by discovering the guiltynesse of the great ones, assuring him, that after this life, as death left him, so judgment should find him.

And lastly, taking occasion there to remember this poisoning to have been a Popish trick, which he instanced by example of one Gurnandus de Birlanus mentioned 22 Ed. 1. Squier. that attempted to poyson Queen Elizabeths sadle, Lopez and Mrs Turner, and proceeding to give judgment, which was,

That the prisoner should be carryed from thence to the place from whence he came, and from thence to Tiburne, and there to be hanged by the neck till he were dead.

Judgment being given, the Lord Chief Justice commanded, that the prisoner might have convenient respit, and the company of some godly learned men to instruct him for his soules health.[1]

The Arraignment of Anne Turner, widow, at the Kings Bench Bar, at Westminster, the 7 November, 1615.[2]

The indictment whereupon Richard Weston took his tryall, being repeated *verbatim,*

[1] A poem, entitled "Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision," was published in 1616, containing, in no mean strain of poetry, an account of the different persons executed for his murder. The author conceives himself to be guided by the ghost of Overbury to the Tower; where, under the arched way, or what is called the "Traitors' Gate," the spectres appear before him one by one. The scene is thus opened with the apparition of Weston:

"South by this house, where on the wharf fast by,
Those thundering cannons ever ready lie,
A dock there is, which, like a darksome cave,
Arched over head, lets in Thame's flowing wave;
Under whose arch, oft have condemned men,
As through the Stygian lake, transported been,
Into this fatal house, which evermore
For treason hoards up torturing racks in store:
At landing of this place, an iron gate
Locks up the passage, and, still keeping strait
The guilty prisoners, opens at no time,
But when false treason, or some horrid crime,
Knocks at the same; from whence by law's just doom,
Condemned men but seldom back do come:
(Whate'er thou art may chance to pass that way,
And view that place, unto thyself thus say:
God keep me faithful to my prince and state,
That I may never pass this iron gate:)
There in the dock the flood, that seemed to gape,
Did suddenly give up a dreadful shape,
A man * of meagre looks, devoid of blood,
Upon whose face death's pale complexion stood;
Of comely shape and well composed in limb,
But slender made, of visage stern and grim;
The hairs upon his head and grisly beard,
With age grown hoary, here and there appeared;
Time's iron hand, with many a wrinkled fret,
The marks of age upon his front had set:
Yet, as it did appear, untimely death,
For some foul act, had stop'd his vital breath
With that great shame, which gives offence the check,
The fatal rope that hung about his neck.

* The description of Weston.

Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision. By R. N. 1616.

[2] Mrs Turner was the widow of a physician, who, like Forman and many others of that period, had, or pretended, a bias to the study of natural magic and astrology. She had been educated with the Countess of So-

she was indicted for comforting, aiding, and assisting the said Weston, in the poysoning to death the said Sir Thomas Overbury; to which she pleaded not guilty, putting her self upon God, and the countrey; whereupon a very sufficient jury of two knights, and the rest esquires and freeholders of Middlesex, were sworn and impannelled for the tryall, whereof Sir Thomas Fowler was foreman.

The Lord Chief Justice told her, that women must be covered in the church, but not when they are arraigned, and so caused her to put off her hat; which done, she covered her hair with her handkerchief, being before dressed in her hair and her hat over it.

Sir Laurence Hide, the queens attorney, opened the matter much to the effect as he did at Westons arraignment, shewing the wickednesse and hainousnesse of poysoning; he shewed further, that there was one Dr Forman, dwelling in Lambeth, who died very suddenly, and a little before his death, desired that hee might be buryed very deep in the ground, " or else (saith he) I shall fear you all."[1]

To him, in his life time, often resorted the Countesse of Essex, and Mrs Turner, calling him father; their cause of coming to him was, that by force of magick he should procure the now Earle of Sommerset, then Viscount Rochester, to love her, and Sir Arthur Manwaring to love Mrs Turner, by whom (as it was there related) she had three children; about this businesse the Countesse of Essex wrote two letters, one to Mrs Turner, another to Dr Forman, as followeth.

The Countesses Letter to Mrs Turner. Burn this Letter.

Sweet Turner, I am out of all hope of any good in this world, for my father, my mother, and my brother, said I should lie with him, and my brother Howard was here, and said, he would not come from this place all winter, so that all comfort is gone; and,

merset, and was her counsellor through all this dark labyrinth of lust and murder. It appears from the following description, that Mrs Turner was eminently beautiful:

" It seemed that she had been some gentle dame,
For on each part of her fair body's frame,
Nature such delicacy did bestow,
That fairer object of it doth not shew:
Her chrystal eye, beneath an ivory brow,
Did shew what she at first had been; but now
The roses on her lovely cheeks were dead,
The earth's pale colour had all overspread
Her sometimes lively look; and cruel death
Coming untimely with his wintry breath,
Blasted the fruit, which, cherry like in show,
Upon her dainty lips did whilome grow:
O how the cruel cord did misbecome
Her comely neck, and yet by law's just doom
Had been her death: Those locks like golden thread,
That used in youth t' enshrine her globe-like head,
Hung careless down; and that delightful limb,
Her snow-white nimble hand, that used to trim
These tresses up, now spitefully did tear
And rend the same: Nor did she now forbear
To beat that breast of more than lily white,
Which sometime was the lodge of sweet delight:
From those two springs, where joy did whilome dwell,
Griefs pearly drops upon her pale cheeks fell."

Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision, 1616.

[1] Lily, the astrologer, pretends to have seen a book belonging to Dr Forman, containing the following singular memorandum: " This I made the Devil write with his own hands in Lambeth Fields, 1596."

which is worst of all, my lord hath complained, that hee hath not lain with mee, and I would not suffer him to use me; my father and mother are angry, but I had rather die a thousand times over; for besides the sufferings, I shall lose his love, if I lie with him, I will never desire to see his face; and if my lord doe that unto me, my lord is very well as ever hee was, so as you may see in what a miserable case I am; you must send the party word of all, he sent me word all should be well, but I shall not be so happy, as the Lord to love me; as you have taken pains all this while for me, so now doe all you can, for never so unhappy as now, for I am not able to endure the miseries that are coming on me; but I cannot be happy so long as this man liveth, therefore pray for me, for I have need, but I should be better if I had your company to ease my mind; let him know this ill newes; if I can get this done, you shall have as much money as you can demand; this is fair play. Your Sister,

FRANCES ESSEX.

A Letter from the Countesse to Dr Forman.

Sweet Father, I must still crave your love, although I hope I have it, and shall deserve it better hereafter; remember the galls, for I fear though I have yet no cause, but to be confident in you, yet I desire to have it, as it is yet, remaining well, so continue it still, if it be possible, and if you can, you must send me some good fortune; alas, I have need of it; keep the Lord still to mee, for that I desire, and be carefull you name me not to any body; for we have so many spies, that you must use all your wits, and all little enough, for the world is against me, and the heavens favour me not, onely happy in your love, I hope you will do me good, and if I be ungratefull, let all mischief come unto me; my Lord is lusty and merry, and drinketh with his men, and all the content he gives me, is to abuse me, and use me as doggedly as before; I think I shall never bee happy in this world, because hee hinders my good, and will ever, I think so; remember (I beg for God's sake) and get me from this vilde place.

Your affectionate loving daughter,

FRANCES ESSEX.

Give Turner warning of all things, but not the Lord. I would not have any thing come out for fear of my Lord Treasurer; for so they may tell my father and mother, and fill their ears full of toyes.

There was also shewed in Court, certain pictures of a man and woman in copulation, made in lead, as also the mould of brasse, wherein they were cast, a black scarfe also full of white crosses, which Mrs Turner had in her custody; at the shewing of these, and inchanted papers, and other pictures in Court, there was heard a cracke from the scaffolds, which caused great fear, tumult, and confusion, among the spectators, and throughout the hall, every one fearing hurt, as if the devill had been present, and grown angry to have his workmanship shewed by such as were not his own scholars; and this terror coming about a quarter of an hour after silence proclaimed, the rest of the cunning tricks were likewise shewed.

Dr Forman's wife being administratrix of her husband, found letters in packets, by which much was discovered: she was in Court, and deposed, that Mrs Turner came to her house immediately after her husband's death, and did demand certain pictures[1]

[1] Dr Heylin reports of these terrible implements of magic, "I was present at their arraignment, and the pictures, or puppets, for magic spells, were no other but several French babies (*i. e.* dolls) some naked, others clothed; which were usual there, and so are now a-days, to teach us the fashions for dress of ladies tyring and apparel." *Aulicus Coquin.* 1650, p. 158.

which were in her husband's study; namely, one picture in wax, very sumptuously apparelled in silkes, as sattins, and also, one other, sitting in form of a naked woman, spreading, and laying forth her hair in a looking glasse, which Mrs Turner did confidently affirm to be in a box, and that she knew in what part or roome of the study they were.

Mrs Forman further deposeth, that Mrs Turner and her husband would be sometimes three or four hours locked up in his study together; she did depose further, that her husband had a ring would open like a watch.

There was also a note shewed in court, made by Dr Forman, and written in parchment, signifying what ladies loved what lords in the court; but the Lord Chief Justice would not suffer it to bee read openly in the court.

Mrs Turner sent Margret, her maid, to Mrs Forman, and wished that all such letters and papers as concerned the Earle of Somerset, or the Countesse of Essex, or any other great personages, should be burned; telling her that the councell's warrant should come to search the study, and that all his goods might be seized; whereupon, she, and her maid Margaret, with the consent of Mrs Forman burnt divers letters and papers, but yet she kept some without their privity.

There were also enchantments shewed in court, written in parchment, wherein were contained all the names of the blessed Trinity, mentioned in the scriptures; and, in another parchment, + B. + C. + D. + E. and in a third likewise, in parchment, were written, all the names of the holy Trinity, as also a figure in which was written this word *corpus*, and upon the parchment was fastened a little piece of the skin of a man.

In some of these parchments, the devills had particular names, who were conjured to torment the Lord Sommerset, and Sir Arthur Manwaring, if their loves should not continue, the one to the Countesse, the other to Mrs Turner.

Mrs Turner also confessed, that Dr Savories was used in succession, after Forman, and practised many sorceries upon the Earle of Essex his person.

Mrs Turner, being in a manner kept close prisoner in one of the sheriff's houses in London, before shee was brought to the barre, knew not that Weston was executed; but by the proceedings having understanding thereof, and hearing divers examinations read, it so much dejected her, that in a manner she spake nothing for herselfe; also examinations, and witnesses, *viva voce*, that were produced at Weston's arraignment, and divers others, were now read again, as the examinations of one Edward Paine, John Wright, Robert Freeman.

Symootts, Rawlins, Payte, and Williams, one of these examinations, gave evidence, that one Francklin, being an apothecary, and druggister, was the provider of all the poysons given to Sir Thomas Overbury.

A chirurgeon there deposed, that he cured Francklin of the pox, and that at several times he demanded of this chirurgeon, what was the strongest poyson? the chirurgeon demanding of him, what he would do with it? Francklin replies, nothing, but for his experience, and to try conclusions.

Another examination of one Mercer, who had conference with the said Francklyn, calling him cousen, who demanded of this examinate, what news? he answered, I hear ill news, I am sorry that my old lord and master's son is found insufficient, and not able to content the lady.

Franclin replies, I have a hand in that businesse, I have a great friend of my lady of Essex, she allows me two shillings and sixpence a day for my boatehire, and ten shillings a week for my dyet, I could have any money I would; Mercer replies, but cousen, how can God blesse you in this businesse? Francklin answers, let them talke of God that have to doe with him; my Lord of Sommerset, and the Countesse, will bear me out in any thing I do; if you have any suit, wherein you may doe your self any good, and I may gain by it, I will warrant you I will get it.

Frances deposeth, that Francklin married his sister, and that he thinketh, in his conscience, she was poysoned, and that upon some discontent, he heard him say, he would be hanged for never a whore or quean of them all.

The L. Chief. Just. made a speech upon divers examinations there read, that the Earl of Somerset gave directions, that of the powder he sent to Overbury, that which should be left, should be brought back again; his pretext was, that it should make him sick, which should be the ground to make the king graunt his liberty (saying further) it would doe Overbury good, and he had tarts and jellies likewise sent him by the Countesse, with expresse commandement that none must eat of them but Sir Thomas, saying, that they would doe him no harm.

At another time, the Countesse sent tarts, jellies, and wine, with directions, that those which had been formerly sent, should bee brought back again, and those last brought should be given him at supper, and then all should bee well; but directions given that neither the lieutenant nor his wife might eat of them, but they might drinke of the wine, for in the tarts and jellies there might be letters, but in the wine there might be none; and afterwards it was openly related, and proved by divers witnesses, that those words, letters, were private tokens between the Countesse, and the lieutenant, and Weston, and to give notice what things were poysoned, and what not.

In the examinations that was of Weston, it was related that Mr James told him, that the earle his master would pay him for his pains about Sir Thomas Overbury.

Then the Lord Chief Justice gave in charge to the jury, concerning the evidence they had formerly heard, and told them, that Weston, at his examinations, had confessed, that all hee had said formerly was true.

He further related, what a great vexation and grief it was to the king, that Sommerset, onely by making use of his favour and love, so foul a fact was done, as first to be the occasion to put Sir Thomas Overbury to imployment for the ambassage at Russia; and secondly, to make him refuse the same, and to give right cause for his commitment; thirdly, to bear him in hand that hee would work his liberty; but still aggravated and laboured the contrary, and gave directions to the lieutenant of the Tower, to look surely to him, and to keep him close prisoner, and that he should send to none of his friends, or they to him, urging great matters against him.[1]

Sir Thomas Monson was often imployed to give directions to the lieutenant therein, which was a most barbarous course to bee so dealt withall, onely for a contempt; concluding that Overbury was a close prisoner to all his friends, but open to all his enemies, such as Sommerset would have, or send unto him.

Then the Lord Chief Justice told Mrs Turner, that she had the seven deadly sins, viz. a whore, a baud, a sorcerer, a witch, a papist, a felon, and a murtherer, the daughter of the devill Foreman: wishing her to repent, and to become a servant of Jesus Christ, and to pray to him to cast out of her those seven devills.

She desired the Lord Chief Justice to be good unto her, saying, she was ever brought up with the Countesse of Sommerset, and had been of a long time her servant, and knew not that there was poison in any of those things sent to Sir Tho. Overbury.

[1] Weldon states an exception to Lord Chief Justice Coke's behaviour on Mrs Turner's trial, for which there seems to be no ground. He pretends, contrary to all other authorities, that Overbury did not finally fall a victim to the poison, but was smothered by Weston and Franklin; but that the Chief Justice, fearing this discrepancy between the evidence, and the indictment, might be made the means of acquitting the prisoner, laid down to the jury, the following singular legal doctrine: that although an indictment was specifically laid, charging death, by poison, yet if, in the trial, it was proved that the party was killed by sword, strangling, or otherwise, it was sufficient for conviction, provided always, he was done to die by the prisoner. For the foundation of this charge, he refers to Franklin's confession, in which no such circumstance occurs.

Then the jury went forth, and not long after returned, finding her guilty; who being asked what she could say for herselfe, why judgment should not be pronounced against her, she only desired favour, but could not speak any thing for weeping.

Then Judge Crooke made another grave speech, exhorting her to repentance, and to prepare her selfe ready for death, and that the little time which should be assigned her to live, shee should not spend it either in hope or in imagination, to get life; for that hope was but a witch. Upon conclusion of which speech, he gave judgment, and told her, she had a very honourable tryall by such men as hee had not seen for one of her ranke and quality, and so was delivered to the sheriffs.

Upon the Wednesday following she was brought from the sheriff's, in a coach to Newgate, and was there put into a cart, and casting money often among the people as she went, she was carried to Tiburne, where she was executed; and whither many men and women of fashion came in coaches to see her die, to whom she made a speech, desiring them not to rejoice at her fall, but to take example by her; she exhorted them to serve God, and abandon pride, and all other sins, relating her breeding with the Countesse of Sommerset, having had no other means to maintain her and her children but what came from the said Countesse; and said further, that when her hand was once in this businesse, she knew the revealing of it would be her overthrow; the which, with other like speeches, and great penitency there shewed, moved the spectators to great pity, and great grief for her.

The Proceedings against Sir Jervas Yelvis, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower, at his Arraignement at Guildhall, the 16 *of November*, 1615.

The form of the indictment was, the malitious aiding, comforting, and abetting of Weston, in the poysoning and murthering of Overbury, whereupon it was laid against him as followeth:

First, when Weston received the viall of poyson, of two inches long, to give Sir Thomas. he, having the glass in one hand, and broath for Sir Thomas in the other hand, meeting the lieutenant, asked him thus, Sir, shall I give it him now? The lieutenant reproved him, yet that night he gave it him in his broth: *ergo*, the lieutenant knew of the practise and poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury: *et qui non propulsat injuriam cum possit, infert. Cicero.*

After this was known to be poison, yet he kept Weston still, he favoured, countenanced, and graced him, and one time sent him a cup of sack, and bad his man tell him that he loved him as well as ever he did; all this while he paid him no wages, and as soon as Overbury died, Weston was removed.

The Countesse wrote a letter to the lieutenant, with the letter she sent poysoned tarts to Overbury, and wine to the lieutenants wife, and bade him give the tarts to Overbury; for there were letters in them, but his wife and children might drink the wine, for she was sure there were no letters in it.

The Earle of Northampton writ a letter to the lieutenant, concerning the imprisonment of Overbury; the said Earle writ two letters to Rochester concerning these words.

The Earle of Northampton's Letter to Rochester.

Sweet Lord, think not I find pain in that which gives me sweetest pleasure, which is any thing that falls from your pen; Three things concur to my exceeding joy in your worthy letters, proof of your love, comfort in your words, and judgement in your writing;

you may beleeve the words of him that will rather die then flatter you; my heart is full of the love of you, your characters are no more pain for me to peruse, being as well acquainted with your hand as my owne, the pain is no more then the cracking of a nut for the sweet kernell, or my neeces pain, in the silver dropping stream of your pen.—[There the L. Chief Justice left off reading, for the bawdinesse of it; then after in the letter followed;] I spent two hours yesterday, prompting the lieut. with cautions, considerations; observing with who he is to deal, that he might the better act his part for the adventure in which he dealeth.

HENRY NORTHAMPTON.

Another Letter to Rochester.

Sweet Lord, I cannot deliver unto you, with what caution, and consideration, &c. and the lieut. looking to his businesse, which concerns no more then text affords; that marched in his affairs, I shall hold him discreet, and love him better, whilest I live, for this his conclusion; for this negro can no more change his skin, then a leopard his spots.

HENRY NORTHAMPTON.

Another Letter to Rochester.

Sweet Lord, Overbury being viewed, there was found in his arm an issue, and on his belly twelve kernells, likely to break to issue, each as big as three pence; one issue on his back, with a tawny plaister on it; this was strange and ugly, hee stank intolerably, insomuch that he was cast into the coffin with a loose sheet over him; God is gracious in cutting off ill instruments from off the factious crew; if he had come forth, they would have made use of him: thus, sweet Lord, wishing you all increase of happiness and honor, I end, Your Lordships more then any mans,

HENRY NORTHAMPTON.

The lieutenant writ a letter to the Earle of Northampton, certifying him, that he undertook Sir Thomas Overbury according to his instructions; that as soon as he came to the place, Sir Thomas protested his innocency upon the bible; and then (quoth hee) he asked me, what they meant to do with him? I answered, they mean to refine you, that your purenesse may appear a little better; after I walked with him in his chamber, and advised him to give way to the match between Rochester and the Countesse; but then he grew hot against your lordship,, and the Countesse of Suffolke, saying, if he were the Countesse of Suffolks prisoner (as he thought he was) then (said he) let her know, that I care as little to die, as she to be cruell: the Countesse of Suffolk I find to be joined with you in this plot, though the chamberlaine knows not of it, nor any one else: but Rochester's part I shall much fear, untill I see the event to be cleerly convayed, and so hee concluded his letter.

JERVAS YELVIS.

The Answer of Sir Jervas Yelvis to the points proposed.

My Lord, before I answer to the matter of charge against mee, let me remember your Lordship of one speech, which I learned from your mouth, I have heard you speak it at the councel-table, and you have delivered it at the assizes in the country, that when a prisoner stands at the barre for his life, comfortlesse, allowed no counsell, but

strong counsell against him, perchance affrighted with the fear of death, his wife and children to be cast forth of dores, and made to seek their bread, you have alwaies pityed the cause of such a one, you have protested you had rather hang in hell for mercy to such a one, then for judgement.

My Lord, you have not observed your own rule in my cause; you have paraphrased upon every examination, you have aggravated every evidence, and applyed it to me, so that I stand cleerly condemned, before I be found guilty; if I be so vilde a man as your lordship conceives me, I were unworthy of any favour, but I hope your lordship shall not find it.

So I will deny nothing that hath evidence of truth against me; I will not tell a lie to save my life; and I beseech your lordship so to conceive of me, move your charity towards me.

Then desired he the court, that the heads of the accusations might be collected by the councell of the king, which were the same which were mentioned before, to which hee severally answered, &c.

To the first, Shall I give it him now? hee answered, that when Weston asked him the question, he saw no poyson in his hand, and therefore said he, in Westons and mine examination, the question was, Shall I give *it* him now? not, Shall I give him *this* now? for there is a great difference between *hoc* and *id* in matter of prevention.

But further, when Weston had told me that it was poyson which he meant to give, I reproved and beat him down with Gods judgment; nay, I humbled him so, that upon his knees he thanked God and me, and told me, that he and his had cause to blesse God for me, for that I withheld him from doing that act; and if you call this comforting, and abetting, to terrifie a man for his sins, and to make him so confesse his faults to God, and to abhor and detest the act, then was I an abettor and comforter of Weston.

To the second, after I had thus terrified Weston with God's judgments, and saw him cast down for his offence, I could do him no better office then of charity, to raise him up who was thus down, and therefore favoured him; I shewed him kindnesse, I drank to him, to the intent I might encourage the intentions of his mind, which I found then resolved in abhorring the fact: and that I gave him no wages, it is true; I took him from the commendations of my Lord of Northampton and Sir Thomas Monson, whom I took to be my friends, and thought they would commend no man to be a keeper which might any way endanger mee.

To the third, I never knew any other meaning to the countesses words in her letters, but the bare literall meaning; and sure (quoth he) after I had received the tarts, and they had stood a while in my kitchin, I saw them so black and foule, and of such strange colours, that I did cause my cooke to throw them away, and to make other tarts and jellies for him.

To the fourth, he said the earl of Northamptons letter to me was not any thing touching the poysoning of Overbury, but for a close restraint, to the end that Overbury might agree to their purposes concerning the marriage to be had between Rochester and the countesse: if the earle of Northampton had any other plot to take away his life, I was not any thing of his councell, or had knowledge therein.

To the 5. whereas it is said, I received him according to my instructions, I meant none other thing then I have delivered before, which was concerning the closenesse of his imprisonment.

But being asked what he meant by these words "Rochesters part, I shall greatly feare, untill I see the event to bee cleerly carryed;" in this he staggered and wavered much, and gave his answer, It was long since I wrote this letter, and for the particular circumstances that induced me to this speech, I cannot now call to memory; but sure I am, that at that time, knowing my self to be innocent, I could the better have satisfied my remembrance, so that I meant nothing the taking away of his life; but because I was a stranger to Rochester, and had heard and knowne of that great league that was

betweene them, I might wel think, suspect, and fear, whether he would alwaies countenance these projects for his restraint. These were the answers he made to his accusations, and after he had made many protestations between God and his soul of his innocency of this malicious plotting and abetting of Overbury's death, he applied himselfe to the jury, and told them thus:

I will prove unto you, by many infallible and unanswerable reasons, that I could not be aider and complotter with Weston in this poysoning.

First, I made a free and voluntary discovery of it my self; I was not compelled; will any man imagine that I would discover a thing whereof I could not clear my self? Nature is more kind then to be its own accuser.

Besides, that my clearnesse might more appear, and remaine in the world without any suspicion, I proceeded and accused the murtherer Weston: it had been a senselesse thing, and obscure in me, if I had not thought my selfe clear, to have accused him, who might have done as much for me.

Nay, Weston himselfe proved mee to be an honest man before the Chancellour of the Exchequer; for he confessed to him and others being present, that he thought that the lieutenant knew not of the poyson, and in his examination before the Lord Chief Justice and Serjeant Crew, being asked the meaning of these words, "Shall I give it him now?" he answers, that hee thought the lieutenant knew of the poyson; and in that examination before the Lord Chief Jusstice and Serjeant Crew, being asked the meaning of these words, "Shall I give it him now?" he answers, that he had thought that those which had set him on worke had acquainted the lieutenant with their plot.

Also I was so confident in my owne innocency, that I told my Lord Chief Justice and my Lord Zouch the way to make Weston confesse, and to discover all, which was by faire and gentle intreaty of him, and so by this means they might search the bottome of his heart; in this the Lord Chief Justice witnessed with him.

And after Sir Thomas Overbury was dead, Weston and Mrs Turner were sent to know of me, whether I had any inkling of the death of Sir Thomas? What need they have made this question, if I had known any thing thereof?

Also that which I doe know concerning the poysoning of Sir Thomas, was after his death, by relation of Weston; and here I am indicted as accessary before the fact, when I knew nothing till after the fact.

After that he had confirmed these reasons by sundry proofes and witnesses, he went further in his own defence: If I be in the plot, the Lord Treasurer is, I have his letter to shew in it; he called me to his lodging, and said, the plots you know them as well as I; the plots were onely to repaire her honor; my wife hath the letters from my Lord Treasurer and Monson; for these plots I will run willingly to my death, if circumstances be knit with any manner of fact.

He proceeded further, and told the Lord Chief Justice, that hee spake not this to justifie himselfe, so that no blemish or staine might cleave unto him, for (said he) this visitation is sent mee from God, and whether I live or die, it is the happyest affliction to my soule that I ever received; I have laid open my whole heart for bloodguiltynesse; I have not repented me other then of errors of my judgment, in not detecting what I suspected, and yet I doe aske God forgivenesse daily for lesser sinnes; but of this I know no other but the grosse error of my judgment, in not preventing it, when I saw such intendment and imaginations against him.

Then he put my Lord Chief Justice this case: If one that knoweth not of any plot to poyson a man, but only suspecteth, is no actor or contriver himself, only imagineth such a thing, Whether such a one be accessary to the murther? for the words of the indictment are abetting and comforting with malice: now, if there bee any man that charges me expressly, or in direct terms, that I was an abettor, or if the court shall think in this case which I have put, that such a concealing without malice is an abetting, I refuse not to die, I am guilty. This was the summe of his speech.

Then the Lord Chief Justice replyed, that, to his knowledge, he spake no more concerning the evidence then he could in conscience justifie, which was only to expresse the evidence of things, and not wresting any thing in prejudice of his life.

But further he told him, that two dayes before Sir Thomas Overbury died, you wished his man to bring his best suit of hangings to hang his chamber, which you knew were your fees.

After, he told him that his accusation of the Lord Treasurer was very malicious, for in the examinations hee had taken, and in all the exact speech hee could work for the finding out of the truth, hee saw not that honourable gentleman any way touched.

In conclusion he told him, it is not your deep protestations, nor your appealing to God, that can sway a jury from their evidence, which is not yet answered unto.

But to leave you without excuse, but to make the matter as cleer as may be, here is the confession of Francklin (which he then drew out of his bosome) saying, this poor man, not knowing Sir Jervas should come to his tryall, this morning he came unto me at five of the clock, and told me that hee was much troubled in his conscience, and could not rest all that night untill he had made his confession, and it is such a one (these were his words) as the eye of England never saw, nor the ear of Christendome never heard.

The Confession of James Francklin, the 16 November, 1615.

Mrs Turner came to me from the countesse, and wished me from her to get the strongest poyson I could for Sir Thomas Overbury; accordingly I bought seven, viz. aquafortis, white arsenick, mercury, powder of diamonds, lapis costitus, great spiders, and cantharides; all these were given to Sir Thomas Overbury at severall times; and further confesseth, that the lieutenant knew of these poysons; for that appeared (said he) by many letters he writ to the Countesse of Essex, which I saw, and thereby knew, that he knew of this matter; one of these letters I read for the countesse, because she could not read it her selfe, in which the lieutenant used this specch.

Madam, the scab is like the foxe, the more hee is cursed the better hee fareth, and many other speeches: Sir Thomas never eat white salt but there was white arsenick put into it; once he desired pig, and Mrs Turner put into it lapis costitus.

The white powder that was sent to Sir Thomas in a letter, hee knew to be white arsenick.

At another time hee had two partridges sent him from the court, and water and onions being the sauce, Mrs Turner put in cantharides instead of pepper; so that there was scarce any thing that he did eat, but there was some poyson mixt; for these poysons the countesse sent me rewards; she sent me many times gold by Mrs Turner.

She afterwards wrote unto me to buy her more poysons. I went to her and told her I was weary of it; and I besought her upon my knees, that she would use mee no more in those matters; but she importuned me, bad me go, and entised me with fair speeches and rewards, so she overcame me and did bewitch me.

The cause of this poysoning, as the countesse told him, was, because Sir Thomas Overbury would prie so far into their suite, as he would put them down; he did also say, that the toothlesse maid trusty Margaret was acquainted with the poysoning, so was Mrs Turner's man Stephen, so also Mrs Horne, the countesse's own hand.

He saith, on the marriage-day of the countesse with Sommerset, she sent him 20l. by Mrs Turner, and he was to have been paid by the countesse 200l. per annum during his life.

That he was urged and haunted 200 severall times at least by the countesse to doe it against his conscience; he saith she was able to bewitch any man, and then he wrought the love between Rochester and her, and that he had 12 severall letters from her to

prosecute it, and was to have 200l. to continue their loves until the marriage, and that all things were burnt since the first discovery.

Those were all the materialls in Francklin's confession. To this Sir Jervas Yelvis knew not what to answer, or to make of his own letters.

Then presently the jury departed from the barre, and shortly after returned and found him guilty; and the Lord Chief Justice gave judgment, and he was executed on Tower Hill accordingly, in manner following.

Sir Jarvis his confession.

On Monday, 20 November, 1615, hee was executed at Tower Hill upon a gibbet there set of purpose, about six of the clock in the morning; hee being arrayed in a black suit, and black jerkin, with hanging sleeves, having on his head a crimson sattin cap, laced from the top downward, and round about, under that a white linnen night-cap with a border, and over that a black hat with a broad rybon and ruffe-band, thick couched with a lace, and a pair of skie-coloured silk stockins, and a pair of three-soaled shoes. [1]

He came on foot to the gibbet from Sheriff Goare's house, between Dr Whyting and Dr Felton, two of his Majesties chaplains, and coming to the ladders foot, he talked a word or two to the executioner.

Then he went up the ladder four or five steps, the executioner sitting over his head upon the top of the gibbet. Sir Jervas finding the ladder to stand too upright for his ease, spake to have it amended, which forthwith (hee coming down) was done, being fastened in the ground, and then he went up again six steps, whereafter a while sitting easily, he uttered words to this, or the like effect.

Nobles, right worshipfull, and others, I am here come, as well to shew, explain, and unfold that which at the time of my arraignment so many of you as were present expected, as also to shew that then I perceived I had lost the good opinion of many, in standing so long upon my innocency, which was my fault, I confesse; hoping now to recover the same, and your good charitable opinions of me, which fault I then saw not, being blinded with mine errors, which made me accompt it no sin.

But since my condemnation, by means and help of these two gentlemen here present, (the two doctors,) I was perswaded of the greatnesse of my sin, and that it was so much the greater, by how much the more I did conceal it; which by Gods mercy I perceiving, consulted not with flesh and blood, but thought in this my condemnation, my best way for my souls health to reveale to the omnipotent and all-seeing God, the most secret and inward intentions and thoughts of my deceitfull heart, not once respecting the pains or dispraises of the world, which I regard not at all.

It may be some will say, that this place was most unfit for my execution, appointed to terrifie and daunt me so much the more; but alas, I fear not death, place, nor any such like thing, for I account it the kings and counsells speciall favour that I die here,

[1] Sir Jarvis Elwais, in *Overbury's Vision*, before quoted, is described as one,

" ——— Who seemed to be
When he did live, some man of good degree
'Mongst men on earth; one of so solemn look,
As if true gravity that place had took
To dwell upon; his person comely was,
His stature did the meaner size surpass:
Well shap'd in every limb, well step'd in years,
As here and there appear'd by some grey hairs."

for that I requesting the same, it was granted, whereby I see now this Tower, late wherein I should have been called to the state businesse, and still might, if I had performed a more loyall service to my king and countrey then I did.

Next, that I was not appointed to Tiburn, a place of more public reproach then now I am brought, being worthy to die by due and lawful justice, in prosecuting this bloody and enormious act against a kind gentleman, who deserved not ill at my hands, nor at any mans else for ought I know.

But were it I had not trusted him, who was a most perfidious wretch, I had not fallen into this same, which may warne all here present to take heed whom they trust in a bad matter, and to admonish you that are trusted, never to break honest and just fidelity.

I was by divers tricks drawn into this action, which I received from the Earle of Northampton, Sir Thomas Monson, and none other; but had I remembred the 119 Psalm, 115 verse, and said with that holy prophet, " Away from me yee wicked, for I will keep the commandements of my God;" then had I refused such like tricks. Alas! now too late; there was my fault, that I did not refuse then, and cast my self upon Gods providence, without any dependency on man, though never so honorable. Was ever any deceived that did trust in God? There was never any.

Therefore I admonish you all, let none how honorable soever he be, or the king himself, move you to any thing not agreeable to Gods word: doe it not, reject it; for this was my fault, that I had not at the first opened this plot to his majesty, who no doubt would most justly and righteously have punished the same.

You nobles, worshipfull, and others, let my example teach you thus much, that you prophane not the holy Sabbath of the Lord, nor his good creatures, nor that you turne (by a lascivious course) nights into dayes, and dayes into nights, as I have done; and that in serving God, you must not onely read the Scriptures, but join practise therewith; for what good else will the same effect, if the heart be foul, bloody, and impure?

Some here knew my forwardnesse therein; but I plead not innocency that way, but cast it off, and confesse, that of this great assembly I am the most wretched sinner.

You expect speeches from me of some concealed matters, and upon some of my speeches used at the closing up of my arraignment; but I stand here *loco peccatoris, non oratoris*, yet I will shew you that I have opened to my Lord Chief Justice of England, since my arraignment, that which to the uttermost of my power I was able to verifie, upon which then I took the " body and blood of Jesus Christ;" and in further testimony thereof I will now seale it with my last and dearest breath.

Nobles and others, to see your faces it rejoiceth me, whereby you manifest your love in granting my request, to be witnesses of my death. I see a number of my friends, there, there, there, pointing as he spake, who out of their loves, I entreated to beseech God to strengthen me in death, though ignominious to some, yet to mee a " bitter cup mingled to me with Gods mercy," a speciall favour this way to call me home; whereas hee might have taken away my life by shooting the bridge, or some fall or otherwise; and then this unrepented sin, which I accounted no sin (such was my blindnesse) which had been damnation to mee, for God is just, and the unrepented sinner shall have no salvation.

There is none of you present here that knows how or in what sort hee shall die; it may bee in his bed, it may be otherwise, (God knows); I protest before you all, I never came over this hill in the chiefest of all my prosperity, with more joy then now I have at this present; for I now know that presently I shall behold the glorious face and sight of my Creator.

Take heed, and let my example incite you to serve God truly and uprightly, better then I have done, lest a shamefull death overtake you, as it doth me, who am unworthy of my parents care in bringing me up.

It may be some will say I have a flinty heart, because I shed no tears; my heart is flesh as any others, and I am as faint-hearted to look death in the face as any others, but because my use hath been not to shed tears, I cannot now easily, except it be for the losse of some great friend; albeit now my heart beginneth to melt within me, being wounded (with that the teares stood in his eyes) to see the faces of some there present, whom (quoth he) I most earnestly love, and now must depart from with shame, for worldly regard I respect not; for wel Mr Sheriff knows, that (to shame this my sinfull flesh the more) I wish (if he had pleased) to have been brought from Westminster through the city, to have warned all spectators how they should not escape without judgment for blood; for God is just.

I had almost forgotten to show you a strange thing, which God brought to my memory the last night, which was this; I confess I have been a great gamester, and especially on the other side, have waisted and played many summes of money, which exhausted a great part of my means, which I perceiving, vowed seriously (not slightly or unadvisedly) to the Lord in my vow and prayers, "Lord, let me be hanged if ever I play any more," which not long after is most justly come upon mee, whereof you are all eye-witnesses, because a thousand times since I brake this my vow.

Then he espyed one Sir Maximilian Dallison standing neer the gibbet on horseback, and said unto him, You know, Sir Maximilian, what gaming we have had, and how we have turned days into nights, and nights into days: I pray you in time to leave it off, and dishonor God no more by breaking his Sabbaths, for he hath alwaies enough to punish, as you now see me, who little thought to die thus.

To which Sir Maximilian answered him, Sir Jervas, I am much grieved for you, and I shall never forget what you have here said; whereunto Sir Jervas said, Look to it, doe then.

Further, he continued his speech, saying, let no man boast of the abilities and gifts of nature which God giveth him, for therein I displeased God, being transported with over much pride of my pen, which obsequious quill of mine procured my just overthrow. Upon the knitting up of my Lord Chiefe Justice his speech at my arraignment, by reason of two or three passages at the bottome of my letter, subscribed with my owne hand, which I utterly had forgotten, because I felt not any sin, which when I heard, I saw none other but the finger of God could thus point to this fact; by this means I doe protest before God, and confesse before you all, that I was so farre overtaken with this bloody fact, that for satisfaction of the same, I willingly yeeld my deerest blood to the shame of this my carkasse, not being so much grieved for the same as for others, that I wish I had hanged in chains perpetually, so that I had revealed at first the hainous plot.

Then should I have saved the lives of some already dead, some in the Tower, some in the city, some over seas; so should I have prevented many from being widows, some from being fatherless, and some from being childlesse, among whome mine own wife for one, and eight fatherlesse children of mine, which I leave now behind me, and God knows how many be guilty of this fact, and when it will be ended.

The Lord Chiefe Justice upon closing up of my speeches at my arraignment, said I was an Anabaptist: I would to God I were as cleer from all other sins, as from that, for I alwaies detested that condition.

As for my wife, some say shee is a Papist; but true it is, shee comes so short from a sincere Protestant (I meane in that respect) that when she is among Papists she cannot well forbeare them.

Then he spake to the Sheriffe, saying, if it may be permitted without offence, I have somewhat to say, and that is this, Is it lawfull for any one here to demand of me any questions? to which the Sheriffe answered, It is not lawful, wherefore good Sir Jervas (quoth he) forbear; Sir Jer. thereunto said, with doubling his words, it is enough, it is enough.

I have here (quoth he) one that holdeth my cloake, may I bestow somewhat on him? The Sheriffe answered, that you may, Sir; whereupon he called the young man to him by his name, who stood waiting at the ladders foot, and gave him out of his pocket some peeces of gold or silver; here take this, spend it, which he with bitter tears thankfully accepted; Dr Whyting and Dr Felton strained courtesie, which of them should begin a publique prayer, fitting for this parties condition; one of them willed the other; but at last Dr Whyting said, if you Sir Jervas can perform it your selfe, you of all men is fittest to doe it, with efficacy both of soul and spirit; whereupon he said, I shall doe my best then; but my hearers, I crave your charitable construction, if with half words, and imperfect speeches, I chatter like a crane.

His Prayer.

O eternall, omnipotent, and omniscient God, the creator of heaven and earth, and of me a most miserable and horrible wretch, by reason of my unmeasurable sins and transgressions, whereof I am wholly guilty, take pity on me, who have so many ponderous sins, that without thy especiall favour and mercy they will be ready to presse me into perpetual destruction; thy full and free pardon in Jesus Christ I humbly crave with this assurance, that immediately my soule shall bee translated hence into those inestimable joys, which the heart of man is unable to conceive, the tongue to utter, or the ear to hear: Hear then, Lord, the petition of me, a most intolerable wretch, according to thy promise made to the repentant sinner; my sins yet unknown and unrepented, which are my secret sins, Lord call not to account; disburden me, O Lord, of my unknown sins, I desire to give a true sigh for them all; my sins of youth and riper years, Lord call not to account; thou O Lord knowest how many they are, let the misty clouds of all my sins whatsoever, be so scattered by the bright beams of thy mercies to me in Christ Jesus, that those my weak and poor prayers may be available in thy sight; this comfort, this I have, that I am thine; for were I not thine, then out of the root of me could not the buds of repentance appear, by which I know thou lovest me; it is not I, but thou Lord hast drawne me to thee, for thine own mercies sake, on which mercy, and thy promises made to the true repentant sinner, once again I rely; for if thou killest me by this, or any other ignominious death, yet will I trust in thee, and crave thine assistance: Protect my soule from that great adversary of mine, Satan, who with pale death, and the infirmities of the flesh, do abandon them as bals together, then especially at the last gaspe; in which great conflict, Lord strengthen me, that they may not overcome, but be overcome, *Amen.*

This prayer being ended, he asked if he might pray privately? the doctor said, yea, sir.

Then made he a short prayer to himselfe, with his face covered; and after he uncovered it, and said, now I have prayed, now I must pay, I mean, doe the last office to iustice. With that Dr Whyting said, Sir Jervas, you may stand one step lower on the ladder; to whom the Sheriffe answered, it is better for him, Mr Doctor, to be where he is; stay (quoth the Doctor) to the executioner, for he hath given a watch-word, he is in private prayer again; yea, quoth he, I know that, for he hath given me a watch-word when I shall perform my office to him.

He uncovered his face after his second short prayer, and first took his leave of all the assembly, saying, with a cheerful voice and countenance, I pray you pray for me, who shall never more behold your faces; then he said with a great fervency of spirit, Lord I desire at thy hands, this bitter cup of death, as the patient receiveth a bitter poy-

son, not once demanding what is in the cup, but takes and drinks it off, be it never so bitter.

As soon then as he had audibly said, Lord Jesus receive my soul, which of like was the executioners watch-word, hee presently turned him off the ladder; and being off, the executioners man caught hold of one of his feet, his own man on the other foot, whereby they suddenly weighed his life; where hanging a small distance of time, his body not once stirred, onely his hands a little stirred and moved, being tied onely with a little black ribon, which a little before he had reached to the executioner, putting up his hands to him for that purpose; all which being ended, both corps and high gibbet were from thence removed.

The Proceedings against James Franklin, at his Arraignment at Kings Bench, the 27 of November, 1615.

After he had put himselfe for his tryall upon the countrey; a jury of esquires and gentlemen was impanelled to passe upon his life; then Westons indictment was read, and Francklin accused as accessary to the poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, and in his examination formerly taken in these words.

James Franklins Confession.

He confesseth, that in a house neer to the Doctors Commons, Mrs Turner did first come unto him about the poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, and prayed him to provide that which should not kill a man presently, but lie in his body for a certain time, wherewith he might languish away by little and little; at the same time she gave him four angells, wherewith he bought a water called *aqua fortis*, and sent it to Mrs Turner, who, to try the operation thereof, gave it to a cat, wherewith the cat languished, and pitifully cryed for the space of two dayes, and then died.

Afterwards Mrs Turner sent for Francklin to come to the countesse, who told him, that *aqua fortis* was too violent a water; but what think you (quoth she) of white arsnick? He told her, it was too violent; what say you (quoth she) to powder of diamonds? He answers, I know not the nature of that: she said, then he was a foole, and gave him peeces of gold, and bad him buy some of that powder for her: Francklin demands of the countesse, what was the reason she would poyson Sir Thomas Overbury? shee told him he would pry so far into their estate, that he would overthrow them all.

A little before Sir Thomas Overburies death, the countesse sent for Francklin, and shewed him a letter written from the Lord of Rochester, wherein he read these words. I marvail at these delaies, that the businesse is not yet dispatched; whereby Francklin thinketh in his conscience was meant the poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury; and in another letter from the Lord of Rochester was written, that Sir Thomas was to come out of the Tower within two dayes, and they all should be undone; whereupon the countesse sent for Weston, and was very angry with him that hee had not dispatched Sir Thomas Overbury; Weston told her, that he had given him a thing that would have killed twenty men.

Also a fortnight after Westons apprehension, the countesse sent for Francklin to her house at St James Park; where hee found the earle and the countesse walking together; and as soon as hee came, the earle went apart into a chamber; then she told him Weston had been sent for by a pursevant, and had confessed all, and we shall all be hanged; but on your life (quoth she) doe not you confesse that you brought any poison to me,

or to Mrs Turner, for if you doe, you shall be hanged, for I will not hang for you, and says Mrs Turner, I will not hang for you both.

The countesse told him, that the lord who was to examine him would promise him a pardon to confesse, but beleeve him not, for they will hang thee when all is done.

Weston comes to Francklins house, and told him now the countesses turn is serv'd, she used him unkindly, and they should be both poysoned, and that two were set of purpose to poyson him.

Francklin having confessed his former examinations under his own hand, being permitted to speak for himself, said, that at the entreaty of the countesse and Mrs Turner he did buy these poysons, but protested his ignorance what they meant to doe with them; and for the rest he referred himselfe to the conscience of the jury, who went from the bar, and within a quarter of an houre did return, and pronounced him guilty; then judge Crook, after a brief exhortation, gave the sentence of death upon him.

The Lord Chief Justice made a short exhortation also, with addition of these words, that knowing as much as he knew, if this had not been found out, neither the court, city, nor any particular family, had escaped the malice of this wicked cruelty.

The Proceedings against Sir Thomas Monson, at Guildhall, 4 December, 1615.

When he came to the barr, he made a motion to the Lord Chief Justice, that whereas he had written unto his lordship to aske the Lord Treasurer two questions which my lord would doe, hee desired then an answer, and that Sir Robert Cotton might be present.

The questions read, hee was indicted for conspiring with Weston to poyson Sir Thomas Overbury, to which he pleaded not guilty, and would be tryed by God and his countrey.

The Lord Chief Justice brake up the proceedings, and made a speech to this effect, viz.

He saw a great assembly, and though it had been shewed them often, yet it could not be said too often, that the city was much bound to God, and to his deputy on earth the king, his master, for their great deliverance, and exact justice; for God was always just: and for the king, though they were never so high in place, nor so dear to him, though his own creatures, yet his justice is dearer to him; for which wee are upon our knees to give him thanks, as also for so milde a proceeding in so great an affair, for neither the great mans house in the Tower, nor his ladies house, nor this prisoners house, (to my knowledge) have been searched, neither hath this prisoner been committed to the sheriffe, but to an alderman, a man who of all others might be most kind to him; for as I take it, lest I should be mistaken, Sir Francis Anderson marryed Sir Stephen Somes his daughter, and Sir Thomas Monson marryed Sir Francis Andersons sister; I never knew the like favour, nor doe I like it so well, but do declare it as a gentle proceeding from the king.

For other things, I dare not discover secrets; but though there was no house searched, yet such letters were produced, which make our deliverance as great, as any that happened to the children of Israel.

For Weston and Mrs Turner, they dyed penitently, as is worthy to be written in letters of gold; and for the lieutenant, though with great imprecations, and a high hand he denyed, yet for the great glory of the kings justice, he died most penitently and résolutely; this is spoken to the praise of God, that hath crowned these just proceedings, *justicia confirmata non eget authoritate*, though not having reason for it, wherein we may see the great hand of God; for that morning the lieutenant was arraigned, came to me as one afflicted in conscience, not knowing of his arraignment, with evidence

against him, which being delivered to the jury, one of them heard him say, then Lord have mercy on mee, and for this present, *non est constantia longa de vita hominis*, therefore he must be conveyed to the Tower as a safer place till further order bee taken. Then he addressed his speech to Sir Tho. Monson, saying,

Whereas you name my lord treasurer, every mans fame is dear unto him, and he hath ever been honorable, you shall hear what he hath answered to my letter.

After my hearty commendations, I have heard that Sir Thomas Monson thinks I can clear him, but I know nothing of him to accuse or excuse him; but I hope he is not guilty of so foule a crime. You hear (quoth he) that he will neither accuse you, nor excuse you.

Monson.

I doe not accuse the lord treasurer, nor calumniate him, for I know he is very honorable, but I desire to have answer to my two questions.

Lord Chief Justice.

You shall hear more of that when the time serveth; doe you, as a Christian, and as Joshua bad Achan, "My son, acknowledge thy sin, and give glory to God."

Monson.

If I be guilty, I renounce the kings mercy and Gods; I am innocent.

Lord Chief Justice.

There is more against you then you know of.

Monson.

If I be guilty, it is of that I know not.

Lord Chief Justice.

You are popish, that pulpit was the pulpit where Garnet died, and the lieutenant as firmly; I am not superstitious, but wee will have another pulpit.

Daudridge.

It is an atheists word to renounce Gods mercy; you must think the change of your lodging means somewhat.

Hide.

I have looked into this businesse, and I protest, my lord, hee is as guilty as the guiltyest.

Monson.

There was never man more innocent then I, in this I will die an innocent.

After this speech, certain yeomen of his majesties guard, attending for that purpose, conducted him to the Tower, where between the yeomen and the wards there was some contention about his entertainment.[1]

Sir Francis Bacon his Speech at the Arraignment of the Earle of Sommerset.

[The lesser delinquents having been executed, the Countess and Earl of Somerset were brought to trial by their peers; Lord Ellesmere, the chancellor, officiating as high steward. To render the matter more solemn, the king was pleased to issue certain solemn instructions, directing the proceedings of the judges. The Countess, being called to plead, grew pale, trembled, and with many tears confessed herself guilty; acknowledged that she knew much to aggravate, nothing to extenuate her fault, but intreated their lordships to intercede with the king for mercy. Somerset, whose trial followed on 25 May, 1616, shewed a different spirit. He pleaded not guilty, and defended himself with a boldness which seemed rather to rest on some remaining confidence in the king's favour, than on his own innocence. The proofs which pressed most severely against him, are detailed by the celebrated Bacon, then Attorney General, in the following pleading. Being unanimously found guilty, he was sentenced to death, and made, like his lady, a request, that the peers would be intercessors for his majesty's mercy, with this marked qualification, " if it be necessary."]

It may please your grace, my lord high stewart of England, and you my lords the peers, you have here before you Robert Earl of Somerset to be tried for his life, concerning the procuring and consenting to the poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, then the kings prisoner in the Tower of London, as an accessary before the fact.

I know your honours cannot behold this noble man, but you must remember the great favours which the king hath conferred on him, and must be sensible, that he is yet a member of your body, and a peer, as you are, so that you cannot cut him off from your body, but with grief; and therefore you will expect from us, that give in the kings evidence, sound and sufficient matter of proof to satisfie your honours consciences.

As for the manner of the evidence, the king our master, who (amongst other his virtues, excelleth in that virtue of the imperial throne, which is justice) hath given us command, that we should not expatiate nor make invectives, but materially pursue the evidence, as it conduceth to the point in question.

[1] Although it would seem that Sir Thomas Monson, (a follower of the Earl of Northampton,) was privy to the murder, or at least was the means of persuading the lieutenant of the Tower to seclude his prisoner from all but the poisoner Weston, whom he had himself recommended as his keeper, yet the evidence against him fell short of conviction; and although indicted, he escaped without trial, after three months close imprisonment. Weldon imputes his deliverance to the king's being afraid of his making some unpleasant discoveries upon his trial. He tells also two fantastic stories of omens which befel Monson. The first was, his flying a valuable and celebrated goshawk against a kite, both birds ascending so high in the air, that they were never again seen, which the chronicler pronounces to be a most inauspicious augury. Again he avers, that Lord Erskine, judging solely from Monson's physiognomy, told Sir James Marshal, that he would escape hanging more narrowly than ever man did.

It was upon Monson's arraignment that a hint escaped the chief justice, as if Prince Henry had died by poison, and that both Overbury and Somerset were concerned in the treason. This indiscretion gave great offence, and the chief justice was not only disgraced at court, and insulted by a sort of admonitory letter from Sir Francis Bacon, but soon afterwards removed from his office.

A matter, that (though we are glad of so good a warrant) yet we should have done of our selves: for far be it from us by any strains of wit or arts, to seek to play prizes, or to blazon our names in bloud, or to carry the day otherwise then upon sure grounds; we shall carry the lanthorn of justice (which is the evidence) before your eyes upright, and so be able to save it from being put out with any grounds of evasion or vain defence, not doubting at all, but that the evidence it self will carry that force, as it shall need no advantage or aggravation.

First, my lords, the course that I will hold in delivering of that which I shall say, (for I love order) is this:

First, I will speak somewhat of the nature and greatness of the offence, which is now to be tried, not to weigh down my lord with the greatness of it, but rather contrariwise to shew, that a great offence needs a good proof. And that the King, howsoever he might esteem this gentleman heretofore as the signet upon his finger, (to use the scripture phrase,) yet in such a case as this, he was to put it off.

Secondly, I will use some few words touching the nature of the proofs, which, in such a case, are competent.

Thirdly, I will state the proofs.

And lastly, I will produce the proofs, either out of examination, and matters of writing, or witnesses *viva voce.*

For the offence itselfe, it is of crimes, next unto high treason, the greatest, it is the foulest of felonies: It hath three degrees. First, it is murther by impoysonment. Secondly, it is murther committed upon the kings prisoner in the Tower. Thirdly, I might say, that it is murther under the colour of friendship, but that it is a circumstance moral, and therefore I leave that to the evidence itself.

For murther, my lords, the first record of justice which was in the world, was judgment upon a murtherer, in the person of Adams first-born Cain; and though it was not punished by death, but banishment, and marks of ignominy, in respect of the primogenitors or the population of the world, yet there was a severe charge given, that it should not go unpunished.

So it appeareth likewise in scripture, that the murther of Abner by Joab, though it were by David respited in respect of great services past, or reason of state, yet it was not forgotten. But of this I will say no more, because I will not discourse, it was ever admitted and ranked in Gods own tables, that murther is of offences between man and man, next unto high treason, and disobedience to authority, which sometimes have been referred to the first table, because of the lieutenancy of God in princes, the greatest.

For impoysonment, I am sorry it should be heard of in our kingdom; it is not *nostri generis, nec sanguinis peccatum*; it is an Italian comfit for the court of Rome, where that person that intoxicateth the kings of the earth, is many times really intoxicated and poysoned himself. But it hath three circumstances, which makes it grievous, beyond other matters.

The first, is, that it takes a man away in full peace, in Gods and the kings peace, that thinks no harm, but is comforting of nature with refection and food; so that as the scripture saith, "his table is made a snare."

The second is, that it is easily committed, and easily concealed; and, on the other side, hardly prevented, and hardly discovered: For murther by violence princes have guards, and private men have houses, attendants, and arms; neither can such murther be committed, but *cum sonitu*, with some overt and apparent acts, that may discover and trace the offenders: but for poyson, the cup itself of princes will scarce serve in regard of many poysons that neither discolour nor distaste; it comes upon a man when he is careless, and without suspicion, and every day a man is within the gates of death.

And the last is, because it concerneth not only the destruction of the maliced man, but of every man; *quis modo tutus erit?* For many times the poyson is prepared for one,

and is taken by another, so that men die other mens deaths, *Concidit infelix alieno vulnere*; and it is as the psalmist calleth it, *Sagitta nocte volans*, "the arrow that flieth by night, that hath no aim nor certainty." And therefore if any man shall say to himself, here is great talk of impoysonment, but I am sure I am safe, for I have no enemies, neither have I any thing another man should long for; why? that is all one, he may sit next him at the table, that is meant to be impoysoned, and pledge him of his cup: as we may see in the example of 21 Hen. 8. that where the purpose was to poyson one man, there was poyson put into barn or yeast, and with that barn, pottage or grewel was made, whereby sixteen of the Bishop of Rochesters servants were poysoned; nay, it went into the alms-basket likewise, and the poor at the gate were poysoned. And therefore with great judgment did the statute made that year touching this accident, make impoysonment high treason, because it tends to the dissolving of humane society; for whatsoever offence doth so, is in the nature thereof high treason.

Now for the third degree of this particular offence, which is, that it is committed upon the kings prisoner, who was out of his own defence, and meerly in the kings protection, and for whom the king and the state were a kinde of respondent; it is a thing that aggravates the fault much; for certainly (my Lord of Somerset) let me tell you this, that Sir Thomas Overbury is the first man that was murthered in the Tower[1] of

[1] Sir Francis Bacon had forgotten the various tragedies enacted in the Tower, some of which he might have learned from a poet of his own time writing upon his own subject, who introduces the ghost of Overbury thus addressing his late prison:

O thou sad monument of Norman yoke,
Whose great foundation he, whose conqu'ring stroke
Did stoop our necks to Norman rule, * first laid,
Look thy records of those to death betray'd
Within thy fatal chambers, and there see,
If any murder'd, lost his life like me.
Those royal roses of Plantagenest,
Which that White Boar of York, † that bloody beast,
Hath rooted up, within those walls of thine,
In death felt little pain, compared to mine:
Thou know'st that ‡ King, son to that kingly knight,
Beneath whose sword in Agincourt's great fight
France fell upon her knees, thy floor did stain
With his dear blood, by bloody Richard slain:
Thou didst look on, when Clarence' blood was shed,
And didst behold, how he poor Duke half-dead,
Yet bleeding fresh in Malmsey-but was drown'd,
Whose body ever since could ne'er be found.
Thou saw'st when § Tyrrel's bloody slaves did smother
This kingdom's uncrown'd king, and his young brother;
Those princely babes of York, thou heard'st them cry,
When they betwixt the sheets did strangled die;
But to their pain death did swift end assign,
Thou know'st their grief was not so great as mine.
'Twas not for nought, that thy first builder's hand
Did temper || blood with burned lime and sand;
So to conglutinate thy stony mass,
And bring the conqueror's will and work to pass;
Well may it be, thy walls with blood were built,
Where so much guiltless blood hath since been spilt.

Sir THOMAS OVERBURY'S *Vision* apud *Harleian Miscellany*, VII. 170.

This passage will remind the reader of Gray's apostrophe:

"Ye Towers of Julius, London's lasting shame,
By many a foul and midnight murder fed."

* Out of a register-book of the acts of the Bishop of Rochester, in Stowe's Survey.
† Richard the Third.
‡ Henry the Sixth.
§ Sir James Tyrrel
|| *Cemento cum sanguine temperato*, as saith Fitz-Stephens *apud* Johan. Stow.

London, save the murther of the two young princes, by the appointment of Richard the Third.

Thus much of the offence, now to the proofs.

For the matter of proofs, you may consider that impoysonment, of all offences, is most secret, even so secret, that if in all cases of impoysonment, you should require testimony, you should as good proclaim impunity.

Who could have impeached Livia by testimony, for the poysoning of the figs upon the tree, which her husband was wont to gather with his own hands? Who could have impeached Parasetis for the poysoning of the one side of the knife she carried with her, and keeping the other side clean, so that herself did eat of the same peace of meat that they did, whom she did impoyson?

These cases are infinite, and need not to be spoken of the secrecy of impoysonment; but wise men must take upon them in these secret cases, Solomons spirit, that when there could be no witnesses, collected the act by the affection; but yet we are not at our cause, for that which your lordships are to try, is not the act of impoysonment, for that is done to your hands; all the world by law is concluded to say, that Overbury was poysoned by Weston; but the question before you is, of the procurement only, and as the law termeth it as accessary before the fact, which abetting is no more, but to do or use any act or means which may aid, or conduce to the impoysonment.

So that it is not the buying, nor the making of the poyson, nor the preparing, nor confecting, nor commixting of it, nor the giving or sending, or laying of the poyson, that are the only acts that do amount unto the abbetment; but if there be any other act or means done, or used, to give opportunity of impoysonment, or to facilitate the execution of it, or to stop or divert any impediments that might hinder it, and that it be with an intention to accomplish and atchieve the impoysonment; all these are abbetments and accessaries before the fact. As for example, if there be a conspiracy to murther a man, as he journieth on the way by invitation, or by colour of some business, and another taketh upon him to disswade some friend of his company, that he is not strong enough to make his defence, and another hath a part to hold him in talk till the first blow be given; all these, my lords, without scruple are accessaries to the murther, although none of them give the blow, nor assist to give the blow.

My lords, he is not the hunter alone, that lets slip the dog upon the deer, but he that lodgeth him, and hunts him out, or sets a train or trap for him, that he cannot escape, or the like; but this, my lords, little needeth in this case, for such a chain of acts of impoysonments as this, I think, was never heard nor seen. And thus much of the nature of the proofs.

To descend to the proofs themselves, I shall keep this course.

First, I will make a narration of the fact itself.

Secondly, I will break and distribute the proofs, as they concern the prisoner. And,

Thirdly, according to the distribution, I will produce them, and read them, to use them. So that there is nothing that I shall say, but your lordship shall have three thoughts or cogitations to answer it.

First, when I open it, you may take your aym.

Secondly, when I distribute it, you may prepare your answers without confusion. And,

Lastly, when I produce the witnesses, or the examinations themselves, you may again ruminate, and readvise to make your defence.

And this I do, because your memory and understanding may not be oppressed or overlonden with length of evidence, or with confusion of order; nay more, when your lordship shall make your answer in your time, I will put you in minde, where cause shall be, of your omission.

First therefore, Sir Thomas Overbury for a time was known to have great interest, and strait friendship with my Lord of Somerset, both in his meaner fortunes, and after, in so much that he was a kinde of oracle of direction unto him; and if you will believe his own vaunt, (being indeed of an insolent and Thrasonical disposition) he took upon him, that the fortunes, reputation, and understanding of this gentleman (who is well known to have an able teacher) proceeded from his company and counsel; and this friendship rested not only in conversation, and business at court, but likewise in communication of secrets of state; for my Lord of Somerset, exercising at that time, by his majesties special favour and trust, the office of secretary, did not forbear to acquaint Overbury with the king's packets, and dispatches, from all parts of Spain, France, and the Low Countries; and this not by glimpses, or now and then rounding in the ear for a favour, but in a settled manner packets were sent; sometimes opened by my lord, sometimes unbroken unto Overbury; who perused them, copied them, registred them, made table-talk of them, as they thought good. So I will undertake the time was, when Overbury knew more of the secrets of state, then the councel-table did; nay, they were grown to such inwardness, as they made a play of all the world besides themselves; so, as they had cyphers, and jurgons, for the king, and queen, and great men of the realm, things seldom used, but either by princes, or their confederates; or at the least, by such as practise and work against, or at the least upon, princes.

But understand me, my lord, I shall not charge you with disloyalty at this day, and I lay this for a foundation, that there was great communication of secrets between you and Sir Thomas Overbury, and that it had relation to matters of state, and the great causes of this kingdom.

But, my lords, as it is a principle in nature, that the best things are, in their corruption, the worst, and the sweetest wine maketh the sourest viniger; so it fell out with them, that this excess, as I may say, of friendship, ended in mortal hatred on my Lord of Somerset's part.

I have heard my Lord Steward say, sometimes in the chancery, that frost and fraud end foul; and, I may adde a third, and that is, the friendship of ill men, which is truly said to be conspiracy, and not friendship. For it fell out some twelve moneths or more, before Overbury his imprisonment in the Tower, that the Earl of Somerset fell into an unlawfull love towards that unfortunate Lady, the Countesse of Essex, and to proceed to a marriage with her: this marriage and purpose did Overbury mainly impugne, under pretence to do the true part of a friend, for that he accounted her an unworthy woman. But the truth was, Overbury, who (to speak plainly) had little that was solid for religion, or moral vertue, but was wholly possessed with ambition, and vain glory, was loath to have any partners in the favour of my Lord of Somerset, and especially not any of the house of the Howards, against whom he had alwaies professed hatred and opposition.

And, my lords, that this is no sinister construction, will appear to you, when you shall hear that Overbury made his brags that he had won him the love of the lady by his letters and industry; so far was he from cases of conscience in this point.[1]

[1] The following expostulation, contained in the second letter sent by Overbury to Somerset, illustrates this and other parts of Bacon's statement.

"This comes under seal; and therefore shall be bold. You told my brother Lidcote, that unreverend stile might make you neglect me. With what face could you do this, who know you owe me for all the fortune, wit, and understanding, that you have?" [Here were inserted some borrowed names].

"*Mr Attorney.* Under these false names they meant great persons; Julius, the king; Dominick, my Lord of Northampton. Unclius, my Lord of Canterbury.

The rest of the Letter.

"And yet pretend the reason why you seek not my liberty, to be my unreverend style; whilst in the meantime you sacrifice me to your woman, still holding friendship with those that brought me hither. You bad my brother Lidcote keep my desire of liberty secret; yet this shall not serve your turn; for you and I, ere it be

And certainly, my lords, howsoever the tragical misery of this poor gentleman, Overbury, might somewhat obliterate his faults, yet, because we are not upon point of civility, but to discover the face of truth, before the face of justice, for that it is material to the true understanding of the state of this cause; Overbury was naught and corrupt; the ballads must be mended for that point.[1]

But to proceed; when Overbury saw that he was like to be possessor of my Lord's grace, which he had possessed so long, and by whose greatness he had promised himself to do wonders; and being a man of an unbounded and impudent spirit, he began not only to disswade, but to deterre him from the love of that lady; and finding him fixed, thought to finde a strong remedy; and supposing that he had my lord's head under his girdle, in respect of communication of secrets of state, as he calls them himself secrets of nature, and therefore dealt violently with him, to make him desist, with menaces of discovery, and the like: hereupon grew two streams of hatred upon Overbury, the one from the lady, in respect that he crossed her love, and abused her name, (which are furies in women) the other of a more deep nature, from my Lord of Somerset himself, who was afraid of Overburies nature, and if he did break from him, and fly out, he would winde into him, and trouble his whole fortunes; I might adde a third stream of the Earl of Northamptons ambition, who desires to be first in favour with my Lord of Somerset, and knowing Overburies malice to himself, and to his house, thought that man must be removed and cut off; so as certainly it was resolved, and decreed, that Overbury must die.

That was too weak, and they were so far from giving way to it, as they crossed it; there rested but two waies of quarrel, assault and poyson. For that of assault, after some proposition and attempt, they passed from it, as a thing too open, and subject to more variety of shame; that of poyson, likewise, was an hazardous thing, and subject to many preventions and caution, especially to such a working and jealous brain as Overbury had, except he was first fast in their hands; therefore the way was first to get him into a trap, and lay him up, and then they could not miss the mark: and therefore in execution of this plot, it was concluded, that he should be designed to some honourable imployment in forreign parts, and should, underhand, by my Lord of Somerset, be encouraged to refuse it; and so upon contempt he should be laid prisoner in the Tower, and then they thought he should be close enough, and death should be his bail. Yet were they not at their end; for they considered, that if there were not a fit lieutenant of the Tower for their purpose, and likewise a fit underkeeper of Overbury; first, they should meet with many impediments in

long, will come to a publick trial of another nature. I upon the rack, and you at your ease; and yet I must say nothing! When I heard (notwithstanding my misery,) how you went to your woman, curled your hair, preferred Gibbe into the bed-chamber, and, in the meantime, send me nineteen projects how I should cast about for my liberty; and give me a long account of the pains you have taken, and then go out of town. I wonder to see how you should neglect him, to whom such secrets of all kinds have passed; and suffer my mother and sisters to lie here in town, expecting my liberty; my brother Lidcote to be in a manner quite overthrown, in respect of my imprisonment; and yet you stand stupid; nor have neither servant nor friends suffered to come to me. Well, all this vacation I have written the story betwixt you and me; how I have lost my friends for your sake; what hazard I have run; what secrets have passed betwixt us; how, after you had won that woman by my letters, and then concealed all your after proceedings from me; and how upon this there came many breeches betwixt us; of the vow you made to be even with me, and sending for me twice that day, that I was caught in the trap, persuading me that it was a plot of mine enemies, to send me beyond sea; and urging me not to accept it, assuring me to free me from any long trouble. On Tuesday I made an end of this, and on Friday, sent it to a friend of mine under eight seals; and if you persist still to use me thus, assure yourself it shall be published. Whether I live or die, your shame shall never die, but ever remain to the world, to make you the most odious man living. *State Trials*, I. col. 357.

[1] Alluding, I suppose, to the popular ditties of the day, in which Sir Thomas Overbury, the object of general compassion, was more highly extolled than his real character deserved.

pediments in the giving and exhibiting of the poyson. Secondly, they should be exposed to note and observation, that might discover them : and thirdly, Overbury, in the mean time, might write clamorous and furious letters to his friends, and so all might be disappointed; and, therefore, the next link of the chain was to displace the then Lieutenant Wade, and to place Yelvis, a principal abbettor in the impoysonment, to displace Cary, that was underkeeper, in Wades time, and to place Weston, that was the actor in the impoysonment. And this was done in such a while, that it may appear to be done as it were in a breath.

Then when they had this poor gentleman in the Tower close prisoner, where he could not escape nor stir, where he could not feed but by their hands, where he could not speak or write but through their trunks, then was the time to act the last day of his tragedy.

Then must Franklin, the purveyour of the poyson, procure five, six, seven several poysons, to be sure to hit his complexion : then must Mistress Turner, the lay-mistress of the poysons, advise what works at present, and what at distance: then must Weston be the tormentor, and chase him with poyson after poyson, poyson in salt meats, poyson in sweet meats, poyson in medicines and vomits, untill at last his body was almost come, by use of poysons, to the state of Mithredates body by the use of treacle and preservatives, that the force of the poysons was blunted upon him; Weston confessing, when he was chid for not dispatching him, that he had given him enough to poyson twenty men.

And lastly, Because all this asked time, courses were taken by Somerset, both to divert all the true means of Overburies delivery, and to entertain him with continual letters, partly with hopes and protestations for his delivery, and partly with other fables and negotiations, somewhat like some kinde of persons which keep in a tale of fortune-telling, when they have a felonious intent to pick their pockets and purses. And this is the true narration of this act, which I have summarily recited.

Now for the distribution of the proofs, there are four heads to prove you guilty, whereof two are precedent to the impoysonment, the third is present, and the fourth is following or subsequent; for it is in proofs as it is in lights, there is a direct light, and there is a reflection of light, and a double light.

The first head or proof thereof is, that there was a root of bitterness, a mortal malice or hatred, mixed with a deep and bottomless mischief that you had to Sir Thomas Overbury.

The second is, that you were the principal actor, and had your hand in all those acts, which did conduce to the impoysonment, and gave opportunity to effect it, without which the impoysonment could never have been, and which could seem to tend to no other end but to the impoysonment.

The third is, that your hand was in the very impoysonment it self, that you did direct poyson, and that you did deliver poyson, and that you did continually hearken to the success of the impoysonment, and that you spurred it on, and called for dispatch when you thought it lingered.

And lastly, that you did all things after the impoysonment which may detect a guilty conscience for the smothering of it, and the avoiding of punishment for it, which can be but of three kindes.

That you suppressed, as much as in you was, testimony; that you did deface, destroy, clip, and misdate all writings that might give light to the impoysonment; and you did fly to the altar of guiltiness, which is a pardon of murther, and a pardon for your self, and not for your self

In this, my lords, I convert my speech unto you, because I would have you alter the points of your charge, and so make your defence the better. And two of these heads I have taken to my self, and left the other to the kings two serjeants.

For the first main part, which is the mortal malice, coupled with fear, that was in you to Sir Tho. Overbury, although you did palliate it with a great deal of hypocrisie and dissimulation, even to the very end, I will prove it, my Lord Steward, the root of this hate was that which cost many a mans life, that is, fear of dicovering secrets, I say, of secrets of a dangerous and high nature; wherein the course that I will hold shall be this.

I will shew, that a breach and malice was betwixt my lord and Overbury, and that it burst forth into violent threats and menaces on both sides.

Secondly, that these secrets were not of a light, but of an high nature, I will give you the elevation of the pole; they were such, as my lord of Somerset had made a vow, that Overbury should neither live in court nor country; that he had likewise opened himself so far, that either he or himself must die for it: and of Overburies part he had threatned my lord, that whether he did live or die, my lords shame should never die, but that he would leave him the most odious man in the world: and further, that my lord was like enough to repent, where Overbury wrote, which was in the Tower of London; he was a prophet in that: so there is the highest of the secret.

Thirdly, I will shew you that all the kings busines was by my lord put into Overburies hands, so as there is work enough for secrets whatsoever they write them, and, like princes confederates, they had their cyphers and their jurgons.

And lastly, I will shew you that it was but a toy, to say the malice was only in respect he spake dishonourably of the lady, or for doubt of breaking the marriage, for that Overbury was coadjutor to that love, and the lord of Somerset was as deep in speaking ill of the lady as Overbury; and again, it was too late for that matter, for the bargain of the match was then made and past; and if it had been no more than to remove Overbury for disturbing the match, it had been an easie matter to have landed over Overbury, for which they had a fair way, but that would not serve.

And lastly, *periculum periculo vincitur*, to goe so far as an impoysonment, must have a deeper malice then flashes, for the cause must have a proportion in the effect.

For the next general head or proof, which consists in the acts preparatory or middle acts, they are in eight several points of the compasse, as I may term them.

First, There were divers devices and projects to set Overburies head on work, to dispatch him, and overthrow him, plotted between the countesse of Essex, and the earl of Somerset, and the earl of Northampton, before they fell upon the impoysonment; for alwaies before men fix upon a course of mischief, there will be some rejection, but die he must one way or other.

Secondly, That my lord of Somerset was principall practiser, I must speak it, in a most perfidious manner, to set a trap and train for Overbury, to get him into the Tower, without which they durst not attempt the impoysonment.

Thirdly, That the placing of the lieutenant Yelvis, one of the impoysonments, was done by my lord of Somerset.

Fourthly, That the placing of Weston, the under-keeper, who was the principall impoysoner, and the displacing of Cary, and the doing all this within the space of fifteen daies after Overburies commitment, was by the means and countenance of my lord of Somerset: and these were the active instruments of the impoysonment, and this was a businesse the ladies power could not reach unto.

Fifthly, That because there must be a cause of this tragedy to be acted, and chiefly because they would not have the poysons work upon the sudden, and for that the strength of Overburies nature, on the very custome of receiving the poysons into his body, did overcome the poysons that they wrought not so fast; therefore Overbury must be held in the Tower, as well as he was laid in; and as my lord of Somerset got him into the trap, so he keeps him in, and abuseth him with continuall hope of liberty, but diverted all the true and effectual means of his liberty, and makes light of his sicknesse and extremities.

Sixthly, That not only the plot of getting Overbury into the Tower, and the devices to hold and keep him there, but the strange manner of the close keeping of him, being in but for a contempt, was by the device and means of my lord of Somerset, who denied his father to see him, denied his servants that offered to be shut up close prisoners with him, and in effect handled it so, that he made him close prisoner to all his friends, and exposed to all his enemies.

Seventhly, That all the advertisement the lady received from time to time from the lieutenant or Weston, touching Overburies state of body and health, were ever sent nigh to the court, though it were in progress, and that from my lady, such a thirst and listening he had to hear that he was dispatched.

Lastly, That there was a continual negotiation to set Overburies head on work, that he should make some to clear the honour of the lady, and that he should be a good instrument towards her and her friends, all which was but entertainment: for your lordships shall see divers of my lord of Northamptons letters (whose hand was deep in this businesse,) written, I must say, in dark words and clauses, that there was one thing pretended, and another thing intended. That there was a real charge, and somewhat not reall, a main drift and dissimulation: nay further, there be some passages which the peers in their wisedoms will discern, to point directly at the poysonment.[1]

[1] When Somerset and his countess had been solemnly condemned to die for a murder so atrocious, and which had in so remarkable a degree attracted the attention of the public, it might have been expected that no intercession could have availed to prevent the execution of justice; but a singular petition to the king on the part of Somerset had that unexpected and extraordinary consequence. So far as it is distinctly intelligible, the reasoning proceeds upon the discredit which the king's dignity must necessarily sustain through the ruin and ignominious death of a favourite, the work of his own hands. But some more obscure passages infer, that the petitioner was possessed of "one mean of intercession," which the king dreaded his resorting to. What that fatal secret was, can only be the subject of conjecture. It has been supposed to allude to the death of Prince Henry, but more probably relates to the secret practices of the monarch himself. The following is the petition:

"May it please your Majesty,

"By this gentleman, your majesty's lieutenant, I understand of some halt you made, and the cause of it, at such time as he offered to your majesty my letters; but soon after your majesty could resolve yourself, and behold me nothing so diffident of you, but in humble language petitioning your favour, for I am in hope that my condition is not capable of so much more misery, as I need to make my passage to you by such way of intercession.

This which follows after, I offer your majesty, though not as to yourself, for upon less motive you can find favour for me.

Now I need only move, not plead before your majesty, as my case doth stand; for what I seek to have done follows upon what you have already done, as a consequence and succeeding growth of your own act.

But to the intent, that your majesty may see that there is enough to answer those (if any such there be) as to go about to pervert the exercise of your power, and to turn it from its own clear excellency, for to minister unto their passions; I have presumed to this end to awake your majesty's own conceit upon this subject, which can gather to itself better and more able defences in my behalf upon this view. For though the acts of your mercy, which are not communicable, nor the causes of them with others, as derived from those secret motives which are only sensible and privy to your own heart, and admit of no search or discovery to any general satisfaction; and that, under this protection, I might guard my particular sufficiently; yet my case need not hide itself, but attend the dispute with any that would put upon it a monstrous and heavy shape: though that I must acknowledge that both life and estate are forfeited to you by law, yet so forfeited, that the same law gives you the same power to preserve as it doth to punish, whereby your majesty's higher prerogative doth not wrestle with it, nor do you infringe those grounds by which you have ever governed, so as the resistance is not great, that your majesty hath for to give life, and, which is less, the gift of estate, for that the law casts wholly upon yourself, and yields it as fit matter for exercise of your goodness.

Once it was your majesty's gift to me, so it may be better not taken, for to avoid to take that which hath been once their own; and I may say farther, that the law hath not been severe upon the ruin of innocent posterity, nor yet cancelled nor cut off the merits of ancestors, before the politick hand of state had contrived it into these several forms, as fitted to the ends of government.

To this, I may add, that whereupon I was judged, even the crime itself might have been none, if your majesty's hand had not once touched upon it, by which all access unto your favour was quite taken from me. Yet, as it did at length appear, I fell rather for want of well defending, than for the violence or force of any proofs; for I so far forsook myself and my cause, as that it may be a question whether I were more condemned for that or for the matter itself, which was the subject of that day's contro-

JAMES REX,

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. cum tam justic. quam misericord. fontes a solio regis promanare consueverint et debeant; ex quibus prior ille justiciæ in memorabili casu mortis et interfectionis Thom. Overbury mil. cursu constanti, et recto a nobis, et cura nostra regia fluxit, et derivatus est, nostram et subditorum satisfactionem plenariam; cumque divers. et multiplices caus. et motiva clementiæ nost. occurrant, quæ misericordiam nost. regiam erga Franciscam Carre nuper comitiss. Somerset promovere possint, præsertim cæde illa tot. et tal. exemplis justiciæ jam antea expiata; præcipue vero duæ quarum prima ad patrem ejus et amicos spectat, familiamque et prosapiam præno-

Then thus far nothing hath appeared, wherein your majesty hath extended for me your power beyond the reasonable bound; neither doth any thing stand in the way of your future proceedings, but rather make easy your majesty's favour for my relief.

What may then be the cause that malice can pitch upon, wherefore your majesty should not proceed to accomplish your own work? Aspersions are taken away by your majesty's letting me loose to the utmost power of the law, with the lives of so many offenders, which yieldeth the world subjects of sorrow rather than appetite to more blood. But truth and innocence protect themselves in poor men, much more in kings; neither was there such aspersion (God knows) in any possibility towards your majesty, but among those who would create these pretences to mislead your majesty, and thereby make me miserable; if not this (whereof the virtue and use was in the former time, and is now determined) there is not any but your pleasure.

It is true, I am forfeited *to* your majesty, but not *against* you by any treasonable or unfaithful act; besides there is to be yielded a distinction of *men*, as in *faults*; in which I am of both under the nearest degrees of exception. Yet your majesty hath pardoned life and estate to traitors and strangers, sometimes the one, sometimes the other; nay, to some concerned in this business, wherein I suffer, you have pardoned more unto them than I desire, who (as it is reputed) if they had come to the test, had proved copper, and should have drunk of the bitter cup as well as others.

But I do not by this envy your favours to any person, nor seek I to draw them into the yoke with myself, but applaud your majesty's goodness, being in that respect in a near possibility to come at me; besides this, to Elwes your majesty hath given an estate (which is a greater gift than life, because it extends to posterity) who was the worst deserver in this business, an unoffending instrument, who might have prevented all after-mischief, but for his own ends suffered it, and by the like arts afterwards betrayed it.

To this I may add Tresham, in the powder-treason, upon whose successors I do not cast any of his infamy, yet he preserved himself to posterity; so as what he, or others such as he, have defrauded by the arts of law, and whom their own unfaithfulness made safe; I have much ado to hold my ingenuity and confidence how it may be, because I distrusted not your majesty, or because it returned in your power from whom I had it. Is it in danger to be broken or dismembered? Let me hope that there is nothing which by favour may be excused, or by industry might have been avoided, that will fail me, where your majesty is to determine. It is not I that put your majesty in mind that I was your *creature*; it is *Somerest*, with all your honours and envied greatness, that is now in question. Kings themselves are protected from the breach of law, by being favourites and God's anointed; which gives your majesty like privilege over yours, as I took from Doctor Donne in his sermon, that the goodness of God is not to be so much acknowledged by us in being our *Creator* as in being our Redeemer; which in your majesty's remembrance let me challenge and hope for; for the first accesses of favour, they may be ascribed unto one's own pleasing themselves, but that appears to be for our sakes, and for our good, when the same forsakes not our civil desires.

This redemption I crave not as to my own person, but with your benefits once given; nor do I assume them very deep, for I have voluntarily departed from the hopes of my pension, place, office; I only cleave to that which is so little, as that it will suffer no parting or diminution.

And as in my former letters, so by this, I humbly crave of your majesty not to let the practices of court work upon your son the prince, not fearing the sufferings of my loss in the particular so much (for I cannot lose it but willingly all with it) as for to take off the stage, that which in the attempt may prove inconvenient.

But if your majesty have any respects to move you to suspend your goodness towards me, let that which is mine rest in your own hands, till that you find all opposite humours conformed to your purpose.

I have done wrong to myself thus to entertain such a doubt of your majesty, but the unrelenting of adversaries, which, when you will have them, will soon alter; and that all this while I have received nothing of present notice for direction, or to comfort me, from your majesty, hath made me to expostulate with myself thus hardly: for God is my judge, sir, I can never be worthy of it, if I have these marks upon me of a traitor, as that tumbling and disordering of that estate would declare. The divorce from your presence lays too much upon me, and this would upon both.

I will say no farther, neither in that which your majesty doubted my aptness to fall into: for my cause, nor my confidence, is not in that distress as for to use that mean of intercession, or any thing besides; but to remember your majesty that I am the workmanship of your hands, and bear your stamp deeply imprinted in all the characters of favour; that I was the first plant engrafted by your majesty's hand in this place, therefore not to be unrooted by the same hand, lest it should taint all the same kind with the touch of that fatalness; and

bil. Altera ad eam ipsam, quod lib. et spontanee delictum suum confessa sit, se submittendo, et prosternendo ad misericordiæ nost. altare, non solum durante tempore incarcerationis suæ verum etiam publice et in judicio. Cumque Thomas dominus Ellesmere cancellar. nr. Angliæ, et magnus senescallus nr. Angliæ ea vice existens, necnon omnes pares ejus per quorum judicium convicta fuit ad humil. petitionem ejusdem Franciscæ publice fact. promisso suo ad intercedend. pro misericordia nostra regia erga eam solenniter se obstrinxerint. Imprimis autem nobiscum perpendentes natur. delicti ejus unde ipsa indictat. arraignat. convict. et condemnat. sit, (viz.) quod non fuer. process. et judicium tanquam de principal. sed de accessoria ante fact. eaq. ipsa procuratio ex concelerata instigatione hominum quorundam ignobilium originem suscepisse videtur. Sciat is quod nos pietate moti de gratia nostra speciali ac certa scienc. et mero motu nost. pardonavimus, remisimus, et relaxavimus, ac per præsentes pro nob. hæred. et succ. nostris pardonamus, remittimus, et relaxamus præfat. Franciscæ Carre nuper comitiss. Somerset, seu quocunque alio nomine cognomine sive additione nominis vel cognominis, dignitatis, loci vel locorum eadem Francisia sciatur, censeatur, vocetur, sive nuncupetur, aut nuper sciebatur, censebatur, vocabatur, sive nuncupabatur, occisionem, necem, venenationem, intoxicationem, mortem, feloniam, et felonicam interfectionem, præd. Thomæ Overbury mil. seu quocunque alio nomine, cognomine sive additione nominis vel cognominis loci vel locor. idem Thomas Overbury mil. sciatur, censeatur, vocetur sive nuncupetur, aut nuper, sciebatur, censebatur, vocabatur, sive nuncupabatur, per ipsam Franciscam per se solam sive cum aliqua alia persona, sive, aliquibus al. personis quibuscunque, quomodocunque, qualitercunque, quandocunque, seu ubicunque fact. commiss. sive perpetrat. ac omnes et omnimodas conspirationes, felonias, abbettationes, procurationes, incitationes, confortation. manutention. auxiliationes, conductiones, mandat. consilia, crimina, transgressiones, malefacta, offens. et delict. quæcunque præd. mortem, occisionem, necem, venenationem, intoxicationem, feloniam et felonicam interfectionem præd. Thomæ Overbury mil. in aliquo tangen. sive concern. ac accessar. eorundem tam ante factum, quam post factum, ac fugam, et fugas superinde fact. licet eadem Francisca de præmiss. vel aliquo præmissor. indictata impetit. appellat. rectat. vocat. waviat. convict. condemnat. attinct. sive adjucat. per judicium parium suorum coram præd. magno senescallo nostro ang. vel alr. quomodocunque existit vel non existit, aut indictari, impetiri, appellari, rectari, vocari, waviari, convinci, condemnari, attingi, sive adjudicari contigerit in futur. ac omnia et singula indictamenta, judicia, condemnationes, executiones, pænas, mortis pænas, corporal. puniciones, ac omnes al. pænas, et pænalitat. quascunque de pro sive concern. mortem, occisionem, necem, venenationem, intoxicationem, feloniam, et felonicam interfectionem præd. Thomæ Overbury, mil. in sup. vel versus ipsam Franciscam hab. fact. reddit. sive adjudicat. aut imposter. habend. fiend. reddend. sive adjudicand. aut quæ nos versus ipsam Francisc. pro præmiss. vel aliquo præmissor. habui. habem. seu impost. habere poterimus, aut hæred. seu suc. habere poterint in futur. (imprisonament. ad arbitrium nr. regium aut restric. ullo modo ad locum certum Anglice *confining* tantum except.) pardonamus insuper ac per present. pro nob. hæred. et succ. nr. remitt. et relax. præfat. Franciscæ omn. et singul. utlagar. si quæ versus ipsam Francisc. ratione, sive occasione præmissor. seu eor. alicujus promulgat.

that I was even the son of a father whose services are registered in the first honours and impressions I took of your majesty's favour, and laid there as a foundation-stone of that building.

These, and your majesty's goodness for to receive them, is what I rely upon, praying for your majesty's prosperity; I am in all humbleness,

Your majesty's
Loyal servant and creature,
R. SOMERSET."

This obscure and mysterious supplication had all the effect that the culprit could possibly have expected. The countess of Somerset, as appears from the following document, was pardoned on account of her frank confession; the earl most probably because he did *not* follow her example.

fuer. sive imposter. erunt promulgand. ac omn. et omnimod. sect. querel. impetitiones, et demand. quæcunque, quæ nos versus ipsam Franciscam pro præmiss. vel aliquo præmissor. habuimus, habem. seu in futur. habere poterimus, sectamque pacis nostræ, quæ ad nos versus ipsam Francisc. pertinet, seu pertinere poterit ratione præmissor. seu. eor. alicujus, et firmam pacem nr. eidem Franciscæ inde damus et concedimus per præsentes, nolentes quod eadem Franc. per just. vic. escaetor. ballivos, seu aliquos ministr. nr. occasionibus præd. seu eor. aliquo molestetur, perturbetur, seu in aliquo gravetur; ita tamen quod stet rect. in cur. nr. si quis versus eam loqui voluerit de præmissis vel aliquo præmissor. licet eadem Francisca bonam et sufficient. securitat. non inveniat secundum formam et effectum cujusdam actus parliament. domini Edwardi nuper regis Angliæ tertii progenitor. nr anno regni sui decimo apud Westm. tent. edit. de se bene gerend. ex nunc erga nos hæred. et succ. nr. et cunctum populum nr. Et ulterius pro nobis hæred. et succ. nostris de ampliori gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scienc. et mero motu nostris volumus et concedimus per præsentes, quod hæ litt. nræ. paten. pardonationis, ac omnia et singula in eisdem content. bone, firme, valide, sufficient. et effectual. in lege stabunt, et existent, et dehinc nullo modo vacuæ devenient; quodque imposter. eadem Francisca ullo modo non indictetur, arrectetur, impetatur, vexetur, seu gravetur de pro vel concernend. mort. occisionem, necem, venenationem, intoxicationem, feloniam aut felonicam interfectionem præd. Thomæ Overbury mil. qualitercunque seu quocunque modo idem Thomas Overbury mil. ad mortem suam devenit: Statut. in parliament. domini Richardi nuper regis Angliæ secundi anno regni sui decimo tertio tent. edit. aut aliquo alio statut. actu, ordination. provisione, sive restrictione in contrar. inde non obstan. In cujus rei, &c. teste, &c. Ex. per

Fr. Bacon.

It may please your Excellent Majesty.

This bill containeth your majesties gracious pardon unto the Lady Frances, late Countesse of Somerset, for being accessary before the fact, of the death and imprisonment of Sir Thomas Overbury.

It hath inserted as motives to your majesties mercy four respects; that is to say: The respect of her father, friends, and family.

Her voluntary confession, both when she was prisoner, and at the barre.

The promise made publiquely by the lord steward, and her peers, to intercede for your majesties mercy:

And that the crime was not of a principall, but of an accessary, before the fact, by the instigation of base persons.

The like pardon formerly passed your majesties signature, and is now amended by your majesties speciall direction from your royall mouth, in two points: the one is, that imprisonment in the Tower, or other confining at your majesties pleasure, is not pardoned: the other, that the solemn promise made at her arraignment by the Lord Steward and the peers to intercede to your majesty for your mercy is inserted

Fr. Bacon.

The aforesaid Bill Translated into English, for the benefit of the vulgar.

James Rex.

The King to whom, &c. greeting. Whereas the fountaines, as well of mercy as justice, are wont and ought to flow from the kings throne; of which the former of justice

in the memorable case of the death and murther of Sir Thomas Overbury, in a constant and right course hath flowed and is derived from us and our royal court, for the full satisfaction of our selfe and subjects. And whereas divers and manifold causes of our clemency occurre, which may move our regall mercy towards Frances Carre, late Countesse of Somerset; chiefly, that murther, with so many and such examples of justice, before this time expiated; especially two, whereof the first respecteth her father, and friends, and family, and noble progeny; the other hath respect to her selfe, because she freely and willingly confessed her offence; submitting and prostrating her selfe at the altar of our mercy, not onely during the time of her imprisonment, but also publicly, and in her tryall. And forasmuch as Thomas Lord Elesmere, our Chancellor of England, and being our high steward of England in that behalfe, and all her peers by whose judgment she was convict, at the humble petition of the said Frances publicly made, solemnly bound themselves by their promise to intercede for our royall mercy towards her. And first weighing with our selves, the nature of her offence, upon which she was indicted, arraigned, convicted, and condemned, (viz.) that the processe and judgment were not as of a principall, but as of an accessary before the fact, and that she seemed to have begun by the procurement and wicked instigation of certain base persons. Know yee, that we, moved with pity, of our speciall grace, and of our certain knowledge, and our meer motion, have pardoned, remitted, and remised, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, doe pardon, remise, and release to the aforesaid Frances Carre, late Countesse of Somerset, or by whatsoever other name or sirname, or addition of name, or of her sirname of dignity, place, or places, the same Frances may be known, esteemed, called, or named, or lately was known, esteemed, called, or named, the slaughter, killing, poysoning, bewitching, death, felony, and felonious murthering of the aforesaid Sir Thomas Overbury, or by whatsoever other name, sirname, or addition of name or sirname, of place or places, the said Sir Thomas Overbury may bee known, esteemed, called, or named, or lately was known, esteemed, called, or named, by the said Frances by her self alone, or with any other person, or any other persons whatsoever, howsoever, in what manner soever, whensoever, or wheresoever done, committed, or perpetrated; and all and all manner of conspiracies, felonies, abetments, procurements, incitations, partnerships, maintainances, helps, hirings, commands, counsells, crimes, transgressions, wrongs, offences, and faults whatsoever, the aforesaid death, slaughter, killing, poysoning, bewitching, felony, and felonious murthering of the aforesaid Sir Thomas Overbury, in any wise touching or concerning. And the accessary of them, as before the fact, as after the fact, and flight and flights made thereupon, although the said Frances of the premisses, or any of the premisses stand, or not stand indicted, impeached, *appellat, vocat. rectat. waviat.* convicted, condemned, attainted, or adjudged by the judgment of her peers, before the aforesaid high steward of England, or otherwise howsoever, or thence in time to come shall appeare to be indicted, impeached, *appellari. rectari, vocari, waviari,* convicted, condemned, attainted, or adjudged. And all and singular indictments, judgments, condemnations, executions, paines of death, paines of corporall punishments, and all other paines and penalties whatsoever, of, for, or concerning the death, slaughter, killing, poysoning, bewitching, felonies, and felonious murthering of the aforesaid Sir Thomas Overbury, in, upon, or against the same Frances, had, made, returned, or adjudged; or hereafter to bee had, made, returned, or adjudged, or which wee against the same Frances may have in time to come (imprisonment at our royall pleasure, or restraint, confining to a certaine place onely excepted.) Moreover, wee doe pardon, and by these presents for us, our heires, and successors, remit and remise to the aforesaid Frances, all and every outlawries which against the same Frances by reason or occasion of the premisses, or any of them, have been proclaimed, or hereafter shall be proclaimed; and all and all manner of suits, complaints, impeachments, and demands whatso-

ever, which wee against the same Frances for the premisses, or any of the premisses have had, have, or in time to come shall have; and the suit of our peace, which appertained to us against the same Frances, or may appertaine by reason of the premisses, or any of them: And by these presents wee doe give and grant our firm peace to the same Frances, willing that the same Frances by the justices, sheriffes, escheators, bailiffs, or any other our ministers, by the occasions aforesaid, or any of them, bee not molested, troubled, or in any manner vexed; so as neverthelesse shee stand right in our court; if any towards her should speak concerning the premisses, or any of the premisses, although the said Frances doe not find good and sufficient security, according to the form of a certain act of parliament, of the Soveraigne Lord Edward the Third, late king of England, our progenitor, held at Westminster in the tenth yeare of his reign, for her good behaviour from henceforth towards us, our heirs, and successors, and all our people. And further, for us, our heirs, and successors, of our more ample speciall grace, and out of our certaine knowledge, and our meer motion, wee will and graunt by these presents, that these our letters patent of pardon, and all and singular the things contained in the same, shall stand, and be good, firme, valid, sufficient, and effectual in the law, and from henceforth shall by no means become void. And that in time to come the said Frances by any means shall not bee indicted, arrested, accused, vexed, or troubled of, for, or concerning the death, murther, slaughter, poysoning, bewitching, felony, or felonious killing of the aforesaid Sir Thomas Overbury, howsoever or by whatsoever means the said Sir Thomas Overbury came to his end: The statute of the Soveraign Lord Richard the Second, late king of England, in the thirteenth year of his raign, or any other statute, act, ordinance, provision, restriction to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. In testimony whereof, &c. Witnesse, &c.

Ex. per

Fr. Bacon.

At Whitehall, January 18, 1621.

Present,

Lo. Keeper,	Lo. Digbie,
Lo. Treasurer,	Lo. Brooke,
Lo. President,	Mr. Treasurer,
Lo. M. Hamilton,	Mr. Secretarie Calvert,
Earle Marshall,	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lo. Vi. Falkland,	Master of the Rolls.

Whereas his Majesty is graciously pleased to enlarge and set at liberty the Earle of Somerset, and his lady, now prisoners in the Tower of London; and that neverthelesse it is thought fit, that both the said Earle and his lady bee confined to some convenient place: It is therefore, according to his majesties gracious pleasure and command, ordered, that the Earle of Somerset and his lady doe repaire either to Grayes, or Cowsham, the Lord Wallingfords houses in the county of Oxon, and remain confined to one or either of the said houses, and within three miles compasse of either of the same, untill further order be given by his majesty.

After my Lord of Somerset had been proceeded with, as is shewed in his petition, the Earl of Carlile was sent to him by the king, who told him, as from his majesty, that he was sorry for what had past, but he could not hinder the course of justice to goe on, had it concerned his own son; and that to repair him again he would doe what he might by law, or otherwise. In a few days after, the Lord Treasurer, and the other lords, came

to him, and spake to the same effect, and as it is in the petition, a while after, when some pieces of his estate were passed away under the seals, my Lord William Howard, my Lady Bambury, and some of his own friends, came and shewed him what was done, willing him that he would take care, if not of himselfe, yet of his wife and child, and of the children he might have; whereupon, he gave way to have his wife write to my Lord of Carlile to move the king about that estate which had been tendred them before in his majesties name; which letter being shewed to the king, his majesty gave order to the Lord Treasurer, that the same should be done accordingly; but this falling out to be not long before the kings going into Scotland, it was expressely delayed, till then, at which time the Lord Treasurer sent to him, and lets him know, that he now had order to make ready two warrants, one of lands, and another of fee-farm rents, and if he would not use means, and that by his own suit, to have the king put in mind of his first directions, it was like hee should have the worst of them returned to him; but the other apprehending what was meant thereby, would not bee induced to make any such suit, for the reason hee gives in the petition, wherefore the king being on his way as far as Huntington, the warrant with the fee-farmes was sealed with the want of 1000l. a year, besides of the sum formerly offered him, which altogether took off of the value of the whole, about the one half; this made some of his court friends then in Scotland with the king to acquaint his friends here, with those passages, whereupon his sisters, and divers of our greatest lords went to the king, to whom and to that which was desired of his majesty, he made answer.

But after the kings return into England, he continued as before, without moving either for his estate, or any thing else, untill the king fell dangerously sick at Royston, then he hastned to passe through those fee farm rents, taking them for a maintenance in the present, or in part of that which was meant for him, attending a fitter time when to move for the rest, since there was nothing could set him right, or repair him in all, but a reversall of the judgment, which he sought no otherwise then as the means whereby he might in his own person be enabled to hold an estate, or sue for one; for it seems he had some hold, which he would not quit, of a hope of having that which had been his own formerly; but the times going on to the worse for him, he found cause 7 or 8 years after, to seek both for his liberty and pardon, which pardon he had got but 4 months before the king died; immediately after he had his pardon, hee moved for that which rested of his estate, which Sir Henry Gibb acquainted the king withall. But the king (without looking upon the paper in which the particulars were to be shewed him) told Sir Henry, that what Somerset had to demand of him in that matter, he should have it, if he had so much land in England: This was at Newmarket, a little before the king sickned at Theobalds.

So afterwards when his majesty came to the crown, he did by my Lord of Buckhinham, and the other lords he names in the petition, continue this suit of his without intermission, but hee could obtain no answer, nor reference, until about the time that his daughter was to be marryed; then by the Dutchesse of Buckinhams means, the queen got the king to promise one, and this my Lord Cottington told him of also; but it came no further, only this he benefitted thereby, that advising with my Lord Cottington upon the time of the reference, for that hee had the testimony of a noble man to produce on his part, who was then troubled with the gout, and 100 miles off in the countrey, my Lord Cottington bid him get it in writing, and it would be as well; and this lords testimony, who died soon after, we have in a letter to my Lord Cottington, yet sealed, but because the reference went not on, was never delivered him; so as here we have this letter which makes good that part of the petition which mentions the particulars of the kings gift for the estate, and our report for that which passed here in Scotland, shews the continuance of the king in the same mind and disposition, and Sir

H. Gibb is now present in this kingdom, who will testifie so much as hath been delivered here in his name.

So far we have followed truth at the heels, and time here rest himself.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of Robert, Earl of Sommerset,

SHEWETH,

That, in the year 1616, after your petitioners troubles were over, the king (your majesties father) was pleased, by the Earle of Suffolk, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seale, and the Duke of Richmond, Lord Steward, to make known to your petitioner, his favourable intentions towards him, as well touching his pardon and inlargement, and the payment of his debts, as for his estate, of which they shewed him that his majesty did mean to take some part to the crown, but would make up to your petitioner in other lands to as much in value, and in particular, that with a manor which he had in Northamptonshire, of 1000*l.* per annum, there was 4000*l.* of the king's lands to be given him, which should be improveable, and to be esteemed at 6000*l.* per annum; but your petitioner, in that he had never taken any lands of gift from the king, as for some other reasons, did delay to take hold of that offer, desiring that he might be allowed to keep that estate which he had formerly got, without prejudice to his majesty, or any person; in which hope hee rested untill he found that some pieces of it had been disposed of, whereupon, being urged by his wifes friends, he was content in the behalfe of her and his daughter, to give way that they should sue to his majesty for the performance of that which had been proffered to your petitioner; but in that he would not appeare therein himselfe (doubting lest it might be understood to imply an assent on his part to that which had been done with his estate) it was given otherwise then as it was at first intended. Notwithstanding whereof, and that your petitioner continued in the same mind, without craving any reparation therein for the space of eight or nine years after, yet he found cause at last to sue both for his freedome and pardon, and for that part of his estate which rested in the crown, which pardon he had not above four moneths before God took the king; and his majesty being moved a little before concerning your petitioners estate, (hee being then at Newmarket) professed that he would give order therein at his coming to Whitehall, which it pleased God to prevent.

Since that time, hee hath sued to your majesty by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Portland, and afterward by my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord Cottington, and others; and at the marriage of his daughter with the now Earl of Bedford, he was by the Dutchesse of Buckingham, and the Earl of Pembrook, desired, for reasons they then gave him, not to presse your majestie therein at that time, being assured by them, that whatsoever he had to demand justly of your majestie, or should make appear to have been meant of him by your father, you would do him right in it; whereupon he went on, and engaged himselfe to the late Earle of Bedford, and for his use, in which he stands yet bound, to his exceeding great prejudice; all which notwithstanding, and that he afterwards did petition your majesty for a reference in this same cause, yet hee could not then neither obtain any.[1]

Your petitioner humbly prayeth, that your majesty will be pleased to take into your

[1] Anne, daughter of this unfortunate favourite, was born in the Tower, during her mother's imprisonment.—She was married in 1637, to William Lord Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford; upon which occasion Somerset sold his house and furniture at Chiswick, to raise her a portion of L. 12,000, which, it would appear from the text, he was not able fully to accomplish.

consideration this suit of his, of a nature far differing from all others that are made to you; that which hee craves being onely the performance of what your father intended for him in liew of so much as he had taken of his, and the same now no otherwise in your majesty to give him, then as he hath forborn to take hold of it; and for which your majesty may conceive there hath been a cause, and that not a common one, which had made him so long dispute with himselfe the receipt of so great a benefit, and wherein his whole fortune consisted, and all that he had been in getting for many years; however, he being the first that hath left in the crown that which he might have had from it, may well hope that his confidence will not be imputed to him for a crime, or that your majesty (if he had thereby given you any advantage) would think fit to make use of it, against one whom you may have cause to find when it comes to be inquired into, that hee hath been more then any trusted by the crown, and hath more proofs to shew then any other, that he hath deserved well of the king your father, of your majesty, and of all these your three kingdomes.

His last, and humble suit to your majesty is, that in respect of the many crosses he hath met with in this present cause, and that time hath taken away those great men before mentioned, as also the Earl of Carlile and others, that were imployed by the king to your petitioner, or present when he received his message from the Lords, there remaining onely now some noble persons of a greater number in this kingdome, that can testifie so much as will give credit to that which is delivered here; that your majesty will therefore please to bee informed by them, what your petitioner hath further to say herein for himselfe, and what they themselves can report touching the intentions of the king, your majesties father, towards him in this particular, which is now sought of you: That, after the many losses hee hath sustained by his want of access to your majesty, and the assistance of those about you, such course may bee taken now at length by your majesty for the repairing him again, either out of that estate which was his own, or otherwise, as may accord with the purpose of the king your father, with your majesties justice, and is due to the demand of your petitioner.[a]

And he shall pray for your majesties long and happy reign.

[a] The Earl of Somerset and his Countess dragged out an obscure and miserable life, which their mutual upbraidings rendered yet more intolerable than conscious guilt, disappointed ambition, and the stinging remembrance of departed grandeur. Their petitions met with no favourable answer. The countess died of a disease so lingering and so loathsome, that its nature seemed a retribution for the death of Overbury. The earl died in July 1645. As his personal appearance first raised him to distinction, the following account of it is extracted from Lloyd. "This gentleman was, as to his stature, rather well compacted than tall; as to his features and favour, comely, rather than beautiful. The hair of his head was flaxen, and that of his face yellow: His nature was gentle, his disposition affable, his affections public, until a particular person and interest engrossed them; and the good gentleman being sensible of failers that might ruine him, was wholly intent upon a *treasure* that might preserve him."—*Lloyd's State Worthies*, Ed. 2, p. 746.

An Abstract, or brief Declaration of the present State of his Majesty's Revenue, with the Assignations and Defalcations upon the same; all Monies brought into his Majesty's Coffers from time to time, since his coming to the Crown of England, by what means soever; the ordinary annual Issues, Gifts, Rewards, and extraordinary Disbursements, as they are distinguished in the several Titles hereafter following:

Printed in the year 1651.

This Abstract makes as it were the Second Part of the Treatise entitled, "Truth brought to Light by Time."

Ordinary Receipts.

Great Customs.

Assignations.

To the Cofferer	L. 20293	
To the great Wardrobe	3065	
To the Duke of Lenox, Fees to Customers, Fees to Officers of the Exchequer, Annuities and Creation Money	9899	
		33257

Defalcations.

Wares imported and exported	5425
Building of ships	1500
Ready money into the Receipt	100718
	140900

Impositions.

Assignation. Earl of Nottingham	2700
Ready money into the Receipt	43300
	46000
Three pence upon strangers goods	2850

Receivers General of the King's Lands.

Assignations.

The queen in lands	L. 4000	
In rents	6500	
In fee-farm for her annuity	9500	
To the prince, in lands and rents	2906	
Coffers	9200	
Fees and wages	1176	
Alms	1294	
Annuities, perpetuities, &c.	4830	
Diets of the Lord Presidents	2408	
Reparations of castles, parks, lodges, &c.	1000	
		42814

Defalcations. Portage of moneys	500
Ready money into the Receipt	21186
	64500

French and Rhenish wines, 200 tons for the King's House.

Assignations.

Great Wardrobe	L. 13000	
Sir Fulke Grevill	300	
James Bowey, for high country wines	1584	
Wines for the king's house, with leakage	5475	
		20359
Defalcations. Impost bills for 1200 tons		2520
Ready money into the receipt		4121
		27000

Sheriffs in the Pipe.

Assignations.

To the queen, in fee-farm rents	L. 3500	
Cofferer	833	
Wardrobe	451	
Fees to officers and allowances	1360	
Creation money	240	
		6384
Ready money in the Receipt		3858
		10242

Sea Coals.

Assignations.

A grant to Sir Baptist Hicks and others, for remain of ten years bought of the Earl of Dunbarre	L. 2000
Defalcations. Coals imported free	2000
Ready money into the Receipt	2300
	6300

Court of Wards.

Assignations.

Coffer	L. 12000	
Wardrobe	2000	
Treasurer of the chamber	1000	
Annuities	6000	
		21000
Ready money into the Receipt		

Duchy of Lancaster.

Assignations.

Cofferer	L. 7500

Treasurer of the chamber	3000
	10500

Alienation and Hanaper.

Assignations. Wardrobe	L. 200
Ready money into the Receipt	8000
	8200

Chief Butlerage.

Assignations.

To Chancellors, L 96. Lord Chief Justice, L. 13:6:8. Lord Hobart, L 13:6:8. Lord Chief Baron, L. 13:6:8. Master of the Rolls, L. 6:13:4. Eaton College, L. 15. King's College, L. 10. The Auditors, L 10. Sir Thomas Waller's Fees, L. 100. In all, ... L. 278

Ready money into the receipt	222
	500

Ulnage of Cloth.

Assignations.

Cofferer	L. 173
Ready money into the Receipt	647
	820

Assigned.

New-year's gift to the privy purse	1100
Impost of sugars to the queen	4000
Dutchy of Cornwall, with the pension of tin to the prince . .	12000
	17100

Sweet Wines.

Assignations.

Earl of Southampton	L. 2000	
Great Wardrobe	5000	
		7000
Ready money into the Receipt		2000
		9000

Silks.

Assignations.

Lord Privy Seal	L. 500	
Earl of Salisbury	4000	
Earl of Montgomery	3000	
Lord Liele, now Earl of Lecester	1200	
Sir Horatio Vere	800	
Sir Edward Conway	500	
		10000
Ready money into the Receipt		4977
		14977

Licence to sell wines	L. 2700
Tobacco by estimate	4000
Currants	2800
Annual tenths of the clergy	11000
Post fines	2272
Unwrought cloaths	1000
Issues of jurors	1000
Glasses assigned in fees	1000
Cottons and bayes	200
Silver and gold lace	200
New drapery	98
Fines de banco	133
Original and judicial sales	75
Sheeps pelts	30
Smalt	20
Rents ad wardum castri Dover	82
Deal wines	13
Custom of Carlisle	13
Steel	10
Wool, 20l. lead, 5l. arithmetical instruments, 3l.	28
Allum by estimate	10000
Estalled debt and composition of debts	3000
Seizures	2000
First-fruits	5000
Mint	3000
Recusants	6000
Clerk of the faculties	200
Respite of homage	500
Kings bounty assigned, being money upon forfeiture, &c.	3000

Sum total of all the Receipts aforesaid, viz.

Assignations	L. 190265	
Defalcations	11045	
Ready money	249553	
		450863

Ordinary Issues.

The King.

Privy Purse	5000
New-years gifts by assignation	1100
	6100

The Queen.

Receivers-general, by assignation	L. 16500	
Fee farm rents in the pipe-office	3500	
Sugars by assignation	4000	
		24000
In ready money		500
		24500

The Prince.

Out of the Dutchy of Cornwall and Tin	L. 12000	
In lands and rents for receivers-general	12906	
		24906
In ready money, and new-years gifts, &c.		21094
		46000

Cofferer.

Out of the great customs	L. 20293	
From receivers general	9200	
Out of the court of wards	12000	
Out of the duchy of Lancaster	7500	
Out of French wines	7059	
From sheriffs	833	
Out of ulnage	173	
		57058
In ready money		18000
		75058

Great Wardrobe.

Out of the great customs	L. 3065	
Out of the court of wards	2000	
Out of the hanaper	200	
Out of the French wines	13000	
From sheriffs	451	
Out of the sweet wines for the robes	5000	
		23716
In ready money out of the receipt		2284
		26000

Treasurer of the Chamber.

Out of the court of wards	L. 1000	
Out of the dutchy of Lancaster	3000	
		4000
In ready money out of the receipt		16000
		20000

Navy.

Treasurer of the navy for Harborough narrow seas and cordage	L. 30000
Surveyors of marine victuals in ready money	10000
	40000

Repair and enlarging Parks, &c.

From receivers-general	L. 1000
In ready money out of the receipt	2000
	3000

Diets ready money.

Assignation.

Lord privy seal	L. 626
Star-chamber	1200
Justices of assize	2000

Lord Cobham	L. 516
Grooms of the bed-chamber	900
King's riders	260
Walter Meeke, the kings barber	100
His presidents from receivers-general	2408
	8010

IRELAND.

In fees and annuities out of the revenue there, to the civil state not inclined to these issues	L. 14000
In ready money out of the establishment	403000
Castles and forts	4917
Berwick, and commissioners of the North	3440
Lieutenant of the ordnance	6000
Master of the armory	400
Supply of gun-powder	3200
Lieutenant of the Tower	4000
Keeper of the gate-house	300
Gentlemen pensioners	6000
Provision of horses	1600
Secret affairs	1400
Ambassadors	10000
Master of the posts	3000
Liveries of the guard	1150
Works	10000
Repair of stables	100
Jewel-house	6000
Revels, 300 pounds, tents and toils, 200 pounds	500
Rewards to officers and others	3000
Barons of the exchequer	300
Liberalities of the exchequer and receipts	14000
Blank books for customs and imposition	200
Hay for deer	140
Nonsuch gardens	200
Grooms and pages	206
Sundry persons out of the receipt in ready money, viz. in fees 25927l. Perpetuities 515. Pensions 41494	67936

Fees, Annuities, Perpetuities, &c.

Out of the great customs	L. 9899	
Out of the new impositions, Lord Admiral	2700	
From receivers-general	16006	
Out of the Court of Wards	6000	
Out of the impost of sea coals	2000	
Out of the French wines	300	
From sheriffs	1600	
Out of the chief butlerage	278	
Out of the impost of sweet wines	2000	
Out of the silks	11000	
Out of glasses	1000	
		52783
		120719

Assignations.

Alms	L. 294

Defalcations.

Great customs for goods imported free	4525	
Out of French wines	2520	
Sea coals exported and imported free	2000	
Portage of monies	500	
Building ships	15000	
		11045

The King's bounty by assignation, out of money for forfeitures, &c. - 3000

The whole sum of all the issues aforesaid, *viz.*

Assignations	L. 190265	
Defalcations	11045	
Ready money	286170	
		487480

Inequalities between the ready money received, and the ready money issued upon the ordinary, the said issues, exceeding the said receipts - L. 36617

Money extraordinary raised since his majesty's coming to the crown.

Given by the parliament, *Anno Tertio Regis Jacobi*, three subsidies, and six fifteenths, and tenths of the laiety, and four subsidies of the clergy, payable at eleven several payments, all which, by estimation, amounteth unto -	L. 453000
Given by the parliament, *Anno Septimo Regis Jacobi*, one subsidy, and one fifteenth and tenth of the laiety, which amounteth unto	106166
Sale of lands, some in fee-simple, and some in fee-farm; mills and parsonages	755020
Sale of woods	47543
For conformation of the Earl of Hartfort's title unto certain lands	15534
Compositions made upon defective titles of lands	37535
Compositions made for assart lands	23608
Fines of copy-holders, and leases of the mortgaged lands	18600
Silver ore out of the Scottish mine	1000
Aid money, collected throughout England, to make Prince Henry knight	21800
Aid money collected throughout England, to marry the Lady Elizabeth, the king's eldest daughter	20500
Loan money upon privy-seals, borrowed in the ninth year of King James, yet unrepaid	111046
Money repaid by the French king, due to the late queen Elizabeth	60000
Money repaid by the Lords of the State of the Low Countries, due to the late queen	248000
Besides 160000l in full discharge of that debt now paid in, which makes the whole payment to be	421000
Money raised by creating knights baronets, towards defraying of the charge of the army in Ireland; besides some few since	98550
Old debts of King Henry the Eighth's time, paid in by Sir Thomas Shirly upon their grant	10000
Farmers of the great custom for renewing their lease	20000
For the fine of the lease of French and Rhenish wines	16000

For the fine of the lease of the sweet wines	L. 28500
For the fine of the lease of tobacco	2000
The Earl of Northumberland's fine in the star-chamber, compounded for	11000
The Lord Viscount Mountagu's fine in the Star-Chamber, compounded for	4000
The Lord Stourton's fine in the star-chamber, compounded for	1000
For the grant made to Sir Lionel Cranfield, for two years and a half, to grant licenses to keep Taverns	5536
Sale of Burgundy, Jewels left there in pawn	3412
Sale of the goods confiscated in the ship called the Pearle, late returned from East-India	8281
Paid in by the executors of Thomas Sutton, Esq. to be disposed for pious uses	10000
Given by the Lord Wotton, of free-gift to his Majesty	1000
For the fine of the lease of Chief Butlerage of England	2000
Given to the King, by way of benevolence, by the lords and others	52909
Money raised for fines of new buildings, in and about London	4000

The total sum is two millions, one hundred ninety-three thousand, three hundred seventy and four pounds.

His Majesty's extraordinary disbursements, since his coming to the crown, besides the ordinary annual issues.

The expence of his majesty and his train, in his journey from Scotland to London		10752
The funeral charge of Queen Elizabeth		17428
The King's coronation, and royal entry		36145
Ambassadors and others sent into foreign States, besides the charge of Ledgier Ambassadors		20790
The diets of ambassadors, and others, sent hither from foreign states		31400
His majesty's household expence, over and above the yearly assignments and allowances		232200
In discharge of debts due in Ireland, in the late queen's time, and in discharge of sundry provisions there, over and above the establishment		247433
To the treasurer of the chamber, over and above his ordinary yearly assignments		21362
The queen's child-bed, and other necessary provisions for that time		52542
To the gentlemen of his majesty's robes, over and above the yearly assignment		8680
For jewels, pearls, plate, &c. over and above the assignment to the jewel-house		158119
The charge of the mine in Scotland		3059
The charge of divers masks, besides the provisions had out of the wardrobe, and materials, and workmen from the office of the works		7500
For provision of tents, and toyls, over and above the ordinary allowance		1800
For making, and graving of sundry seals, for his majesty's service		1514
Purchase of lands, parks, houses, &c.		125705
Building and repairing of houses, lodges, parks, gardens, &c.		139900
For secret and extraordinary services		12897
To the commissioners for the late borders adjoining to Scotland	7649	
To the commissioners for the Isle of Jersey	905	
To the commissioners for depopulations	500	
		9054
Pottage of loan, aid, and wood-money		5600
Allowances out of assart lands, and defective titles		17400
For cordage, masts, and building of ships above the assignments		63764
Charges about deer and fowl		100
For apparel, victuals, transportations, and pay of the soldiers sent into Swedeland		5775

For the like charges of soldiers sent into Cleve, Sir Edward Cecill being general, whose allowance was five pounds by the day for himself, the whole charge . . . . . L. 17695
Prince Henry's funeral charges 16016

The Lady Elizabeth's marriage, with the Palsgrave's Diets, and other charges appertainent to the same, viz.

For the Palsgrave's Diet, at his standing house 6000
For his Diet at his installment into the garter 4000
For Diet at the solemnization of their marriage 2000
For lodgings for the Palsgrave's servants 830
To the Lord Hay to provide apparel, and other necessaries, for the Lady Elizabeth 6252
More to the Lord Hay, for more necessaries for the Lady Elizabeth, and for furnishing her marriage chamber 3023
To the Lord Harrington, to provide apparel, and like necessaries, for the Lady Elizabeth 1829
More to him for jewels for her, and for apparel for her servants . . 3914
To divers merchants for silks, and other necessaries 995
For charges about the Lord's mask at her marriage 400
To the treasurer of the navy, for the naval fight performed on the Thames at the marriage 4800
For the fire works of the Thames, then 2880
To Sir Edward Cecill, appointed treasurer for her journey to Heidelburg, for her purse 2000
To certain gentry, to take the assurance of the Lady Elizabeth's jointure, and for settling the same 800
To the farmers of the great customs, to pay bills of exchange, when she arrived beyond the seas, for charges of her journey . . . 8000
For her transportation to Flushing 5555
Total charge of her Diets, marriage, provisions, and transportations . 53294
Paid over to the Palsgrave's agents, for her portion 40000
To the Earle of Suffolk, as so much due to the late Earl of Dunbar, for so much disbursed by him, by his majesty's direction 11000
To Sir Thomas Edmonds, Ledgier Ambassador in France, to be disposed of there according to direction 15000
To the Earl of Pembroke, for his estate in the iron works, in the forest of Dane, with the materials to the same belonging 4100
For tombs for the late queen, the king's two daughters, and the late queen of Scots, the king's mother 3500
The charge of the allum-works in the North, and West parts of England, since his majesty took those mines into his hands 64988
His majesty's charge towards the bringing of the New River to London from Anwell and Chadwell for the new water-work 7856
To the great wardrobe, over and above the ordinary assignments . 319647
Interest money paid by his majesty, since his coming into England, after the rate of ten in the hundred, to the citizens of London . . 127789
Rewards to officers, &c. over and above the ordinary issues for that cause . 49784
To the Earl of Nottingham, for the hangings of the story of the fight in 88 containing 708 Flemish ells, at 10l. 6s. the ell. In all . . 1628

To pirates lately pardoned, by way of composition for their ships, &c. restored to the owners . . . . . L. 4930

The whole sum of these extraordinary disbursements . . 2968970
To which being added, the ready money given away in free gifts, which is 4244691. as appeareth in its own place, will make the total extraordinaries to be 2393429

And so it exceeds the monies extraordinarily raised, the sum of . . 199065

To which the inequalities, between the ordinary annual receipts, and ordinary annual issues being also added, will leave a very great debt upon the king.

Ready money paid out of the Exchequer, since his Majesty's coming to the Crown, by way of free gift, to these several persons following, viz.

Anno I. *Regis Jacobi.*

To the Lady Mary, Countess of Southampton . . .	L. 600
The Earl of Downbarre, the Lord Howme . . .	1266
Sir John Ramsey, now Viscount Haddington . . .	900
Sir Robert Crosse	700
The Lady Arbella	666
The Earl of Marre	500
The Earl of Murray	2600
Master Bevis Bullmere	100
Sir James Lindsey	500
David Lavingstone	133
Sir Patrick Murray	300
Sir George Elphingston	500
The Earl of Lithcowe	3000
Sir Robert Melvill	500
Sir Charles Hales	120
David Murray	200
Sir Richard Person, now Lord Dingwell, out of Recusant's goods .	150
Sir Roger Aston	2000
Alison Hay	200
The total sum is .	10014935

Anno II.

To Adam Neuton, Prince Henry's tutor	300
Sir John Ramsey, now Lord Haddington	100
Sir Edward Stafford	100
Monsieur de Sourdeac	1200
The Duke of Holst, the Queen's Brother	4000
Philip Tise	2000
The French Ambassador	500
The Earl of Arroll	1000
Anthony Balbany	1600
Henry Hall, Esq.	307
Richard Lecavell	100
Sir Robert Melvil	1500

To Richard, then Lord Archbishop of Canterbury . .	L. 1333
The total sum is	10014040

Anno III.

To George Zadwadsky sent with horses out of Poland . .	100
David Fenwick	200
David Jenkins	100
David Moises and William Rider out of green wax . .	2000
Sir James Creighton and Sir George Howme, jun. out of green wax	2000
John Gib, out of recusants, lands, and goods . .	3000
George Hay, out of the profits of transporting iron ordnance .	1662
William Shaw, out of fines in the King's Bench . .	800
Robert Browne, out of goods confiscated . .	2000
Mrs Jane Dormond, now Lady Roxbrough . . .	2200
Adam Newton, Prince Henry's tutor . . .	2000
Dr Martin	100
Arthur Mills	100
Sir John Ramsay, now Lord Haddington . . .	400
Samuel Rickpatrick	400
John Nesmith	66
Gilbert Primrose	66
Sir Melker Levens	150
The Duke of Holst, the Queen's Brother . . .	1000
Alice Dennice	100
Sir William Steward	600
Dorothy Steward	200
Monsieur Ottoman	66
Sir James Murrey	100
Marian Hipburne	100
Sir Richard Weston	200
Michael Borstade	337
The Earl of Downbarre, then Lord Howme, for his interest in the manor of Hartington in county of Derby, formerly granted unto him	6000
The total sum	10026047

Anno IV.

To Mr John Murray of the Bed-chamber, not of recusants, lands, and goods	2000
Sir James Sandilandis out of recusants . . .	1500
Robert Walker	100
Richard Brasse	100
Patrick Morton	200
More to John Murray	100
To the Earle of Essex	761
The Earl of Arroll	1000
The Earl of Rutland, his own arrears of rent due . .	424
The Lord Lundourus	500
David Spence, and al.	240
Sir James Sandilandis more . . .	150
Samuel Rickpatrick	400
Sir Richard Weston	300

To Sir John Ramsay, now Lord Haddington	L. 900
Levine Stallenge	200
Alice Dennis	100
Rewards to the King of Denmark's servants	1235
To the Earl of Clanricard, out of John Daniel's land	2000
John M. Kime, out of goods confiscated	200
The total sum is	10012410

Anno V.

To John Auchmontie, out of recusants, lands, and goods	2000
Martin and Abraham Harderet, out of recusants, lands, and goods	3000
Alexander Hay, out of debts due to the King	1000
Sir Richard Weston	1700
Peter Vanlore	1625
Thomas Levingstone	66
Dr Neale, then Dean of Westminster	200
Sir Thomas Terringham	1000
The Lord Danvers	750
Sir John Lindsey	100
John Spence	40
Dr Martin	100
Sir Bevis Bulmere	100
John Nesmith	66
Gilbert Primrose	66
Sir Thomas Edmonds	240
William Bellenden	200
Charles Forte	100
The Earl of Downbarre	4106
Sir Henry Broncker	100
The Lord Lundourus	2500
Francis Steward	100
Sir Edward Grevill	500
Sir Roger Aston	1500
The Merchants of the Levant seas, for a present to be given by them to the Grand Signior for establishing capitulations of intercourse	5322
John Patten, out of recusants, lands, &c.	200
The total sum is	10026681

Anno VI.

To Sir Bevis Bullmere	500
The Lord Hay out of estalled debts and seizures due to his Majesty	11500
Richard Brasse	20
The Lord Gourdon	250
John Barkley	60
Mr Francis Steward	220
Robert Carliell	100
The poor Watermen of London, for their relief in the great frost	200
John Griffeth	100
David and Katherine Jenkins	100
The Earl of Perth	1000

To the Lord Obigney	L. 375
Henry Gonntrode	250
The Lord Viscount Haddington	2000
Daniel Burgrave	2500
Paul Starling	2500
James Steward	1500
The Earl Home	2000
Sir Robert Melvill	2000
John Johnson	100
John Norden	200
Sir Oliver Cromwell for relinquishing of his grant of 200l. by the year out of his majesty's lands, given to him of free gift	6000
Sir Edward Grevill, out of the money raised by composition for assart lands	2000
Sir Henry Guilford	68
Rowland Woodward	60
The King of Denmark's servants in reward	148
The total sum is	10035751

Anno VII.

To Contractors for Parsonages, &c. in reward for their pains in taking up divers sums of money for the King	1300
More to them for the like service	1400
To the Earl of Downbarre	2000
Sir Stephen Proctor	80
The Earl of Suffolke, being an arrearage of rents due by him to his Majesty	438
Sir Patrick Murray and Sir James Oughterlony, for relinquishing their grant of concealments	1500
The Lord Obigney for relinquishing his grant of 1000l. by the year in fee-simple given unto him by his Majesty	18000
Thomas Warwick	400
Sir Patrick Murray more	300
Paid over to Merchants to be disbursed for the restitution of the Prince of Moldavia to his estate of the kings free gift	3000
The King of Denmark's servants for bringing of deer in reward	100
Henry Mynors	500
Sir Robert Gray	800
Arthur Ingram	673
The Lord Gourdon	1000
Sir Robert Drewry	500
The Earl Home	1000
William Shaa for relinquishing his grant of old debts	480
Gilbert Primrose	200
The Earl of Montgomery for surrendering part of his grant of custodies	6000
Sir Richard Weston	1664
Sir Charles Cornewallis	1000
William Belon	250
George Marshall	100
Sir Thomas Bartlet	170
The Lord Viscount Haddington	7200

To Sir Robert Douglas	L. 200
Sir Henry Gray	3000
Jehu Webb	50
The Lord Hoth	200
David Moises and William Damport	450
Dr Millwood	66
John Berwick	52
Peter la Costa	100
John Elphingstone	500
William Browne	66
Andrew Downes	50
The Lord Bruce, Lord of Kinlosse	2000
Sir Alexander Hay	500
The total sum is	10061687

Anno VIII.

To Thomas Pott	L. 100
Richard Brasse	100
William Damport	50
John Barkley	200
Claud Rolf, for bringing of hawks	20
Sir Alexander Hay	1500
John Marshall	100
Henry Gibb	170
Sir Henry Guntrode	1300
Adam Newton, Prince Henry's tutor	2000
William Tipper	600
William Stirrel	50
The Earl of Embden's servants, in reward	60
Sir Henry Gray, out of Sir Thomas Shirle's money paid in for debts due in King Henry the Eighth's time	2000
Sir Edward Apsley, and Edward Woodward, out of the same money	4000
Sir Stephen Proctor	42
Sir John Hungerford	160
John Berwick	48
Richard Hall	160
Sir Sigismond, and Henry Alexander	100
Sir Thomas Bartlet	100
Robert Walker, and Richard Brasse	86
Claud Russel	40
Sir Richard Martin	110
The total sum is	10013096

Anno IX. 1611.

To Robert Cunningham	L. 80
John Eldred and al.	690
The Earl of Downbarre, for relinquishing his grant of Logwood	2000
Sir Robert Carre, late Earl of Somerset	500
More to him for his interest in the manor of Sherborne, lately given unto him	20000
To the Lady Helen MacCarty	40

To Sir Richard Martin	L. 300
the Earl of Essex	3000
the Lord Viscount Haddington	8000
the Earl of Montgomery	8000
the Lord Viscount Fenton	8000
the Lord Hay	8000
Thomas Warwick	500
Sir Sigismond and Henry Alexander	100
Sir John Eyres	500
Andrew Melvin	60
the Lord Knivett	500
Sir William Lane	50
William Ramsay	600
William Stockdale	80
The Earl of Marre, for his interest in the manors of Hunden and Chipley, in Com. Suff. now sold to the Lord Cavendish for L. 15000, and given to the said earl, as of his majesty's free gift	15000
John Vachell	100
More to the Lord Viscount Rochester, late Earl of Somerset	5000
To Patrick Maulde	600
Sir John Grahame	220
John Barkley	100
Katharine Bridges	100
Patrick Abercromby	40
The Duke of Mantua's servants	40
The Marquis of Brandenburgh's servants	40
John Murray, the queen's servant	228
John Howme	50
Christian Schonero	150
The Lady Raleighe, for composition for Shereborne	8000
The total sum is	10090668

Anno X. 1612.

To Prince Henry, of free gift	8100
Roger Polkinghorne	72
Patrick Gourdon	66
The Lord Obigney	2000
Sir Roger Aston	2000
The Lord Viscount Rochester	15500
William Ramsay	600
Edward Bridges	150
Patrick Maulde	600
The Lord Knivett	500
William Shaa	500
William Stacy	100
Julio Caunilla Crema	100
James Johnson	400
Sir Patrick Howme	200
Edmond Bradshawe	100
The two Alexanders	100
Perundine	60

To Sir Robert Douglas	L. 2000
Sir Richard Wigmore	310
Captain William Murray	666
Robert Buchannon	50
Lawrence Newmeke	30
John Levingstone	1000
Sir James Howme	500
Henry Smith	40
The Lord Viscount Lisle, for his interest in Alton woods, and for his faithful service	3000
Sir Robert Shirley, ambassador from Persia, of free gift	666
The Marquis of Brandenburgh's servants, for bringing of silks	40
The total sum is	10039450

Anno XI. 1613.

To William Pinches	L. 120
Henry Zinzan, *alias* Alexander	100
David Dormond	100
Jeronimo Cavalasco	60
Sir James Areskin, out of the money brought by Sir Thomas Shirley, for debts due in King Henry the Eighth's time	1014
The Earl of Northampton	6000
Sir David Murray, being part of the Lord Viscount Montague's fine	2000
The Earl of Clanricarde	3000
Charles Chambers, for relinquishing a grant of L. 3000 out of recusants	750
The Lord of Loreston, for the like grant of L. 6000 out of recusants	1500
Sir William Waade, for the like for L. 2000	500
Ralph Bowes, for the like for L. 1000	250
Sir Richard Wigmore, for the like for L. 1000	250
Sir James Simple, and Thomas Lee, for the like grant for L. 4000	1000
Sir Hugh Beeston, for the like grant for L. 3000	750
Thomas Wilson, out of the money reserved for the king's bounty	300
Sir James Oughterlony, out of bounty	200
Sir Francis Steward, out of bounty	200
Sir William Cunstable, out of bounty	133
Ellis Rothwell, out of bounty	200
Captain William Steward, out of bounty	666
Sir John Shaa, out of bounty	200
Sir William Steward, out of bounty	500
Archibald Napper	200
The total sum is	10019993

Anno XII. 1614.

To the two Zinzans, *alias* Alexander	L. 100
Peter la Costa	60
Salomon de Caux	50
Monsieur de Tournon	100
The Earl of Suffolk, for surrendering his grant of the impost of currants	10000
The Lord Viscount Haddington, and the Lord Dingwel, out of Sir Henry James his lands, goods, escheated for refusing the oath of allegiance	6000
Sir Richard Wigmore, out of the same lands and goods	1000

To the Lord Sheffielde, for surrendering his estate in a pension of L. 1000 by the year, formerly given unto him by his majesty	L. 6370
The Earl of Nottingham, for surrendering his estate for the granting of licenses to sell wine in taverns	11072
Franciscus Julius, Duke of Saxony, of his majesty's free gift	2000
The Lord Viscount Haddington, out of the arrearages now paid in by recusants	2000
The Earl Howme	660
Ellen Felton	300
John Barkley	333
Alexander Mongrief	660
The two Zinzans, *alias* Alexander	1000
David Ramsey	1000
John Sandilandis	600
Francis and John Bonham	300
Sent unto the Lady Elizabeth, by Master Maxwell, as of his majesty's free gift	1100
To Master John Dackombe, of free gift	140
Sir Edward Cecil	500
John Murray	150
Sir James Sandilandis and Patrick Abercromby	100
Andrew Boide, out of bounty	500
Sir William Steward, out of bounty	1500
Sir John Graham, out of bounty	1500
Sir William Constable, out of bounty	500
John Murray	1000
The total sum is	10050595

Anno XIII. 1615.

To William Shaa, out of bounty	L. 1500
Sir George Ramsey, out of bounty	1000
Sir James Oughterlony, out of bounty	1800
Francis Tirrel	300
Sir David Murray, of free gift, to pay his debts	5200
Sir Robert Douglas	1000
Peter de Moulyn, doctor of divinity, lately come out of France	300
Philip Jacobson, merchant, out of the goods forfeited in the ship called the Pearl	6000
The Earl of Nottingham	1500
John Berkley	250
Thomas Dempster, historiographer	200
John Garrett	20
The Lord Viscount Haddington	800
Sir Arthur Ingram, in reward for his pains taken about the allum business	666
William Parkhurst	500
The total sum is	21036

Anno XIV. 1616.

To Adam Valett, and John Tetart	L 80
The total sum of all the free gifts	424469

Memorandum. Most of those persons before mentioned, hath or had pensions, with jewels, &c.

Anno XIV. *Jacobi* 1616.

To Adam Valett, and John Tetart, Frenchmen	L. 80
John Garratt	20
The King of Denmark's servants, for bringing deer	100
Sir William Bronker, out of the bounty money	2000
The officers (in recompence of their places) in Flushing, upon surrender of the town	1915
The like to the officers at Brill	1785
To Clement Edmonds, of a grant made unto him of the reversion of muster-master of Brill	400
George Thoresby, commissary of the muster in Brill, in recompence of his place	400
Sir James Simple, and Thomas Leighe, out of recusants, lands, and goods	310
Morgan Colman	20
Captain Barnaby Rich	100
Sir James Hamilton, for surrendering his grant of the customs and imposts in the ports of Logh Coyne, and bay of Knockfergus in Ireland	1300
Archibald Napper, out of the bounty money	1800
More to him for surrendering his pension of L. 200	600
To Sir Thomas Cornewallis	300
Lawrence Dundas	50
Sir James Sandilandis	150
Barnard Lindsay	1000
Sir William Cornewallis, out of bounty	2000
Master Coppier	100
The Earl of Nottingham	1500
The Lord Viscount Haddington	6000
Christian Steward, the dwarf	20
Richard D'Olive	160
James Maxwell	150
Sir James Oughterlony, out of bounty	800
Walter Balconquall	200
Sir Cary Raleigh	100
Richard Connock	666
James Chambers, the king's physician	250
The Lord Obigney	5000
Jehan de Tour, Frenchman	100
The total sum is	29376

Anno XV. to *Regis Jacobi* 1617.

To the Lady Elizabeth Murray	L. 100
Francis Earl of Cumberland, in recompence of the loss by him sustained upon the grant made unto George, late Earl of Cumberland, in the third year of the king, for the licensing of all manner of clothes to be transported beyond the seas. For 19858 clothes undressed, now restrained to be transported, which cometh unto (after the rate of two shillings eightpence the cloth) the sum of	L. 2647 14 8
The Lady Roxborough, formerly Lady Dormond	L. 3000
Richard Seimor	100

To the late Earl of Somersett, to pay his debts .	L. 5083
The Lady Walsingham . . .	1000

Knights Baronets.

Every Knight Baronet paid one thousand four-score and fifteen pounds, (divided into three several payments, to be paid proportionably yearly, during three years) towards the maintenance of thirty footmen (for three years) in his majesty's forces, serving in the province of Ulster, in the kingdom of Ireland, for the quiet establishment of that province, every footman to be allowed eightpence by the day, during the said term. The names of those baronets, and their priority of place, are as followeth, viz.

Suff.	Sir Nicholas Bacon
Lanc.	Sir Richard Mollineux
Glamorg.	Sir Thomas Mansell
Leic.	Sir George Shirley
Glamorg.	Sir John Stardling
Derb.	Sir Francis Leake
Sussex.	Sir Thomas Pelham
Lanc.	Sir Richard Houghton
Wilt.	Sir John St. John
Sussex.	Sir John Shelly
Cistria.	Sir John Savage
Essex.	Sir Francis Barrington
Leic.	Mr Henry Barkley
Eboru.	Mr William Wentworth
Westm.	Sir Richard Musgrave
Norff.	Sir Henry Hobart
Cestria.	Sir George Booth
Cant.	Sir John Peyton
Suff.	Lionel Talmash, Esq.
Nott.	Sir James Clifton
Lanc.	Sir Thomas Gerrarde
Staff.	Sir Walter Aston
Norff.	Sir Philip Knivett
Essex.	Sir John Wentworth
Eboru.	Sir Henry Bellasser
Eboru.	Mr William Constable
War.	Sir Thomas Leighe
Rutl.	Sir Edward Nowell
Hunt.	Sir Robert Cotten
Cestria.	Mr Robert Cholmonde
Devon.	Mr Edward Seymore
Kancia.	Sir Moile Finch
Oxon	Sir Anthony Cope
Lincolne.	Sir Thomas Mounson
Lincolne.	Sir Thomas Vavisor
Derb.	Mr George Greisley
Glouc.	Mr Paul Tracye
Eboru.	Sir Henry Savile
Derb.	Mr Henry Willoughby
North.	Mr Lewis Tresham
North.	Mr Thomas Brudenell
Lincolne.	Sir George St Paul
Lincolne.	Sir Philip Tirwhite
Lincolne.	Sir Roger Dallison
Lincolne.	Sir Edward Carre
Lincolne.	Sir Edward Hussey
Norff.	Mr Lestran. Mordant
Essex.	Mr Thomas Bendish
Carmert.	Sir John Wyme
Glouc.	Sir William Throgmorton
South.	Sir Richard Worsley
Bedd.	Mr William Gostwick
Warr.	Mr Thomas Puckering
Cant.	Sir Miles Sandes
Nott.	Mr John Mollineux
Eboru.	Sir Francis Wortley
Eboru.	Sir George Savile
Derb.	Mr William Kniveton
Norff.	Sir Philip Woodhouse
Oxon.	Sir William Pope
Rutl.	Sir James Harrington
Staff.	Mr Richard Fleetwood
Oxon.	Mr Thomas Spencer
Kancia.	Sir John Tufton
Kancia.	Sir Samuel Peiton
Hertf.	Sir Charles Morrison
Kanc.	Sir Henry Baker
Essex.	Mr Roger Appleton
Kancia.	Sir William Sedley
Kancia.	Sir William Twisden
Kancia.	Sir Edward Hales
Kancia.	Sir William Moyns
Essex.	Mr Thomas Mildmay
Essex.	Sir William Maynarde
Buck.	Mr Henry Lea
Wiltes.	Sir Edward Gorges
Essex.	Sir Harbot. Grimston
Warr.	Sir Thomas Holt
Lincolne.	Sir Nicholas Sanderson
Somerset.	Sir John Portman
Lincolne.	Sir John Wray
Berk,	Mr William Essex

Eboru.	Sir Marmaduke Wivell
Wiltes.	Sir Francis Englesfield
Staff.	Mr John Peshall
Essex.	Sir William Ayeloffe
Warr.	Sir Edward Devourax
Devon.	Sir Thomas Ridgeway
Cornb.	Sir Reynold Mohun
Essex.	Sir Paul Banning
	Total of the Baronets were 90
Dunolm.	Mr Thomas Blackiston
Cestria.	Mr Rowlan. Egerton
Norff.	Mr Roger Townshend

Fees and Annuities payable out of his Majesty's Exchequer, distinguished in their several Natures, Titles, and Payments, viz.

Justices of the King's Bench.	£.	s.	d.
To Sir Edward Coke, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England, for his fee at 224l. 19s. 9d. by the year, and 33l. 6s. 8d. by the year for his circuits	258	6	5
To Sir John Dodridge, Knight, one of the Justices of that Bench, for his fee at 154l. 19s. 8d. by the year, and 33l. 6s. 8d. by the year for his circuits	188	6	8
To Sir John Crook, Knight, for the like	188	6	8
To Sir Robert Houghton, Knight, for the like	188	6	8
Total sum by the year is	823	6	5

Besides their yearly allowances for their diets in their circuits.

Justices of the Common Pleas.			
To Sir Henry Hubberd, Knight, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, for his fee at 161l. 13s. 1d. by the year, and 33l. 6s. 8d. by the year for his circuits. Total is	194	19	9
To Sir Peter Warburton, Knight, one of the justices of that Bench, for his fee at 154l. 19s. 8d. by the year, and 34l. 6s. 8d. by the year for his circuit. Total is	188	6	8
To Sir Humfrey Winch, Knight, for the like	188	6	8
To Sir Augustine Nicolls, Knight, for the like	188	6	8
Total sum by the year is	759	19	9

Besides their yearly allowance for their diets in their circuits.

Justices of Assize in the County of Suffolk.			
To Sir Peter Warburton, Knight, one of the justices of assize in the county of Suffolk, for his fee yearly	12	6	8
To Sir James Altham, Knight, for the like	12	6	8
To Thomas Willis, clerk of assize, for his fee yearly	0	20	0
In all yearly	25	13	4

Master of Requests.			
To Sir Roger Wilbraham, Knight, one of the masters of requests, for his fee by the year	100	0	0

To Sir Daniel Dunne, one of the masters of requests, for his fee by the year	L. 100	0	0
To Sir Ralphe Winwood, another of the masters of requests, for his fee by the year	50	0	0
To Sir Christopher Perkins, another of the masters of requests, for his fee yearly	50	0	0
To Sir Richard Williamson, another of the masters of requests, for his fee yearly	50	0	0
To John Daccombe, Esq. another of the masters of requests, for his fee yearly	100	0	0
The sum is	450	0	0

The King's Serjeants at Law, and others of the King's Council at Law.

To Sir Henry Montague, Serjeant at Law	L. 41	6	10
Sir Randolph Crewe, Serjeant at Law,	41	6	10
Sir John Davys, Serjeant at Law,	41	6	10
Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General,	81	6	8
Sir Henry Yelverton, Solicitor-General,	70	0	0
Master Henry Martin, Advocate for all ecclesiastical causes,	20	0	0
In all yearly	295	7	2

The Chancellor, Under-Treasurer, Barons, Officers, and Clerks of the Exchequer.

To Sir Fulke Grevill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his fee by the year	26	13	4
To him, as under-treasurer of the Exchequer, by the year	173	6	8
To Sir Lawrence Tanfeil, Lord Chief Baron, for his fee, at 154l. 19s. 8d. by the year, and 33l. 6s. 8d. by the year for his circuits. In all yearly	188	6	8
To Sir George Snig, one of the Barons, for his fee at 80l. per annum, and 33l. 6s. 8d. yearly for his circuits	113	6	8
To Sir James Altham, one of the Barons, the like fee,	113	6	8
To Sir Edward Bromley, one of the Barons, the like fee,	113	6	8
To John Sotherton, Esq. the fifth Baron, for receiving the Receivers-General their accounts	66	13	4
To him for his attendance on the sealing days	13	6	8
To him for his attendance, as well in the terms as after the terms, yearly,	16	13	4
More to him, as the fifth Baron, for his fee yearly	66	13	4
To Sir John Pointz, one of the Chamberlains, for his fee	52	3	4
To Sir Nicholas Carew, alias Throgmorton, one of the Chamberlains, for his fee yearly,	52	3	4
To John Bradshaw, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains,	10	0	0
To George Austin, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains,	10	0	0
To Alexander Stafford, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, for joining of the tallies,	5	0	0
To William Page, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, for joining of the tallies,	5	0	0
To John Hunt, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, to write the counterpell,	6	0	0
To John Best, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, to write the counterpell,	6	0	0
To ——— Fanshaw, the King's Remembrancer,	55	17	4
To Arthur Salway, one of the secondaries in that office,	4	0	0
To William Bourchier, one of the secondaries there,	4	0	0
To the clerks of that office, in reward amongst them, for writing and inrolling the amerciaments there,	15	6	8

To John Osborn, Esq the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, -	L. 30	0	0
Richard Smith, one of the secondaries in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's office yearly - - -	5	0	0
Henry Osborn, one of the secondaries there, - -	4	0	0
the clerks there, in reward for writing the amerciaments in that office,	22	10	0
Sir Arthur Manwaring, Clerk of the Pipe, - - -	47	4	2
Robert Baker, Controller of the Pipe, - - -	40	0	0
George Allington, one of the secondaries there, - -	10	0	0
Alexander Williams, one of the secondaries there, - -	10	0	0
the clerks there for writing the amerciaments, - -	9	3	4
Alexander King, one of the auditors of the revenues of the crown, for his fee yearly - - - -	20	0	0
Sir Thomas Neale, another of the auditors, - -	20	0	0
William Hill, another of the auditors, - - -	20	0	0
Francis Neale, another of the auditors, - - -	20	0	0
Hugh Sexey, another of the auditors, - - -	20	0	0
Thomas Hutton, another of the auditors, - - -	20	0	0
Nathaniel Fuller, another of the auditors, - -	20	0	0
Francis Gofton, one of the auditors of the imprests, -	66	13	4
Richard Sutton, one of the auditors of the imprest, - -	66	13	4
William Cholmley, foreign opposer in the Exchequer, -	40	0	0
Francis Fuller, clerk of the extracts in the Exchequer, -	33	6	8
More to him for drawing down and writing the amerciaments of divers counties in reward, - - - - -	10	0	0
To Thomas Allen, clerk of the Nichils, for his fee - -	20	0	0
Thomas Turner, clerk of the pleas in the Exchequer, -	5	0	0
the clerks in the office of the Pleas, for writing the amerciaments in that office, - - - - - - -	3	0	0
Edmund Thorolde, marshal to the court of Exchequer, -	5	0	0
Edward Wardour, clerk of the pells in the receipt of the Exchequer, for his fee, at 90l. 13s. 4d. by the year for himself, and 20l. by the year for a clerk under him, for writing the pell of Exitus; in all yearly - - - - -	110	13	4
More to him for keeping the pell of receipt - - -	61	13	4
For a clerk under him to write the pell of receipt, - -	5	0	0
To John Bingley, writer of the tallies and counter-tallies in the receipt of Exchequer, - - - -	91	13	4
his clerk under him for writing the tallies - -	9	0	0
Sir Edward Cary, one of the tellers in the receipt, - -	31	13	4
Sir William Bowler, one of the tellers there, - -	31	13	4
Sir Francis Egioke, one of the tellers there, -	31	13	4
Mr Watson, one of the tellers there, - - -	31	13	4
John Rowdon, bag-bearer there, his fee yearly - -	6	13	4
the under clerks of the receipt for their attendance in the vacation times	46	0	0
Richard Staunton, one of the messengers there, - -	6	16	10
Isaac Bush, one of the messengers there, - - -	6	16	10
Henry Greene, one of the messengers there, - -	6	16	10
William Taylor, one of the messengers there, - -	6	16	10
the boys of the receipt for their attendance - -	2	0	0
The total sum is	2175	8	10

Officers in divers Courts of Records.

To Sir Francis Bacon, clerk of the council in the Star-chamber, his fee yearly	L. 26	13	4
Francis Anderson, clerk of the extracts there,	20	0	0
Thomas Fanshaw and William Mitchell, clerks of the crown in the King's Bench,	10	0	0
Thomas Waller, one of the prothonotaries of the Common-Pleas, being an allowance for poor suitors,	10	0	0
Sir Thomas Spencer, keeper of the writs in the Common-Pleas,	6	13	4
John Wright, clerk of the lower house of parliament,	10	0	0
In all by the year	83	6	8

Surveyors of Lands, &c.

To Robert Treswell, surveyor of all his majesty's woods on this side Trent,	50	0	0
More to him as surveyor of the king's castles, forts, parks, and lodges,	50	0	0
To John Norden, one of the surveyors of the king's lands, for his fee yearly	50	0	0
John Thorpe, one of the surveyors, &c. for the like	20	0	0
Sir William Strode, surveyor of the king's land in the county of Devon, for his fee yearly	20	0	0
Henry Campion, surveyor of the king's lands in the county of Southampton, for his fee yearly	13	6	8
William Duck, surveyor of the king's highways,	40	0	0
In all yearly	243	6	8

Secretaries, Clerks of the Council, &c.

To Sir Ralph Winwood, principal secretary of state, for his fee yearly	100	0	0
Sir Thomas Lake, one of the principal secretaries,	100	0	0
Sir John Herbert, second secretary,	100	0	0
Sir Thomas Hamilton, secretary for Scotland,	100	0	0
Sir Thomas Lake, secretary for the Latin tongue,	80	0	0
Sir Thomas Edmonds, secretary for the French tongue,	66	13	4
Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the clerks of the council,	50	0	0
Francis Cottington, Esq. one of the clerks of the council,	50	0	0
William Trumbull, Esq. one of the clerks of the council,	50	0	0
Clement Edmunds, Esq. one of the clerks of the council,	50	0	0
George Calvert, Esq. one of the clerks of the council,	50	0	0
Sir Humfrey May, for attending his majesty for causes concerning the kingdom of Ireland,	133	6	8
Sir Thomas Wilson and Ambrose Randall, keepers of divers records remaining at Whitehall,	60	16	8
George Cox, one of the keepers of the council chamber door, his fee yearly	60	16	8
Thomas Graves, another of the keepers of the council chamber door, 2s. 6d. *per diem*,	45	13	6
In all	1097	6	10

Attendants on Foreign Ambassadors.

To Sir Lewis Lewknor, master of the ceremonies,	200	0	0
John Finett, his assistant,	10	0	0

To Sir William Button, attending on ambassadors sent from foreign parts, 6s. 8d. *per diem.* In all *per annum* . . .	L. 121	13	4
Total *per annum*	331	13	4

To divers Persons for sundry Services.

To Sir George Villiers, master of the horse to the king, . .	66	13	4
Andrew Zinzan, alias Alexander, for riding the king's great horses	66	13	4
Sir Thomas Howard, master of the horse to the prince, .	40	0	0
Sir Thomas Penruddock	33	6	8
Sir Edmund Carey, the knight harbinger, ...	13	6	8
Sir Edward Cherry, the king's merchant, ...	33	6	8
Ralph Gill, keeper of the lions and other beasts in the Tower of London,	18	5	0
More to him by way of increase, ...	9	2	6
To George Colmer, the king's cock-master, ...	200	0	0
Sir George Moore, chancellor of the order of the Garter, for his fee *per annum*	100	0	0
Sir Richard Conningsby, gentleman usher, for bearing the rod before the king at the feast of St George, his fee by the year .	18	5	0
The Earl of Nottingham, guardian and chief justice of all forests, chaces, parks, and warrens, on this side Trent, his fee yearly .	100	0	0
Him, in consideration for his profit of the justice-acre, *per annum*	66	13	4
Hugh May, clerk of the market, ...	20	0	0
Jehu Webb, master of the tennis plays, ...	12	13	4
John Wood and Robert his son, for keeping and breeding of cormorants, by the year	45	12	6
To Richard Putto, for prosecuting of old debts due to the king, his fee, besides his fifth part out of all such debts recovered and brought in	50	0	0
In all by the year is .	893	18	4

Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants at Arms.

To William Cambden, alias Clarencieux, king of arms in the East, West, and South parts of England, for his fee, per annum . .	20	0	0
To Richard St George, alias, Norroy, king at arms, in the North parts of England	20	0	0
To Samuel Thompson, alias Windsor Herald . . .	13	6	8
Ralph Brooke, alias York Herald . . .	13	6	8
Robert Treswell, alias Somerset Herald . . .	13	6	8
William Penson, alias Chester Herald . .	13	6	8
John Raven, alias Richmond Herald . . .	13	6	8
Nicholas Charles, alias Lancaster Herald . . .	13	6	8
Thomas Knight, alias Rougecrosse Pursuivant at arms .	10	0	0
William Smith, alias Rougedragon, Pursuivant . .	10	0	0
Henry St George, alias Bluemantle Pursuivant . .	10	0	0
Phillip Holland, alias Portcullis, Pursuivant . . .	10	0	0
In all .	160	0	0

Sergeants at Arms.

To eighteen Sergeants at Arms, for their fee to each of them yearly, 18l 5s. which cometh unto in all yearly	328	10	0

Musicians.

To twenty-two musicians, for their fees and liveries, viz. to some 2s. 8d. by the day, and 16l. 2s. 6d. by the year, for their livery; and to the most of them, 1s. 8d. by the day, and the like allowance for livery; which cometh unto, in all by the year . . . L.	1060	12	6

Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries.

To Dr De Mayerne	400	0	0
Dr Craig, the elder	100	0	0
Dr Craig the younger	100	0	0
Dr Atkins	100	0	0
Dr Hammond	100	0	0
Dr Poe, physician for the king's household - -	50	0	0
Gilbert Primrose, sergeant surgeon to the king - -	26	13	4
More to him as ordinary surgeon to the king - -	40	0	0
More to him as surgeon to the prince - - -	33	6	8
William Goddourous, sergeant surgeon to the king - -	26	13	4
More to him as ordinary surgeon to the king - - -	40	0	0
Duncan Primrose, surgeon to the king, yearly - -	40	0	0
Alexander Baker, ordinary surgeon to the king - -	40	0	0
Peter Chamberlain, surgeon to the queen - - -	40	0	0
Archibald Haye, surgeon ordinary to the king - -	40	0	0
Lewis Rogers, ordinary surgeon to the prince - -	40	0	0
William Clowes, ordinary surgeon to the prince . .	40	0	0
John Wolfgango Rumlero, apothecary to the king, his fee by the year	40	0	0
More to him as apothecary to the queen . . .	40	0	0
To Gedeon de Lawne, apothecary to the king . .	20	0	0
George Sheieres, apothecary to the king's house, his fee by the year	40	0	0
More to him, provider of sweet waters for the king's service, his fee by the year	13	6	8
Ralph Clayton, apothecary to the prince, his fee by the year .	20	0	0
Jolliffe Lownes, apothecary to the prince, his fee by the year .	20	0	0
The total sum is	1450	0	0

Artificers.

To Alexander Miller, and Robert Arskin, the king's taylors, to each of them, two shillings by the day. In all . . .	73	0	0
Alexander Wilson and Patrick Blake, the prince's taylors, to each eighteen-pence by the day	54	15	0
John Dawson, and Edward Thomazin, for the guards coats, for their fee, 12d by the day	18	5	0
Peter and William Bland, sergeant-furriers to the king, for their fee, two shillings by the day	36	10	0
John Bingham, sadler to the King, 12d. by the day for himself, and 3d. by the day for a servant under him. In all by the year .	23	11	3
William Broderick, embroiderer for the King . .	27	7	6
Abraham Abercromby, sadler to the Prince, 12d. by the day for himself, and 3d. by the day for a servant under him. In all by the year	23	11	3
Ralph and William Canning, chief arras-maker, 6d. by the day, and 10l. by the year, for their fee	19	2	6

To Randalph Bull, clock-keeper, 1s. per diem . .	L. 18	5	0
To William and Thomas Mussell, cutters and razers of the King's apparel, 12d. per diem	18	5	0
To Alexander Howme, shoemaker to the King . .	18	5	0
To Alexander Craiford, shoemaker to the King . .	18	5	0
To Thomas Wilson, shoemaker to the Prince . .	18	5	0
To Richard Sheppeard, perfumer to the King . .	18	5	0
To ————————, embroiderer to the Prince . .	18	5	0
To Nathaniel Matthew, cutler to the King . .	18	5	0
To Thomas Pulforld	18	5	0
To Richard Mayle, cook in the star-chamber . .	18	5	0
To Edmond Tomlins, butler in the star-chamber . .	9	2	6
To Thomas Cesar, clock-keeper, per annum . .	39	16	8
To Thomas Bond, cleanser of the hangings . . .	12	3	4
To John and William Lugar, maker of the black-jacks for the King's house, 6d. per diem. In all	9	2	6
To Richard Cole, the King's girdler, 6d. per diem . .	9	2	6
To John and Abraham Bateman, the King's bookbinders, by the year	6	0	0
To Robert Barker, the King's printer . . .	6	13	4
To John Norton, the King's printer, for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues	26	0	8
In all yearly	552	0	7

Keepers of the King's Houses, Garders, and Warderobes.

To the Lady Hellen, Marchioness of Northampton, for keeping Richmond house, and wardrobe, 12d. by the day; for keeping the garden and orchard there, 6d. by the day, and for keeping the park there, 18d. by the day. In all by the year	54	15	0
To William, Lord Compton, keeper of Holdenby-house . .	26	13	4
To ———————— keeper of the robes and jewels, at Whitehall, 66l. 13s. 4d. by the year; for keeping the great warderobe there, 10d. by the day; for keeping the orchard there, 6d. by the day, and 17l. 3s. by the year, for charges there; for keeping the garden 17l. 20d. by the year; for keeping the coniyard, 12d. by the day, and 12l. 13s. 8d. by the year, in consideration of rents, taken into the king's hands. In all	156	3	4
More to him for keeping the garden at St James's 13l. 6s. 8d. by the year; for keeping the out-lodgings at Whitehall, 4l. by the year; for keeping the conduct heads, 6l. 1s. 8d. by the year; for distilling of water, 3l. 6s. 8d. by the year; for fire to air the hot-houses, 2l. by the year; for carrying of hay, 2l. by the year; for mowing, making, and carriage of hay, for the deer in the park, 3l. 6s. 8d. for swans, and other fowl in the park, 1l. by the year; for digging and setting of roses in the spring garden, 2l. by the year. Twenty pounds by the year, in recompence of certain lodgings; for keeping of the range trees, 6d. by the day; and for keeping the rein deer, 4d. by the day. In all by the year .	72	5	10
To John Trevor, for keeping of Oatland's house . .	27	7	6
To Sir Marmaduke Darrell, for keeping Maisondieu Place at Dover, 6d. by the day	9	2	6
To the Lady Barwick, and John her son, for keeping the King's house at Thetford, 12d. by the day; and for keeping the garden there 12d. by the day. In all by the year	36	10	0
To John Winyard, keeper of the King's house in the palace at Westminster, 6d. by the day	9	2	6

More to him for keeping the wardrobe at Hampton-court 12d. by the day, and 33l. 6s. 8d. by the year, for charges about the same. In all by the year	L. 51	11	8
To Richard Hamerton, keeper of the King's house at Roiston, 8d. by the day	12	3	4
To John Cotton, for keeping of the wardrobe at Theobald's, 18d. by the day; for fire 10l. by the year; and for his livery 4l. by the year. In all	41	7	6
To Stephen Pearse, for keeping the wardrobe at Richmond 8d. by the day, and for fire 4l. by the year. In all by the year	16	13	4
To John Cotton, for keeping the wardrobe at Westminster, 10d. by the day, and for keeping the revestry there 2d. by the day; for fire 10l. by the year; and for the fustians and pillowbears, 4l. by the year. In all by the year	32	5	0
To Jeremy Rosse, for keeping the wardrobe at Hichingbrook 12d. by the day; for fire 10l. by the year; for his livery 4l. by the year. In all	32	5	0
To Thomas Hickson, for keeping the wardrobe at Greenwich 8d. by the day; for a servant under him 4d. by the day; and for his livery, 3l. by the year	21	5	0
To Nicholas Pidgeon, as clerk of the wardrobe in the Tower of London, for his fee by the year	14	0	0
To John Stephenson, for keeping the wardrobe at Windsor 6d. by the day; and for a servant under him 3d. by the day. In all yearly	13	13	9
To Andrew Bright and Edmond Doubleday, for keeping the King's bible at Whitehall, yearly	13	6	8
More to him for distilling sweet waters	13	6	8
To George Hopton, for the keeping of ———— at Hampton-court 2s. 10d. by the day. In all yearly	51	14	2
To Andrew Bright, for keeping the garden door at Whitehall, 2s. by the day. In all yearly	36	10	0
To William Hogan, officer of the stilling-house, at Hampton-court, and for keeping of the two new gardens there, for his fee, yearly	40	0	0
To Bristow Pidgeon, for keeping of the garden in the Tower of London 6d. by the day; and for keeping the little wardrobe there 12d. by the day; for a servant under him 4d. by the day; and for fire 3l. by the year. In all by the year	36	9	2
To Thomas Sheffeild, for keeping the garden at Greenwich, 1s. by the day	18	5	0
To Edward Lovell, for keeping the and garden at Richmond, 6l. 1s. 8d. by the year, and for weeding and other necessary charges, 4l. by the year. In all	10	1	8
To Sir Patrick Howme, for keeping the King's house at Rolston, 1s. by the day	18	5	0
To William Risbrook, under-keeper of Richmond house, for his fee by the year	30	0	0
To Jasper Stallenge, for keeping the garden for the silk-worms, for his fee by the year	60	0	0
To John and Francis Bonnell, for the attendance about the silk-worms by the year	60	0	0
The total sum is	1015	2	11

There are other House-keepers, paid by the Treasurer of the Chamber, Cofferer, &c. of whom I cannot take notice.

Keepers of Stables.

To William Thomas, for keeping the Mews . . L.	24	0	0
To Thomas Powell, for keeping the stables at Hampton court 8d. by the day	12	3	4
To John Braig, keeper of the stables at Reading, by the year	12	3	4
To Ralphe More, for keeping the stables at St Alban's, 8d. by the day	12	3	4
In all by the year	60	10	0

Keepers of Forests, Chaces, and Parks.

To Thomas Earl of Exon, for keeping Rockingham forest, for his fee per annum	14	4	8
To Sir Robert Harley, for keeping Boringwood *alias* Bringwood forest, in com. Herff. 6l. 2s. 6d. by the year; for the pokership, 1l. 10s. 5d. by the year; and for keeping the forest of Prestwood, 18s. by the year. In all	8	10	11
To Edward Lord Denny, and James Lord Hay, for keeping Chinckford Walk in Waltham forest 6d. by the day; and for keeping the game of pheasants there, 4d. by the day; and for keeping half of Newlodge walk 2d. by the day. In all per annum . . .	18	5	0
To for keeping Walthamstow walk in the forest of Waltham, 8d. by the day; for keeping of Leighton walk, 4d. by the day; and for keeping of Wallwood and Hamfrith woods, 3d. by the day. In all yearly	22	16	3
To Ranger of Waltham forest, his fee by the year	9	2	6
To Edward Earl of Worcester, and Sir Thomas Somerset his son, for keeping the great park of Nonsuch, 2s. by the day, and for 15l. by the year. In all	51	10	0
To Sir Edward Howard, for keeping Bifleet park and lodge, in the county of Surrey, 8d. by the day	12	3	4
To Sir Robert Leigh for keeping Woodfurth walk in Waltham forest, 8d. by the day	12	3	4
To Sir Edward Cary, for keeping Mary-bone park, 8d. by the day	12	3	4
To Sir Henry Riche, for keeping Hyde-park, 8d. by the day	12	3	4
To Richard Earl of Dorset, governor of the park called the Broyl, 6l. 13s. 4d. per annum; for two keepers under him, 4d. per diem; and for a ranger of the woods there, 2d. per diem. In all per annum	15	15	10
To William Smith, for looking to the deer in Cramborne-chace, by the year	20	0	0
To Thomas Norris, under-ranger in Enfield-chace, 6d. per diem	6	2	6
To Thomas Earl of Suffolk, lieutenant and keeper of Brayden forest in com. Wilts. 6l. 1s. 8d. per annum; for a ranger there, 20l per annum; and for four keepers there under him, to each of them 10l. per annum. In all per annum	66	1	8
The total per annum is	281	2	8

Keepers of Warrens and Games.

To John Bancks, keeper of the warren called Wilbraham bushes, in com. Cantab. 2s. per diem, and for keeping the game ten miles circuit, 2s. more per diem	73	0	0
To Gilbert Wood, keeper of the hare warren at Hampton-court, 2s. per diem	36	10	0

To Alexander Glover, keeper of the game about Lambeth and Clapham, 1s. per diem, and 1l. 6s. 8d. per annum for his livery . .	L. 19	11	8
To Robert More, keeper of the game about Oatlands, 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To Henry Beswick, keeper of the Swans in St James's Park, 1s. per diem, and 1l. 2s. 6d. per annum for his livery . .	19	7	6
To Francis Powton and Edmond Hobson, keepers of the game about Hampton-court, 2s. per diem, and 1l. 6s. 8d. per annum for their livery	37	16	8
To Henry Halfehide and Henry his son, keepers of the game about Royston, 2s. 6d. per diem, and 3l. per annum for their livery	48	12	6
To Thomas Cockeine keeper of the hares at Roiston, and twelve miles circuit, and for keeping the game at Thetford, and seven miles circuit, 2s. per diem	36	0	10
To George Kirkham and Michael his son, keepers of the game about Richmond, 1s. 6d. per diem . . .	27	7	6
To Richard Stoner, keeper of the game at Hinchinbrooke, for his fee 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To Anthony Lewes, keeper of the game in Waltham forest, 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To Edmond Maisters, keeper of the game at the manor of Oatlands, 1s. per diem, and 1l. 6s. 8d. per annum for his livery. In all per annum	19	11	8
To William Richbell, keeper of the game at Nonsuch, 1s. per diem, and 1l. 6s. 8d. per annum for his livery . .	19	11	8
To Samson Calvert, keeper of the game about Wandsworth, 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To Ralph Smith, keeper of the game about Westminster, 8d. per diem, and 1l. 6s. 8d. per annum for his livery . .	13	10	0
To David Tannet, another keeper of the game about Westminster, 8d. per diem, and 1l. 6s. 8d. per annum for his livery .	13	10	0
To Alban Cox, keeper of the game about Barnet, &c. 4d. per diem, and 1l. 6s. 8d. per annum for his livery . .	7	8	6
To John Coward and John his son, keepers of the game at Thetford, 1s. per diem . . .	18	5	0
To William Marston, keeper of the game at Newmarket .	45	12	6
The total is per annum	508	16	0

Huntsmen.

To Sir Patrick Howme, master of the privy harriers, for his fee, 120l. per annum; and for keeping one footman, four horses, and twenty couple of dogs, 100l. per annum . . .	220	0	0
To Thomas Pott, Master of the hunt, for his fee, 4s. per diem; for three yeomen prickers, to each 2s. per diem; for one groom, 1s. per diem; and for keeping 12 couple of dogs, 50l per annum. In all per annum	250	15	0
To Robert Rayne, sergeant of the buckhounds, per annum .	50	0	0
More to him as one of the yeomen of the privy harriers, 3l. per mensem	36	0	0
To William Battle, another of the yeomen, the like fee	36	0	0
To Richard Barnard, another of the yeomen, the like fee	36	0	0
To Nicholas Cockeine, another of the yeomen, the like fee	36	0	0
To Richard Lazonby, master of the lyam-hounds, per annum	40	0	0
To Richard Gwynne, groom of the harriers to the prince, 1s. 1d. per diem, and 1l. per annum for his livery . .	20	15	5
To John Waters, yeomen of the harriers to the King, 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To Robert Walker, sergeant of the King's hounds, per annum	50	0	0

To Richard Brasse, yeoman of the King's hounds, per annum	L. 50	0	0
The total is per annum	843	15	5

Falconers.

To Robert Lord Dormer, master falconer to the king, his fee 44l. per mensem, which is per annum	528	0	0
More to him as master falconer to the King within the manor of Elmer, in com. Buck. 1s. 6d. per diem	27	7	6
To Thomas Mongrief, falconer to the King, 2s. per diem, and 13l. 13s. 9d. ob. per annum for his livery	50	3	9
To Robert Pinkerton, falconer to the King, 1s. 6d. per diem, and 13l. 13s. 9d. per annum for his livery	41	1	3
To James Quarrier, falconer to the King, 1s. 4d. per diem, and 13l. 13s. 9d. per annum for his livery	38	0	5
To John Barkley, falconer to the King, 1s. per diem, and 13l. 13s. 9d. per annum for his livery	31	18	9
To Francis Verney, falconer to the King, per annum	40	0	0
To Lewis Latham, falconer to the King, per annum	40	0	0
To Cornelius Artson, falconer to the King, 2s. 6d. per diem	45	12	6
To Eustace Norton, falconer to the Prince, per annum	30	0	0
More to him by way of increase, 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To George Mongrief, falconer to the King, for his fee per diem, which is per annum	91	5	0
The total is per annum	981	14	2

Revels.

To Sir George Buck, master of the revels, for his fee per annum	10	0	0
To Edward Kirkham, yeoman of the revels, 6d. per diem	9	2	6
The total is	19	2	6

Tents and Toils.

To Henry Seckford, master of the tents and toil, per annum	30	0	0
To Alexander Stafford, clerk comptroller of the King's tents and pavilions, 8d. per diem	12	3	4
To William Honinge, clerk of the tents and pavilions, 8d. per diem, and 1l. 4s. per annum for his livery	13	7	6
To Edmund Mussel, yeoman to the tents, &c. per annum	10	0	0
To Robert Bowle, groom of the tents, &c. 8d. per diem	9	2	6
The total sum is	74	13	4

Posts.

To the Lord Stanhope, master of the posts, for his fee	66	13	4
To Matthew de Quester, post for beyond the seas, 2s per diem	36	10	0
To William Trumbull, one of the posts for the King, per annum	36	10	0
To Edward Davyes, post for Ludlow, 2s. 6d. per diem	45	12	6
To John Brooke, letter-bearer to the Prince per annum	50	0	0
The total sum is	235	5	1

Jewel-House.

To Sir Edward Cary, and Sir Henry, his son, masters of the jewel-house, for their fee per annum . . . . . L.	50	0	0
To Sir William Herrick, Sir John Spilman, and George Herriot, jewellers, for their fee to each of them, per annum	150	0	0
To Abraham Harderet, jeweller to the Queen . .	50	0	0
To Richard Wright, and John his son, clerks of the jewel-house, for their fee per annum	13	6	8
To Nicholas Pidgeon, yeoman of the jewel-house . .	26	13	4
The total sum is	290	0	0

Officers of the Works.

To Inigo Jones, surveyor of the works done about the King's houses, 2s. 6d. per diem	45	12	6
To Thomas Baldwin, comptroller of the works . . .	27	7	6
To Andrew Kerwin, paymaster of the works, 2s. per diem .	36	10	0
To William Portington, master carpenter, 1s. per diem .	18	5	0
To William Cure, master mason, 1s. per diem . .	18	5	0
To James Lee, master plaisterer, 1s. per diem . .	18	5	0
To Abraham Green, serjeant plumber . .	18	5	0
More to him as plumber of Windsor Castle . .	18	5	0
To Jeremy Talcot, bricklayer, 1s. per diem . .	18	5	0
To William Southis, master mason of Windsor Castle .	18	5	0
To Clement Chapman, chief joiner of the Tower of London, 1s. per diem, and for his fee as chief joiner of all the King's works, 1s. per diem, and for his robe, 16l. 2s. 6d. per annum. In all . .	52	12	6
To Henry Waller, chief joiner for the King's privy chamber, 1s. per diem, and for his livery, 2l. 6s. 8d.	19	11	8
To Thomas Badveleg, chief grocer, 1s. per diem, and for his livery, 1l. 4s. per annum	19	0	9
To Thomas Aldridge, wheelwright in the Tower of London .	18	5	0
To Maximilian Colte, carver in stone, 8d. per diem . .	12	3	4
To Francis Cartir, chief clerk of the King's works . .	66	13	4
More to him as provider of timber boards and laths, 8d. per diem .	12	3	4
To Henry Jennings, provider for the King's works in the Tower of London, 1s. 6d. per diem	12	3	4
To George Nevye, overseer of the King's works at Portsmouth, 1s. 4d. per diem	24	6	8
To William Wheatley, master carpenter in the Tower of London, 8d. per diem	12	3	4
The total is	486	8	3

Officers of the Ordnance and Armory.

To Sir Richard Morison, lieutenant of the ordnance, his fee per annum	66	13	4
To Sir William Pope, master of the armory at Greenwich, 66l. 13s. 4d. More to him as master of the armory in the Tower of London, and all other places in England, 1s. per diem. For a yeoman under him, 6d. per diem; and for a boy, 3d. per diem. In all . .	98	12	1
To Sir John Kay, surveyor of the ordnance . .	36	10	0

To Nedtrary Smart, and al. keepers of the store of the ordnance, munition and empco. in the Tower of London, 3s per diem .	L. 54	15	0
To John Ridlesden, clerk of the ordnance . .	36	10	0
To Sir Robert Johnson, clerk of the deliveries of the ordnance in the Tower, 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To John Benyon, clerk of the armory at Greenwich, 2s. 6d. per diem, and for his livery 1l. 6d. 8d.	46	19	2
More to him for his fee, 1l. 6s. 10d. per mensem . .	23	18	10
To Thomas Lincolne, yeoman of the armory at Greenwich, 15l. 12s. per annum, and for his livery, 1l 6s. per annum. In all .	16	18	0
More to him for his fee, 1l 4s. per mensem . .	16	16	10
To William Lacon, clerk of the ordnance and works at Carlisle, 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To John Cowper, harness-maker in the Tower, 1s. 4d. per diem .	24	6	8
To Henry Zinzan, harness-maker, his fee per annum . .	10	0	0
To William Heath, keeper of the storehouse at Portsmouth .	20	0	0
To Francis Inglesby, keeper of the armory at Greenwich .	30	8	4
To John Parker, keeper of the armory at Westminster .	18	5	0
To Sir John Bingham, keeper of the armory at Hampton-court, 1s. per diem	18	5	0
To Thomas Laverock, maker of hand-guns, 1s. 4d. per diem .	24	6	8
To William Pickering, master of the works of the armory at Greenwich, and to eight hammermen there, three locksmiths, three millmen, two labourers, and one gilder, for their fees per mensem, and the allowance of 7l. per mensem, for ordinary expences and necessary provisions for the said armory, cometh unto in all per mensem, 32l. 15s. 6d., which is per annum - . - - - - -	449	19	6
To Thomas Pit, gunmaker, 1s. per diem - - -	18	5	0
Israel Owen, gunmaker, 1s. per diem - - -	18	5	0
Richard Philips, gunmaker, 1s. per diem - -	18	5	0
John Philips, gunfounder, 8d. per diem - - -	12	3	4
John Heyborne, provider of instruments of war, 8d. per diem	12	3	4
John Fletcher, provider of ropes and matches for the ordnance, 8d. per diem - - - - - -	12	3	4
James Palfreyman, keeper of the hand-guns and demi-haggs in the Tower, 10d. per diem - - - -	15	4	2
Andrew Kerwin, gun-stonemaker, 8d. per diem - -	12	3	4
Thomas Brown, gun-stonemaker, 6d. per diem -	9	2	6
John Thomas, yeoman of the ordnance - - -	9	2	6
John Jefferson, bowmaker, 6d. per diem - -	9	2	6
More to him as bow-stringermaker, 6d. per diem - -	9	2	6
To John Powell, Fletcher, arrowmaker, - -	9	2	6
Roger Chovin, crossbow-maker, 4d per diem . .	6	1	8
More to him, as maker of hand-guns - - -	12	0	0
To Thomas Brown, maker of iron ordnance, 1s. 6d. per diem -	27	7	6
Sir Richard Musgrave, master and surveyor in the north parts, 5s. per diem for himself, and 2s. per diem for three servants under him. In all, per annum - - - - - -	146	0	0
Hugh Price, porter at the minoretts, 8d. per diem - -	12	3	4
The total is	1397	11	11

Gunners.

To William Hammond, master gunner of England, 2s. per diem	L. 36	10	0
Fourteen gunners in the Tower of London, to each of them 1s. per diem, which cometh unto per annum - - -	273	15	0
Eleven gunners in the Tower of London, to each of them 8d. per diem, which in all cometh unto per annum - -	133	16	8
Eighty-six gunners in the Tower of London, to each of them 8d. per diem, which in all cometh unto per annum - -	693	10	0
Two gunners at Carlisle Castle, to each 1s. per diem - -	18	5	0
Two gunners more there, to each 6d. per diem - -	36	10	0
Robert Leming, gunner at Harwich. 1s. per diem - -	18	5	0
William Bull, master gunner at Windsor Castle, 8d. per diem	12	3	4
Richard Ratcliffe, gunner at the Fort of Eastmersey, in Essex, 8d. per diem - - - - -	12	3	4
Richard Portriffe, gunner at Rye, 6d. per diem - -	9	2	6
The total per annum is -	1244	0	10

Captains of Castles and Forts.

To William Earl of Pembroke, captain and keeper of the town and isle of Portsmouth, 10s. per diem for himself, and for the wages of twenty soldiers, to each 8d. per diem, cometh to in all - -	425	16	8
More to him for the wages of one master-gunner, at 10d. per diem, fifteen gunners, each at 8d. per diem, fourteen gunners, each at 6d. per diem, one ancient, one armorer, one serjeant, one drummer, one fife, and a hundred soldiers, each at 8d. per diem, in the said town and isle, which cometh unto in all per annum . . .	1062	19	2
To Sir George Moore, lieutenant of the Tower of London, for himself 200l. per annum, 1s. 4d. per diem for eleven yeomen wardoners, to each 8d. per diem, and 2l. 13s. 4d. per annum for fire for them. In all per annum	865	15	0
To Sir Fardinando Gorges, captain of the new fort at Plymouth, for himself and soldiers there, 2l. 16s. per diem, which cometh unto per ann.	1022	0	0
To Sir John Parker, captain of Pendennis Castle, near Falmouth, 10s. per diem for himself, and for the wages of fifty footmen there, at 8d. per diem, which cometh unto per annum, in all . .	690	16	8
To Mr Francis Godolphin, captain of the Isle of Silley, for the wages of one lieutenant, at 4s. per diem; another lieutenant at 2s. per diem; for three gunners, each at 10d. per diem; forty-five soldiers, each at 8d. per diem, being the summer company there, which cometh to (for 183 days) for half the year	352	5	6
More to him for winter company there, viz. one lieutenant at 4s. per diem, another lieutenant at 2s. per diem, three gunners, each 10d. per diem, and twenty soldiers, to each 8d. per diem for 182 days for the other half year, which cometh unto	198	13	8
To Sir John Trevor, captain of Upnor Castle, for the wages of twenty soldiers there, each at 8d. per diem, which cometh unto in all per annum	243	6	8
To Peter Temple, captain of Camber Castle, 2s. per diem for himself, and for eight soldiers and six gunners, each at 6d. per diem. In all per an.	164	5	0
To Sir Robert Lane, captain of Southsea Castle, 2s. per diem for himself; for one porter 8d. per diem, and ten gunners, each 6d. per annum	139	18	4

To Thomas Barker, captain of the green bulwark of Arcliff, at Dover, and the black bulwark there, 1s. 4d. per diem for himself, and for four gunners, and two soldiers, each at 6d. per diem, which cometh unto in all per annum	L. 97	6	8
To George Fenner, captain of Sandgate Castle, for his fee per annum	40	0	0
To Anthony Lewes, captain of the fort of Westilbury, 2s. per diem	36	10	0
To captain of the fort at Milton, for his fee 20l. per ann. and 4d. per diem. In all	26	1	8
To William Binge, captain of Deal Castle, his fee per annum .	20	0	0
To John Heydon, captain of Sandown Castle, his fee per annum	20	0	0
To William Boughton, captain of Walmer Castle, his fee per annum	20	0	0
To Sir John Thorneborough, captain of Scarborough Castle, in Com. Eboru. per annum	16	0	0
The total is . .	14441	15	0

There are divers castles and forts paid by the king's receivers-general, and sheriffs of counties, which I cannot set down, because no particular mention doth express it in the records of the receipts and issues.

Officers of the Navy and Admiralty.

To Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral of England, for his fee per annum	133	6	8
To Sir Francis Howard, captain-general of the Narrow Seas, 1l. per diem for himself; for one clerk under him 8d. per diem, and for 16 men under him, each at 10s. per mensem, 28 days to each month, which cometh unto in all per annum	481	3	4
To Sir Robert Maunsell, treasurer of the navy, for himself 66l. 13s. 4d per annum, and for two clerks under him, each at 8d. per diem, and 8l. per annum for his boat-hire. In all per annum . .	91	0	0
More to him, an allowance of 6s. 8d. per diem for his pains about the affairs of that office	121	13	4
To Sir Richard Bingley, surveyor of the navy, for himself 40l. per annum, for two clerks under him, each 8d. per diem, and 8l. per annum for his boat-hire	72	6	8
More to him, an allowance of 4s. per diem, for his pains about the affairs of that office	73	0	0
To Sir Jeffery Slingsby, comptroller of the navy, for himself 50l. per ann. for two clerks under him, each 8d. per diem, and 8l. per annum for boat-hire. In all	82	6	8
More to him, an allowance of 4s. per diem for his pains about the affairs of that office	73	0	0
To Sir Marmaduke Darrell, and Sir Thomas Bludder, surveyors of the marines victuals for the king's navy, for themselves 50l. per annum, and for a clerk under them 8d. per diem. In all per annum .	62	3	4
More to them, an allowance of 3s. 4d. per diem, and for two clerks under them, each 1s. per diem, for their pains about the affairs of that office. In all per annum	97	6	8
To Peter Buck, clerk of the navy, for his fee 33l. 6s. 8d. per annum, and 6l. per annum for his boat-hire. In all per annum . .	39	6	8
More to him, an allowance of 3s. 4d. per diem, for his pains about the affairs of that office	60	16	8

To Thomas Baker, clerk of the store at Deptford, 26l. 13s. 4d. per annum, and 6l per annum for his boat-hire	L.	32	13 4
More to him, an allowance of 2s 6d. per diem for his pains about the affairs of that office		45	12 6
To John Ackworth, keeper of the store at Woolwich, 20l. per annum, 4l. per annum for his boat hire, and 1s. 8d. per diem for diet. In all		54	8 4
To Thomas Wriothesley, one of the assistants to the officers of the Admiralty, per annum		20	0 0
To Walter Portriff, another of the assistants, per annum		20	0 0
To Michael Geere, another of the assistants		20	0 0
To John Grent, surveyor of the tonnage, per annum		18	5 0
To William Bright, shipwright, 1s. 8d. per diem		30	8 4
To John Austin, shipwright, per annum		20	0 0
To Matthew Baker, shipwright, 1s per diem		18	5 0
To Phineas Pett, shipwright, 1s. per diem		18	5 0
To Robert Hudson, and George Rands, for clearing the roads, per annum		30	0 0
The total per annum is		1715	7 6
The total sum of fees and annuities is		25928	7 8

In *Anno septimo* of the king, there was one entire subsidy granted by the laiety throughout all England, for which was paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, by the Collectors thereof, the sum of L. 69666, and so by estimation a subsidy is so valued; which, for more particularity, is here distinguished, as it is collected in each several shire of England, and as each shire payeth, viz.

Berk.	L. 963	Hereff.	1105	Salop	787
Buck.	1526	Hunt.	553	South.	2412
Bedd.	721	Kancia	3042	Staff.	681
Cantab.	1205	Lanc.	978	Suff.	2824
Cestria.	871	Leic.	805	Surr.	2286
Cumberl.	516	Lincolne	2571	Sussex	1705
Cornub.	1784	London	5178	Somerset	4249
Dunolme	61	Midd.	1512	Wigorn	1178
Dorset.	1239	Monmouth	293	Westminster	102
Derb.	644	Nott.	593	Wilts	2240
Devon.	5821	North.	980	Warr.	918
Essex.	2653	Norff.	2840	Of the nobility	3180
Ebora.	4070	Northumberl.	129	Within the king's house	1101
Glouc.	1748	Oxon.	1109		
Hertff.	1221	Rutl.	174		

Shires in Wales.

Angliss.		Cardigan.		Merioneth	L. 120
Brecon.		Denbigh.		Montgomery	
Carnarvon		Flint.		Pembroc.	
Carmarth.	L. 101	Glamorgan.		Radnor.	44

Total of the whole collection of England and Wales, amounteth to L. 69666

The reason why most of these Welsh shires stand with blanks is, because they pay no subsidies, now they are charged with the mizes they pay unto the Prince of Wales; and until this seventh year of the king, the shires of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, never paid any subsidy or fifteenth, because they were at a continual charge in defence of the Borders against Scotland.

One 15th and 10th of the laiety cometh unto . . L. 36500

Every city, hundred, town, and village, pays in, for fifteenths and tenths, no more than they are chargeable by the antient roll and tax set upon them, so that their payments are certain.

The dividend of the L. 13000 distributed amongst the governors and officers of the towns of Vlushing and Brill, in recompence of the loss of their places, upon surrender of the said towns to the Lords of the States of the United Provinces.

To Captain Moyle . . . . . L.	400	0	0
Edmond Gentill, provost marshall of the Brill . .	400	0	0
two water bailiffs of the towns, viz. to each 400l. out of which their deputies to be allowed *pro rata* . . .	800	0	0
two commissaries of musters, to each 400l. . .	800	0	0
two clerks of the ordnance, to each 100l . .	200	0	0
two master-gunners, to each 100l. . . .	200	0	0
two master-gunners mates, to each 100 marks . .	133	6	8
eight quarter-master gunners, to each 50l. . .	400	0	0
two assistants, to each 40l.	80	0	0
ten cannoneers, amongst them . . .	80	0	0
the Lady Browne	300	0	0
Monsieur Block	150	0	0
Sir William Waade, and Clement Edmonds, in recompence of the reversions of offices they had there, to each of them 400l. In all	800	0	0
Sir William Waade, due to him upon a former warrant, payable out of the checks	600	0	0
two preachers, between them . . .	76	13	4
To be employed for redeeming of so many pensions as shall amount unto the sum of 2500l. per annum, granted to the governors and some other officers of the said towns . . to be disposed by the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer for that use.	750	0	0
The total sum is	12920	0	0

Memorandum. This agreeth with the schedule signed by the king.

Memorandum. The Lord Viscount Lisle, governor of the town of Ulushing, and the Castle of Ramakins, hath, in recompence of that place, a pension out of the receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster, of 1200l. per annum during his life.

Sir Horatio Vere, governor of Brill, hath also, during his life, in recompence, 800l. per annum.

And Sir Edward Conway, a pension during his life, of 500l. per annum.

Reader, be pleased to take notice, That the printer varies not from the original copy, neither one way or other; and if any worthy gentleman, or man

quality, is not well satisfied in any of these particulars, but makes a question, or doubteth of the truth of any of them, let him repair to the stationer that hath been at the charge of printing, or the gentleman that hath been the preserver of these original copies, there they shall have a view *gratis* of all, and full satisfaction, to clear some errors formerly printed, and falsly published.

A Narration of the Burning of Bartholomew Legatt.

James R.

Although the character of James I. was, in most particulars, essentially different from that of Henry VIII., they resembled each other in their taste for school divinity. And it appears from the following warrants, that James was no way averse to the ultimate arguments for extirpation of heresy, which were so liberally used against dissenters from the royal creed in the reign of his predecessor. Indeed his majesty honoured the states of Holland with some salutary advice, upon such subjects, in the course of discussing the doctrine propagated by one Vertius a Dutch professor, in which he more than hints at the radical cure by fire. See JAMES's *Works*, p. 855.

James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our right trusty, and right wellbeloved counsellor Thomas Lord Ellesmere, our chancellor of England, greeting. Where the reverend father in God John bishop of London, having judicially proceeded in a cause of heresie against Bartholomew Legatt of the city of London, in the diocess of the said bishop of London, concerning divers wicked errours, heresies, and blasphemous opinions, holden, affirmed, and published by the said Bartholomew Legatt, and chiefly in these thirteen blasphemous positions following, *viz.* That the creed called the Nicene Creed and Athanasius Creed contain not a profession of the true christian faith, or that he will nott profess his faith according to the same creeds. That Christ is not God of God begotten, not made, but begotten and made. That there are no persons in the Godhead. That Christ was not God from everlasting, but began to be God when he took flesh of the Virgin Mary. That the world was not made by Christ. That the apostles teach Christ to be man only. That there is no generation in God, but of creatures. That this assertion, God to be made man, is contrary to the rule of faith, and monstrous blasphemy. That Christ was not before the fulness of time except by promise. That Christ was not God otherwise then an anointed God. That Christ was not in the form of God equal with God, that is, in substance of God, but in righteousness and giving salvation. That Christ by his Godhead wrought no miracle. That Christ is not to be praied unto. Wherein he the said Bartholomew Legatt hath befor the said reverend father maintained his said most dangerous and blasphemous opinions, as appeareth by many his confessions publickly made and acknowledged. For which his damnable and heretical opinions, he is by diffinitive sentence by the said reverend father John bishop of London, with the advice and consent of other reverend

bishops, learned divines, and others learned in the laws assisting him in judgement, justly adjudged, pronounced, and declared to be an obstinate and incorrigible heretick, and is left by them under the sentence of the great excommunication, and therefore as a corrupt member to be cut off from the church of Christ, and society of the faithful, and is to be by our secular power and authority as an heretick punished, as by the significavit of the said reverend father in God the said bishop of London, bearing date at London the third day of March, in the year of our Lord 1611, in the ninth year of our reign, and remaining in our court of chancery more at large appeareth. And although the said Bartholomew Legatt hath since the said sentence pronounced against him, been often very charitably moved and exhorted, as well by the said bishop, as by many grave and learned divines, to disswade, revoke, and remove him from the said blasphemous and heretical opinions, yet he arrogantly and wilfully persisteth and continueth in the same. We therefore, according to our regal function and office, minding the execution of justice in this behalf, and to give example to others, least they should attempt the like hereafter, have determined by the assent of our council, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require you our said chancellor, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to award and make out under our great seal of England our writ of execution according to the tenor in these presents ensuing. And these presents shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge for the same.

" Rex vicecomitibus Londón, Salutem, cùm Reverendus in Christo Pater Johannes London Episcopus nobis significavit, quod cum ipse in quodam hæreticæ pravitatis negotio contra quendam Bartholomeum Legatt subditum nostrum Civitatis London. dicti London Episcopi Diocess. Et jurisdictionis ritè et legitimè procedens, per acta inactitata deducta proposita, et per confessiones ipsius Bartholomei Legatt, coram præfato Episcopo judicialiter factas et recognitas comperit et invenit præfatum Bartholomeum Legatt quamplurimos nephandos errores falsas Opiniones Hæreses et Blasphemias execrandas et scelerata dogmata Catholicæ et orthodoxæ Fidei et religioni et sacrosancto Dei Verbo expressè contraria et repugnantia scienter maliciosè animoque pertinaci obdurato planéque incorrigibili credere tenere affirmare et publicare idem reverendus Pater London Episcopus cum consilio et consensu tam reverendorum Episcoporum et aliorum theologorum quam juris etiam peritorum in judicio assiden. et assisten. eundem Bartholomeum Legatt per sententiam suam diffinitivam obduratum contumacem et incorrigibilem hæreticum pronunciavit decrevit et declaravit, eaque occasione tanquam protervum hæreticum et membrum putridum et contagiosum ab ecclesia Christi et fidelium communione recisum et amputatum fore. Cum igitur sancta mater ecclesia non habeat quod ulterius facere et exequi valeat in hac parte, idem reverendus pater præfatum Bartholomeum Legatt, ut blasphemum hæreticum brachio nostro seculari reliquit condigna animadversione plectend. prout per literas patentes præfati reverendi in Christi Patris London episcopi in hac parte superinde confect. nobis in cancellar. nostram certificat. est. Nos igitur ut zelator justitiæ et fidei catholicæ defensor, volentesque ecclesiam sanctam ac jura et libertates ejusdem et fidem catholicam manutenere et defendere, ac hujusmodi hæreses et errores ubique quantum in nobis est eradicare et extirpare, ac hæreticos sic convictos aimadversione condigna puniri, attendentesq. hujusmodi hæreticum in forma præd. convictum et damnatum juxta Leges et consuetudines regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuet. ignis incendio comburi debere. Vobis præcipimus quod dictum Bartholomeum Legatt in custodia vestra existen. apud West-Smithfield in loco publico et aperto ex causa præmissa coram populo publicè igni committi, ac ipsum Bartholomeum Legatt in eodem igne realiter comburi fac. in hujusmodi criminis detesta-

tionem, aliorumque christianorum exemplum manifestum, ut in simile crimen labantur. Et hoc sub periculo incumbenti nullatenus omittatis. Teste, &c.

HENRY HIBAITE."

This containeth a warrant to be granted by your majesty unto the lord chancellour of England, for the awarding of a writ under the great seal of England to the sheriff of the city of London, for the burning of Bartholomew Legatt, who is convicted of divers horrible heresies before the bishop of London, and by his sentence left to the secular power, as is by the said bishop certified to your majesty into your highness court of chancery.

And is done by force of your majesties commandment to me given under your highness sign manual.

HENRY HIBAITE.

The king to the sheriffs of London, greeting, whereas the reverend father in Christ John bishop of London, hath signified unto us, that when he in a certain business of heretical pravity against one Bartholomew Legatt our subject of the city of London, of the said bishop of Londons diocess and jurisdiction, rightly and lawfully proceeding by acts enacted, drawn, proposed, and by the confessions of the said Batholomew Legatt, before the said bishop judicially made and acknowledged, hath found in the said Bartholomew Legatt very many wicked errours, false opinions, heresies, and cursed blasphemies, and impious doctrines, expresly contrary and repugnant to the catholick faith and religion, and the holy word of God, knowingly and maliciously, and with a pertinacious and obdurate plainly incorrigible minde, to believe, hold, affirm, and publish, the same reverend father the bishop of London with the advice and consent, as well of the reverend bishops and other divines, as also of men learned in the law, in judgement sitting and assisting; the same Bartholomew Legatt by his definitive sentence hath pronounced, decreed, and declared to be an obdurate, contumacious and incorrigible heretick, and upon that occasion as a stubborn heretick, and rotten contagious member to be cut off from the church of Christ, and the communion of the faithful; whereas the holy mother church hath not further to doe and prosecute in this part, the same reverend father hath left the aforesaid Bartholomew Legatt as a blasphemous heretick to our secular power to be punished with condign punishment, as by the letters patents of the said reverend father in Christ the bishop of London in this behalf, above made hath certified unto us in our chancery. We therefore as a zealot of justice, and a defendor of the catholick faith, and willing to maintain and defend the holy church, and rights, and liberties of the same, and the catholick faith: and such heresies and errours every where what in us lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to punish with condign punishment such hereticks so convicted, and deeming that such an heretick in form aforesaid, convicted and condemned according to the laws and customs of this our kingdome of England in this part accustomed, ought to be burned with fire; we do command you that the said Bartholomew Legatt, being in your custody, you do commit publickly to the fire, before the people, in a publick and open place in West-Smithfield, for the cause aforesaid, and that you cause the said Bartholomew Legatt to be really burned in the same fire, in detestation of the said crime, for the manifest example of other christians, lest they slide into the same fault, and this that in no wise you omit, under the peril that shall follow thereon. Witnesse, &c.

A Narration of the Burning of Edward Wightman.

JAMES R.

James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our right trusty and right welbeloved councellor, Thomas Lord Ellesmere, our Chancellour of England, greeting. Where the Reverend Father in God, Richard, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, having judicially proceeded in the examination, hearing, and determining of a cause of heresie against Edward Wightman, of the parish of Burton upon-Trent, in the diocess of Coventrey and Lichfield, concerning the wicked heresies of the Ebionites, Cerinthians, Valentinians, Arrians, Macedonians, of Simon Magus, of Manes, Manichees, of Photinus, and Anabaptists, and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard-of opinions, by the instinct of Satan, by him excogitated and holden, viz.

That there is not the Trinity of Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the Unity of the Deity. 2. That Jesus Christ is not the true natural Son of God, perfect God, and of the same substance, eternity, and majesty with the Father in respect of his Godhead. 3. That Jesus Christ is only man and a mere creature, and not both God and man in one person. 4. That Christ our Saviour took not humane flesh of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother; and that that promise, "The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head," was not fulfilled in Christ. 5. That the person of the Holy Ghost is not God coequal, coeternal, and coessential with the Father and the Son. 6. That the three creeds, viz. The Apostle's creed, the Nicene creed, and the Athanasius creed, are the heresies of the Nicolaitanes. 7. That he the said Edward Wightman is that prophet spoken of in the 18th of Deuteronomy, in these words, "I will raise them up a prophet, &c." And that that place of Isaiah, "I alone have troden the wine-press;" and that that place, "Whose fan is in his hand," are proper and personal to him the said Edward Wightman. 8. And that he the said Wightman is that person of the Holy Ghost spoken of in the Scriptures, and the Comforter spoken of in the 16th of St John's Gospel. 9. And that those words of our Saviour Christ, of the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, are meant of his person. 10. And that that place, the 4th of Malachy, of Elias to come, is likewise meant of his person. 11. That the soul doth sleep in the sleep of the first death, as well as the body, and is mortall, as touching the sleep of the first death, as the body is: And that the soul of our Saviour Jesus Christ did sleep in that sleep of death as well as his body. 12. That the souls of the elect saints departed, are not members possessed of the triumphant church in heaven. 13. That the baptizing of infants is an abominable custom. 14. That there ought not to be in the church the use of the Lord's Supper to be celebrated in the elements of bread and wine; and the use of Baptism to be celebrated in the element of water, as they are now practised in the Church of England: But that the use of baptism is to be administred in water, only to converts of sufficient age of understanding, converted from infidelity to the faith. 15. That God hath ordained and sent him, the said Edward Wightman, to perform his part in the work of the salvation of the world; to deliver it, by his teaching or admonition, from the heresie of the Nicolaitans, as Christ was ordained and sent to save the world, and by his death to deliver it from sin, and to reconcile it to God. 16. And that Christianity is not wholly professed and preached in the Church of England, but only in part. Wherein he the said Edward Wightman hath, before the said Reverend Father, as also before our Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical within our realm of England, maintained his said most perillous and dangerous opinions, as appeareth by many his confessions, as also

by a book written and subscribed by him, and given to us. For the which his damnable and heretical opinions, he is by Divine sentence declared, by the said Reverend Father, the Bishop of Coventrey and Lichfield, with the advice and consent of learned divines, and other learned in the laws assisting him in judgement, justly adjudged, pronounced, and declared to be an obstinate and incorrigible heretick, and is left by them under the sentence of the great excommunication; and therefore, as a corrupt member, to be cut off from the rest of the flock of Christ, lest he should infect others professing the true Christian faith: and is to be, by our secular power and authority, as an heretick punished: As by the *significavit* of the said Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of Coventrey and Lichfield, bearing date at Lichfield the 14th day of December in the 9th year of our reign, and remaining in our Court of Chancery more at large appeareth. And although the said Edward Wightman hath, since the said sentence pronounced against him, been often very charitably moved and exhorted, as well by the said bishop, as by many other godly, grave, and learned divines, to dissuade, revoke, and remove him from the said blasphemous, heretical, and Anabaptistical opinions, yet he arrogantly and wilfully persisteth and continueth in the same. We therefore, according to our regal function and office, minding the execution of justice in this behalf, and to give example to others, lest they should attempt the like hereafter, have determined, by the assent of our councel, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require you, our said Chancellor, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to award and make out, under our great seal of England, our writ of execution, according to the tenor in these presents ensuing. And these presents shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge for the same.

" Rex Vic. Civitatis nostræ Lich. salutem; Cum Reverendus in Christo Pater Richardus providentia Divina Coventr. et Lich. Episcopus nobis significaverit, quod ipse contra et adversus quendam Edwardum Wightman Parochiæ de Burton-super-Trent Coventr. et Lich. Dioces. de et super nephandis heresibus Ebionis, Cerinthi, Valentiniani, Arrii, Macedonii, Simonis Magi, Manetis, Manechiorum, Photini, et Anabaptistarum aliorumq. heresiarcharum, et insuper de aliis execrandis opinionibus instinctu Satanæ excogitatis et antehac inauditis, juxta Canonum Ecclesiasticorum legumq. et consuetudinum hujus Regni nostri Angl. exigentiam judicialit. procedens, prædictus Edwardus Wightman coram. præfato Reverendo Patre ac aliis Theologis et jurisperitis sibi in judicio assistentibus comparens, prædicta nephanda crimina hæreses ac alia detestanda blasphemia et errores contumaciter et ex quadam pertinacia scienter maliciose animoq. obdurato publicavit defendebat et disseminabat, per sententiam definitivam ejusdem Reverendi Patris cum consensu Theologorum et jurisperitorum prædictorum juste Legitime et Canonice contra eundem Edwardum Wightman in ea parte latam heretic. adjudicat. et pronunciat. existit; et ideo tanquam ovem morbidam è grege Domini ne subditos nostros sua contagione inficiet ejiciendum et eliminandum fore decreverit: Cum igitur Sancta Mater Ecclesia non habeat quod ulterius in hac parte facere et exequi debeat, idem Reverendus Pater eundem Edwardum Wightman ut blasphemum et damnatum Hæreticum brachio nostro seculari reliquit, condigna animadversione plectend. prout per Literas Patentes præfati Reverendi Patris Episcopi Coventr. et Lich. in hac parte superinde confect. nobis in Cancellar. nostram certificat. est. Nos igitur ut zelator justiciæ et fidei Catholicæ defensor: Volentesq. Ecclesiam Sanctam ac jura et libertates ejusdem et fidem Catholicam manutenere et defendere, ac hujusmodi Hæreses et Errores ubiq. (quantum in nobis est) eradicare et extirpare, ac Hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna puniri, attendentesq. hujusmodi Hæreticum in forma prædicta convictum et damnatum juxta leges et consuetudinem Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuet. ignis incendio comburi debere; Tibi præcipimus quod dict. Edwardum Wightman in custodia tua existent. in aliquo loco publico et aperto infra Civita-

tem prædict. ex causa præmissa coram populo publice igni committi, et ipsum Edwardum Wightman in eodem igne realiter comburi fac. in hujusmodi criminis detestationem aliorumq. Christianorum exemplum manifestum, ne in simile crimen labantur. Et hoc sub periculo incumbenti nullatenus omittas. Teste, &c.

HENRY HIBAITE."

This containeth a warrant to be granted by your Majesty unto the Lord Chancellour of England, for the awarding of a writ under the great seal of England, to the sheriff of the city of Lichfield, for the burning of Edward Wightman, who is convicted of divers horrible heresies before the Bishop of Coventrey and Lichfield, and by his sentence left to the secular power, as is by the said Bishop certified to your Majesty, into your Highness' Court of Chancery.

And is done by force of your Majesties commandment to me, given under your Highness' sign-manual.

HENRY HIBAITE."

The King to the Sheriff of our City of Lichfield, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in Christ, Richard, by Divine Providence of Coventrey and Lichfield, Bishop, hath signified unto us, that he judicially proceeding, according to the exigence of the Ecclesiastical Canons, and of the laws and customes of this our kingdome of England, against one Edward Wightman of the parish of Burton-upon-Trent, in the diocess of Coventrey and Lichfield, of and upon the wicked heresies of Ebion,* Cerinthus, Valentinian, Arrius, Macedonius, Simon Magus, of Manes, Manichees, Photinus, and of the Anabaptists, and other arch-hereticks, and moreover of other cursed opinions belched by the instinct of Satan, excogitated and heretofore unheard of, the aforesaid Edward Wightman appearing before the aforesaid Reverend Father and other divines, and learned in the law assisting him in judgment, the aforesaid wicked crimes, heresies, and other detestable blasphemies and errours, stubbornly and pertinaciously, knowingly, maliciously, and with an hardened heart, published, defended, and dispersed, by definitive sentence of the said Reverend Father, with the consent of divines, learned in the law aforesaid, justly, lawfully, and canonically against the said Edward Wightman, in that part brought, stands adjudged and pronounced an heretick, and therefore as a diseased sheep out of the flock of the Lord, lest our subjects he do infect by his contagion, he hath decreed to be cast out and cut off. Whereas, therefore, the holy mother church hath not further in this part what it ought more to do and prosecute, the same reverend father, the same Edward Wightman, as a blasphemous and condemned heretick, hath left to our secular power to be punished with condign punishment, as by the letters patents of the aforesaid reverend father, the Bishop of Coventrey and Lichfield, in this behalf thereupon made, is certified unto us into our Chancery. We, therefore, as a zelot of justice, and a defendor of the Catholike faith, and willing that the Holy Church, and the rights and liberties of the same, and the Catholike faith to maintain and defend, and such like heresies and errors every where, so much as in us lies, to root out and extirpate, and hereticks so convict to punish with condign punishment; holding that such an heretick, in the aforesaid form convict and condemned, according to the laws and customes of this our kingdome of England in this part accustomed, ought to be burned with fire, We command thee that thou cause the said Edward Wightman, being in thy custody, to be committed to the fire in some publike and open place below the city aforesaid, for the cause aforesaid; before the people; and the same Edward Wightman, in the same fire, cause real-

ly to be burned, in the detestation of the said crime, and for manifest example of other Christians, that they may not fall into the same crime; and this no waies omit, under the peril that shall follow thereon. Witness, &c.

1611.
Expedit' apud Westm' Nono die Martii
Anno Regis Jacobi Angl' &c. Nono.
per WINDEBANK.

The Pardon of Theophilus Higgons.

" JAMES R.

" Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Cum nobis dat. est intelligi, Quod Theophilus Higgons de London Clericus in partes transmarin. absque licenc. nostra Regia emigraverit, Ibidemque duos ann. et dimidium vel eo circiter Commorat. et cum Jesuitis et Presbyter. Conversat. fuerit, atque in eodem temporis spatio in Seminar. Anglic. apud Doway et Sanct. Omer. aliquantisper permanserit, Et se Ecclesiæ Romanæ reconciliaverit, Necnon quædam Scandalos. et Periculos. contra Stat. hujus Regni nostri tam Ecclesiast. quam Temporal., et verbis et script. protulerit, et enunciaverit, atque etiam quosdam è subdit. nostris a Religione in hoc Regno nostro stabilit. seducere et avertere operam et vires intenderit; Postea tamen per sancta et bona media, et præcipuè ex penitent. et instinctu misericordiæ et gratiæ Divinæ, præd. perversitat. suam, ac falsas et opprobriosas opiniones præd. penitùs abnegaverit, Seque Religioni veræ et reformat., et in hoc Regno promulgat. et stabilit. Conformem exhibuerit. Sciatis igitur, quod nos pietate moti de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex cert. scient. et mer. motu nostris pardonavimus remisimus et relaxavimus, ac per præsentes pro nobis hæred. et successor. nostris pardonamus remittimus et relaxamus, præd. Theophilo Higgons de London Clerico, seu quocunque alio nomine cognomine sive additione nominis vel cognominis offic. art. dignitat. loc. vel locorum, idem Theophilus Higgons censeatur vocetur sive nuncupetur, aut nuper censebatur vocabatur sive nuncupabatur, omn. et omnimod. offens. de transcundo in partes transmarin. absq. Licenc. nostra, ibidemque commorand. et cum Jesuit. et Presbyter. conversand. ac in Seminar. Anglic. apud Doway et Sanct. Omer. permanend. atque Ecclesiæ Romanæ se reconciliand. ac scandalos. aliqua contra Stat. Regni hujus tum Ecclesiast. quam temporal. et scribend. et loquend. atque aliquos è subdit. nostris à Religione hujus Regni nostri avertend. et seducend.; Atque omnes alias offens. delict. contempt. malefact. et transgression. quascunque præmissa aut eorum aliquod vel aliqua in aliquo tangen. vel concernen. per præd. Theophilum Higgons ante dat. præsentium qualitercunque Commiss. sive perpetrat. atque etiam omn. et omnimod. offens. proditiones felonias et premunir. ratione alicujus vel aliquorum facti vel factor. superius mencionat. commis. perpetrat. vel incursos; Licet idem Theophilus Higgons de præmis. vel aliquo præmis. indictat. impetit. convict. attinct. adjudicat. utlegat. seu condemnat. existit vel non existit, aut inde indictar. impetir. convinc. atting. adjudicar. utlegar. seu condemnari contigerit in futurum; Necnon omnes et omnimod. utlegar. si quæ in ipsum Theophilum Higgons occasionibus præd. seu earum aliqua fuerint promulgat. sive promulgand. Ac omn. et omnimod. Judic. attinctur. conviction. condemnation. pœnas mort. pœnas corporal. imprisonamen. ac omn. al. forisfactur. execution. punition. et pœnalitat. quæcunque super vel versus ipsum Theophilum Higgons ratione sue occasione præmis. sive eor. alicujus habit. fact. reddit. sive adjudicat. aut habend. faciend. reddend. seu adjudicand.; Necnon omn. et omnimod. action. sect. querel. impetition. et demand. quæcunque quæ nos versus ipsum Theophi-

lum Higgons ratione sive occasione præmiss. seu eor. alicujus habemus habuimus seu in futurum habere poterimus, aut hered. seu successor. nostri habere poterint in futur. sectamque pac nostræ quæ ad nos versus ipsum Theophilum Higgons pertinet seu pertinere poterit in futur. et firmam pacem, et hanc pardonation. nostram eidem Theophilo Higgons inde damus et concedimus per presentes. Aliquo Statut. Act. provisione seu restrictione in contrar. inde in aliquo non obstan. In cujus rei, &c. Teste, &c.

FR. BACON."

It may please your Excellent Majesty,

This bill containeth your Majesties gracious pardon unto Theophilus Higgons clerk, for any offence or contempt in passing over the seas, or reconciliation to the Church of Rome, or remaining in seminaries, or conversing with Jesuites or priests, or other offenses of that nature; for which he is penitent, and hath converted and conformed himself to the religion established in this realm.

I have no warrant for the drawing of this bill, save that Sir Edward Hoby, to whom the party bears special obligation, did, by his letter to me, signifie your Majesties pleasure to this purpose: But because the parties conversion was so notorious, and so generally liked, I have presumed to commend this bill to your Majesties signature.

FR. BACON.

1611.
Expedit' apud Westm' xxiiij° die Julii
Anno Regis Jacobi Nono.
per WINDEBANK.

The Pardon of Sir Eustace Harte.

"JAMES R.

"Rex Omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quod nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris pardonavimus, remisimus et relaxavimus ac per præsentes pro nobis hæred. et successor. nostris pardonamus, remittimus et relaxamus Eustathio Harte de villa de Southampton milit. seu quocunque alio nomine, cognomine seu additione nominis vel cognominis, dignitat. Offic. loc vel locorum idem Eustathius Harte sciatur, censeatur, vocetur seu nuncupetur, aut nuper sciebatur, censeabatur, vocabatur sive nuncupabatur omnia et singula crimina et offens. Adulterii, Fornicationis et Incontinentiæ quascunque per ipsum Eustathium Harte cum aliqua muliere sive aliquibus mulieribus ante dat. præsent ubicunq. quandocunq. quomodocunq. et qualitercunq. fact. commis. sive perpetrat. Necnon omnia et singula sect. Impetitiones, actiones, fines, pœnas, amerciament. et punitiones quascunq. tangen. seu concernen. præmissa seu eorum aliquod. Except. semper extra has præsentes omnibus et singulis Rapt. Mulier. Angl. vocat. *Rapes*, et omnibus et singulis Incest. et Buggeriis et omnibus aliis criminibus et offensis unde aliqua Billa, Actio, querela aut Informatio ante dat. præsen. exhibit. fuit et coram nobis et consilio nostro in Camera Stellat. aut aliquibus aliis Cur. nostris apud Westmonaster. aut in aliqua vel aliquibus curiis nostris Ecclesiasticis aut coram aliquem vel aliquos Judicem vel Judic. aut Commissionar. nostros Ecclesiastic. modo dependet et remanet prosequend. In cujus rei, &c. Teste, &c."

This containeth your Majesties pardon to Sir Eustace Hart, Knight, of all adulte-

ries, fornications, and incontinencies committed with any woman before this time, and also of all imprisonments, fines, and punishments in respect of the same.

It containeth, nevertheless, an exception of all rapes, incest and buggeries, and all sutes wherein any bill or sute is depending in the Court of Star-chamber, or any other your Majesties courts at Westminster, or in any ecclesiastical court whatsoever.

THO. RIDLEY, *Cancellarius Winton.*

Ex. LEVINUS MUNCK.

1616.
Expedit' apud Westm' Undecimo die Julii
Anno Regis Jacobi quarto decimo.
per WINDEBANK.

The Arraignment and Conviction of Sir Walter Raleigh, at the King's-Bench Bar at Winchester, on the 17th of November, 1603. *Before the Right Honourable the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, Sir John Stanhope, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, Popham and Andrews, Justice Gaudy, Justice Warburton, Sir William Wade, Commissioners. Copied by Sir Tho. Overbury.*

London: Printed by William Wilson, for Abel Roper, 1648.

The plot of Sir Walter Raleigh, if any really existed, was of a description absolutely inexplicable. It is well known that Raleigh and Essex were at the head of opposite factions during the reign of Elizabeth, and that SirWalter had some share in the destruction of his rival. This was of prejudice to him on James's accession, for the new monarch loved the memory of Essex, and honoured Southampton and others of his surviving friends. Cecil, who had been still deeper in the ruin of Essex, might indeed have been expected to have protected Raleigh with his influence. But although they united in destroying their great rival, both these courtiers had separate and irreconcileable objects; nor could Cecil be desirous to retain at court a man, whose parts as a scholar might have captivated James, however much he might be awed and alienated by his martial disposition. Thus it seems well observed by Osborne, that Raleigh, wanting power, though not wit, to be Cecil's rival, perished, because he did not own humility enough to be his servant. Above all, it was imputed as a mortal crime to Raleigh, that, contrary to the general wish and interest of the nation, he wished the English to make some conditions with their new monarch ere they crowned him. Raleigh, from these various causes, received discountenance from James, and was deprived of his office of Captain of the Guards. Shortly after a conspiracy was said to have been discovered, in which Raleigh, Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, George Brook, Lord Grey, and some catholic priests and gentlemen, were represented as being engaged. The plan is said to have been, with the aid of Spain, to seize the king, and to set up the title of the Lady Arabella Stuart. Raleigh, upon his arrestment, wrote to Lord Cobham to be firm and confess nothing, which induced him to retract a confession which he had at first made. Raleigh himself, in a letter to Cecil, expresses his dread of being left to the *cruelty* of the laws of England, and to that *summum jus* which it denounces concerning misprision of treason. The expressions in that letter lead us to believe, that these fiery spirits had indulged themselves in talking over some hazardous and criminal exploit, though it would be doing injustice to Raleigh's excellent judgment to suppose that it was in any respect matured for execution. In addressing the jury, he seemed to admit that the rigid construction of the evidence might reach his life, although with prejudice to essential justice. "Think, therefore, I most humbly beseech you, on my great afflic-

tion, with compassion, who have lost my estate and the king's favour upon one man's word, and as you would that God should deal with you, deal with me. You all know that the law of England hath need of a merciful prince; and if you put me to shame, you take from me all hope ever to receive his majesty's least grace again. I beseech you to be resolved of those things, of which I am accused, and distinguish me from others. As you have true honour, and as you would yourselves be used in the like, forget all particular mistakes; *multos clementia honestavit, ultio nullum.*"—CAYLEY's *Life of Sir W. Raleigh, I.* 369.

AFTER that Sir Walter Raleigh was brought to the bar, he sat upon a stool, within a place made of purpose for the prisoner to be in, and expected the coming of the lords: during which time he saluted divers of his acquaintance with a very steadfast and chearful countenance. When the commissioners were all assembled, having stood up a while, he desired the marshal to ask leave of the lords that he might sit, which was presently granted. Then the court proceeded in his arraignment according to the ordinary course; unto which Sir Walter did orderly and willingly dispose himself: as the jury was called to the book, he was asked whether he would challenge any of the gentlemen impannelled for his jury? he said, he knew none of them, but hoped they were honest men, and so desired the court to take their choice of them. The jury being sworn, who were Ralph Conisby, Sir Thomas Fowler, Sir Edward Peacock, Sir William Rowe, Knights; Henry Goodier, Roger Wood, Thomas Walker, Thomas Whitby, Esquires; Thomas Highgate, Robert Kempton, John Chawkie, Robert Brumley, gentlemen. The indictment was read by the clerk of the Crown Office, the effect whereof was as followeth:

"That he did conspire and go about to deprive the king of his government, and to raise up sedition within the realm, to alter religion, and to bring in the Romish superstition, and to procure foreign enemies to invade the kingdoms. That the lord Cobham, the ninth of June last, did meet with the said Sir Walter Raleigh: Cobham was then in Durham-House, in the parish of St Martins in the Fields, and then and there had conference with him how to advance Arabella Steward to the crown and royal throne of this kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed, that Cobham should treat with Aremberge, ambassador from the archduke of Austria, to obtain of him six hundred thousand crowns, to bring to pass their intended treasons. It was agreed that Cobham should go to Albert, the archduke, to procure him to advance the pretended title of Arabella; from thence, knowing that Albert had not sufficient means to maintain his own army in the Low Countries, Cobham should go into Spain, to procure the king to assist and further her pretended title. It was also agreed, the better to effect all these conspiracies, that Arabella should write three letters, one to the archduke, another to the king of Spain, and another to the duke of Savoy, and promising three things; First, To establish firm peace betwixt England and Spain; Secondly, To tolerate the Romish and popish superstition; Thirdly, To be ruled by them for the contriving of the marriage; and for the effecting of these traitorous purposes, Cobham should return by the isle of Jersey, and should find Sir Walter Raleigh captain of the said isle of Jersey there, and take counsel of him for the distributing of the foresaid crowns, as the occasions and discontentment of the subjects should give cause and way: and further, that Cobham and his brother Brook did meet on the ninth of June last, and Cobham told Brook all the treasons, to which treasons Brook gave his assent, and did join himself to all these: and after, on the Thursday following, Cobham and Brook did traiterously speak these words, That there would never be a good world in England, till the king and his cubs (meaning his royal issue) were taken away; and the more to disable and deprive the king of his crown, and to confirm the said Cobham in his intents, Raleigh did traiterously publish a book falsely written against the most just royal title of the king, knowing the said book to be written against the king, which book Cobham

afterwards received of him: and further, for the better effecting of these traiterous purposes, and to establish the said Brook in his intents. Cobham did deliver the said book to him on the fourteenth of June, and on the sixteenth of June, for the accomplishment of the said conference, and by the traiterous instigations of Raleigh, did move Brook to incite Arabella to write to the three foresaid princes to procure them to advance her title, and that she, after that she had obtained the crown, should perform three things, viz. 1st, To establish a firm peace betwixt England and Spain; 2dly, To tolerate the popish religion with impunity: 3dly, To be ruled by them three in the contracting of marriage by their assent: and for the better effecting of these treasons, Cobham, upon the 17th of June, by the instigation of Raleigh, did write letters to count Aremberge, and delivered the said letters to one Matthew de Lawrencie, who delivered them to the count, for the attaining of six hundred thousand crowns, which money by other letters Aremberge did promise to perform payment of, and those letters Cobham did receive on the 18th of June; then did Cobham promise Raleigh, that when he should have received that money, he would deliver eight thousand crowns to him, to which motion he did consent. And afterwards Cobham offered Brook, that when he should have received that money, he would give ten thousand crowns thereof to him, to which motion Brook did assent."

Master Serjeant Heale opened the matter, and delivered the effect of the indictment; in whose speech this was observed, that he charged Sir Walter to have intended the intitling of the lady Arabella Steward to the crown, who, he said, had no more title thereunto than he had himself; and further said, after a little pause, that he for his own part did disclaim and renounce all title thereunto: whereat Sir Walter Raleigh smiled. The Serjeant concluding, Mr Attorney Cook [1] began, and, with a long discourse, amplified (with vehement words and actions) the several treasons whereof Sir Walter stood indicted, wherein he so far moved Sir Walter, that he many times offered to make answer for himself, before the court would give him leave; protesting Mr Attorney told him news he never heard of before, and that his memory (by reason of his sickness) was so feeble, that he could not remember so many circumstances as Mr Attorney tired him withal: but Mr Attorney pressed the lords, that the king's evidence ought not to be broken, or dismembred, whereby it might loose much of its grace and vigour: notwithstanding it was yielded, when Mr Attorney came to his proof, Sir Walter Raleigh should have leave to answer his several points as they were objected. In Mr Attorney divers things were observed, which were said and used in his narration or evidence. Some captiously noted, that he said this treason did tend not only to the overthrow of true religion, and destruction of all our souls, but even to the loss of our goods, lands, and lives: but it seemeth he meant reciprocally. Others thought him full of impertinent phrases and complements, and specially when he spake of the king's issue,

[1] The celebrated Sir Edward Coke, who incurred great and deserved odium on account of the ungenerous virulence of his behaviour to Sir Walter Raleigh on this occasion. The following short specimen will be admitted as a sufficient ground of censure:

"*Ralegh.* I do not hear yet that you have spoken one word against me; here is no treason of mine done. If my Lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?

Attorney. All that his did was by thy instigation, thou viper; for I *thou* thee, thou traitor.

Ralegh. It becometh not a man of quality and virtue to call me so; but I take comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attorney. Have I angered you?

Ralegh. I am in no case to be angry.

Ch. Jus. Popham. Sir Walter Ralegh, Mr Attorney speaketh out of the zeal of his duty for the service of the king, and you for your life; be valiant on both sides."—CAYLEY's *Life of Ralegh, I.* 390.

Commentators have thought, that this remarkable instance of brutal indecorum is ridiculed in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, where Sir Toby, directing Sir Andrew Aguecheek in the composition of his challenge, says, "If thou *thou'st* him some thrice, it will not be amiss." This passage, among others, seems to countenance the opinion.

or of the lords; after he said he would say nothing of them, then he would presently fall into gross and palpable adulation of them to their faces; but in their commendations he spake nothing but truth. Some noted his care and diligence in delivering to the people, that the king said he would loose lands, crown, and life, before he would suffer a toleration or alteration in religion; and that to these traytors (for Cobham and Gray were upon the bye) he had done nothing rigorously, nothing unnaturally, nothing precipitately; not rigorously, because no torture used; not unnaturally, because the brother was not pressed (further then he would) to accuse his brother; not precipitately, because of the long time his gracious majesty had promised before he would bring them to their arraignment: this was much to the satisfaction of the people, but this he was commanded to deliver. All the assembly could have wished that he had not behaved himself so violently nor bitterly, nor used so great provocation to the prisoner; which the better sort imputed to his zeal in the king's service, and to the passion which overwhelmed him in the cause of his country: as when he brake forth into these and the like speeches: This horrible and detestable traytor, this main traytor (for the rest were upon the bye) this instigator and seducer to treasons, he that hath a Spanish heart, you are an odious man; see with what a whorish forehead he defends his faults; this is he that would take away the king and his cubbs; O abominable traytor! But many that prejudicate of Mr Attorney's nature, would hardly be persuaded but those speeches proceeded out of the insolency of his own disposition, given to triumph over poor delinquents, and men in misery: honest men have reason to think the best. And as the Attorney was noted, so was the carriage of Raleigh most remarkable: first to the lords (principally to my Lord Cecil) humble, yet not prostrate; dutiful, yet not dejected; for in some cases he would humbly thank them for gracious speeches, in other acknowledge that their honours said true, as in relating some circumstances: and in such points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reference urge them, and answer them, as in points of law, or essential matters of fact. Towards the jury affable, but not fawning, not in despair nor believing, but hoping in them, carefully persuading them with reasons, not distemperately importuning them with conjurations; rather shewing love of life than fear of death. Towards the king's council patient, but not insensibly neglecting, not yielding to imputations laid against him in words; and it was wondred that a man of his heroick spirit could be so valiant in suffering, that he was never overtaken in passion: but when it was insinuated that it was said, that it would never be well till the king and his cubs were taken away, he said that Mr Attorney used him basely, barbarously, and rigorously, and that he was a base slave and a wretch that spake the words; but he received comfort in these base words of Mr Attorney, for he hoped that it should be the worst he should be able to do against him.

The accusation may be said to be of two parts, viz. personal against the king, and publickly against the state and quiet of the realm, both high treason. The personal treason was of two sorts; the first a conspiracy against the king's life; the second a practice to disable the king's title to the crown of England. To prove Raleigh intended the king's death, the confession of George Brooke was enforced, who said that his brother my Lord Cobham told him that he and my Lord Gray were but upon the bye, but the said Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were upon the main for it, and should never be well till the king and his cubs were taken away. And further, that he thought in his conscience that the said speech of the kings cubs proceeded from Raleigh. And it was further declared, that the confession of George Brooke was enforced, and not voluntarily made, untill Sir Griffin Markham, and Watson the priest, had vouched him for the knowledge of some farther purpose than the surprizing of the king. To this Sir Walter answered, that George Brook would say any thing of him, but he thanked God he never spake with him; for if he had spoken but five words he perceived that it had been enough. Then my Lord Cecil said, that indeed he thought

that George Brook had spleen to Sir Walter, but his brother my Lord Cobham and he were good friends, and therefore he could not tell whether he hated Raleigh so much as to do his brother so great a displeasure, and said, that my Lord Cobham might, if he did practice (as himself confessed) with Spain, give Sir Walter's name in to credit him withall, as a man that favoured him, and on whom he did presume more than he had reason. To prove that Raleigh practised to scandalize his majesties title to the crown, my Lord Cobham's confession was produced: That Sir Walter delivered him a book concerning the king's title, but told him withall, that it was a foolish book, which he delivered to his brother George to consider of, and George Brooke confessed that his brother gave him such a book, whereof he read only the titles of the chapters, containing matter against the king's title and line. And it was not omitted by the Attorney, that this book was delivered upon occasion of my Lord Cobham's discontentment. Raleigh confessed that he had such a book, which he never read, but it was entitled, " A Defence of the Queen's Proceedings against Mary Queen of Scotland;" and constantly denyed that he delivered it to my Lord Cobham, but that my Lord Cobham took it out of his study (if he had any such of his) without his knowledge, he protested. Here my Lord Henry Howard signified, that my Lord Cobham was asked in his examination, whether Sir Walter gave him the book, or that he took the same? and he said that Sir Walter gave it him; but that since he had told some (who were again with him) that whereas he had said that Sir Walter gave him the book, the truth was he took the same of himself out of his study when he was asleep. Then my Lord Cecil asked Sir Walter where he had the book? and he said, he took it out of my late Lord Treasurer Burleigh's study after he was dead. My Lord Cecil desired to know whether out of that which was left to him, or to his brother? and he said, out of that which was in my Lord Treasurer's house in the Strand. Whereupon my Lord Cecil published, that after his father's death, Sir Walter desired to search for some cosmographycal descriptions of theWest-Indies which he thought were in his study, and were not to be had in print, which he granted, and said he would as soon have trusted Sir Walter as any man: though since (for some infirmities of Sir Walter's) the bonds of his affection had been crackt, and yet, reserving his duty to the king his master (which he could not dispence withall in his service) he swore by God he loved him, and found a great conflict in himself, in that so compleat a member in common-wealth was fallen away. But he must needs say, that Sir Walter used him discourteously to take the book away, and not to acquaint him therewith: nevertheless he said he need not to make any apology in the behalf of his father, considering how usual and necessary a thing it is for counsellors, and those in his place, to intercept and keep all such kind of writings; for whosoever should now search his study (or at least his cabinet) should like enough find all the famous libells that ever were made against the queen that is dead; and shall also find divers made against the king, our sovereign lord that now is, since his coming to the crown. Sir Walter said, that the book was a manuscript, and had noted in the beginning with my Lord Treasurer's own hand, this is the book of one Cob. Snag, and affirmed, that, as my Lord Cecil had said, he thought a man might find also in his house all the libells that had been made against the late queen. Mr Attorney said that he was no privy counsellor, nor he hoped never should be. My Lord Cecil answered, that he indeed was no counsellor of state, yet he had been often called to consultation. Sir Walter thought it a very severe interpretation of this law to bring him within the compass of treason only for this book, written so long ago as it was, whereof no man had read more than the titles of the chapters, and which was burned by George Brook without his privity; admitting that he had delivered it to my Lord Cobham, not advancing, nor approving the same, but discommending it, as Cobham's first confession was; and he puts this case, If he should come to my Lord Cecil (as oft he had done) and find a searcher with him with a packet of libells, and my lord let him have one or two to peruse; this he hoped was

no treason. To prove this treason against the state and commonweal, my Lord Cobham's confessions were read to this effect: That it was agreed between Sir Walter Raleigh and him, that my Lord Cobham should deal with Count Aremberge, to procure six hundred thousand crowns; that Count Aremberge did promise to satisfie his request, to the intent to advance the title of Arabella; and that it was likewise concluded, that Cobham should (under pretence of travelling) go into the Low-Countries, into France and Spain, and carry three letters from the Lady Arabella to the Arch-duke, the Duke of Savoy, and to the King of Spain, to obtain the said sum of crowns, and thereby to promise three things unto the princes: First, that there should be a peace concluded with Spain. Secondly, that there should be a toleration of religion in England. Lastly, that she would not marry but by the direction of the said princes, and that he should come back by Jersey, and there he should meet with Sir Walter Raleigh, and then they would agree how to dispose the money to discontented persons (whereof he thought he should find many at his return) and that Sir Walter should have a great number of crowns from the said Count Aremberge. And Sir Walter thought that the best course to trouble England was to cause division in Scotland. And my Lord Cobham further accused Sir Walter to have bin the only instigator of him to all these treasons. And one Mat. de Lawrencie, a merchant of Antwerp, that was used between Count Aremberge and my Lord Cobham, confessed that Sir Walter Rawleigh supped with my Lord Cobham one night when he came to my Lord Cobham's house, and that they three went alone to Sir Walter Raleigh's house in the Strand by water, and that the said Matthew de Lawrencie delivered a letter to my Lord Cobham from Count Aremberge at Durham-house, and immediately Sir Walter went up with my Lord Cobham into his chamber, and Matthew de Lawrencie tarried below: Sir Walter confessed that he knew very well that Matthew de Lawrencie held intelligence between Count Aremberge and my Lord Cobham, and so did the lords of the council know, that it had been so these seven years by licence of the queen: but that he knew to what purpose it was now of late he denied, other than he took it to have been concerning the business of the peace with Spain; for that my Lord Cobham said, that his brother George Brook was very loath to accuse him. Sir Walter proceeded, and asked, Whether my Lord Cobham had accused him, or confessed any such thing? It was answered, that my Lord Cobham had been asked whether he had spoken any such thing concerning his said brother's unwillingness, and he would make no answer but that he had; however, he said it proceeded out of a discontented mind from the said George Brook, which Mr Attorney said was a confession of their pretence in law. Then Sir Walter Raleigh said, that if my Lord Cobham had accused him as they alledged, he ought to renew his accusation to his face, that so he might not be massacred by hearsay, and affirmed, it was Sir Nicolas Throgmorton's case. There was further urged against Sir Walter, for intending to make away the king, the testimony of one that had been lately at sea, who was in the court in a blew cassock, and deposed, That being at Lisbon not long after the coming in of the king into England, a Portugal gentleman asked him whence he was? and he said of England. Then he asked whether our king were crowned or not? and he answered, he hoped so by this time; whereupon the Portugal said, that my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh would make him away before it were long. Sir Walter made light of this rumour and of the witness, and said that he thought it might be so; for that my Lord Cobham knowing that he had written a book and presented it to the king, to move his mind not to make his peace with Spain, hearing him one day at his table dispute very violently against the peace, told him in his gallery presently after, he need not be so much against the peace, for he should have seven thousand crowns to labour for it; and that he thought it to be a toye, nor knew how to deserve it; yet his answer was, let me see the money, and then I will answer you to the purpose. And my Lord Cobham told him further, that he would offer a

great sum of money to my Lord Cecill and to my Lord of Northumberland to the same end, but he dissuaded him from it, and told him, they would hate him as long as they live for it. And Sir Walter said further, that the occasion of my Lord Cobham's accusation was this, viz. when, as Sir Walter perceived by the lords, that they had the said Matthew de Lawrencie in jealousy to do some bad offices between Count Aremberge and my Lord Cobham (who, as he thought, was justly condemned upon these advertisements) that he observed my Lord Cobham that night (when my Lord Cobham brought him home to his house) to go back past his own stairs towards his Countess's lodgings, with the said Matthew de Lawrencie, as if he had been very sorry to have parted with them. Then he writ to my Lord Cecil to signify to him, that in his judgment, if he apprehended Matthew de Lawrencie presently, it might be a means that he might intercept their intelligence (perhaps not yet ripe); and if otherwise, Matthew de Lawrencie might perchance be shuffled away, and so left it to his lordship's consideration: and afterwards my Lord Cobham had constantly denied these matters upon his examination, this letter was shewed unto him, as though Sir Walter had induced him to all the inconveniences he had fallen into, which, after he had read, he desired to read it again. And upon assurance it was Sir Walter's letter, in a great passion he brake forth into these speeches: Oh villain! oh vile traytor! hath he used me thus? Nay, then I will tell you all, and thereupon, in madness and persuasion of the wrong that Sir Walter had done him, he delivered the right accusation, the substance whereof was not denied, though Mr Attorney noted, that he considered of it a second time before he entered into passion. Sir Walter appealed to all that knew my Lord Cobham, that he was as passionate a man as lived; and said, that in his choler he had accused his friends of greater matters than these, and had been sorry for it afterwards.

The king's council replied, that the confession of George Brook, of the foresaid speeches of my Lord Cobham, touching himself and Sir Walter, for a further plot than they two by any way could excuse, must stand good in law, in that those speeches were uttered (as it appeared) before those matters came out, and before my Lord Cobham had conceived the spleen against Sir Walter upon the sight of this letter. And further produced my Lord Cobham's confession, That Sir Walter, after his first being before the lords, did write unto him the said Cobham, that he had been examined of many things concerning him, but he had cleared him in all. Now the lords protested, that all this while he was not asked one question touching my Lord Cobham, and therefore the attorney inferred, that he writ this out of a fearful and guilty conscience, to confirm my Lord Cobham in his denial against he should be examined. Sir Walter hereupon declared, that my Lord Cobham put him in trust to pass the inheritance of certain fee-farm lands for him, and gave divers jewels of great value for his security, which were in his bosom at the time of his apprehension, and that my Lord Cobham had a cabinet worth thirty pound, which Master Attorney should have had for his favour: and that at his return from the lords, with private restraint to his own house, my Lord Cobham's footman came to him to know what was done in the business; and he, unwilling to have it known that he was restrained, dispatched the footman, saying, he would write to his lord, and so did by Captain Kemish. Besides for that which he writ of the said business, and acquainted my Lord Cobham that he had been examined, and that he had cleared his lordship; he did write so in this regard, that though he were not examined of my Lord Cobham, yet he talking with my Lord Cecil, and his lordship telling him he was glad there were no more in the action than there appeared, and that he hoped such a one was not in, Sir Walter said that my Lord Cobham was absolutely clear; and my Lord Cecil replied, he did hope so, and thought no less: all which was said in regard my Lord Cobham was thought to be discontented. But afterwards, my Lord Cecil said, Sir Walter, you have Kemish against you, who carried the letter, and tore out that sheet, which concerned the lords of the council, (for so

was my Lord Cobham's confession,) and he hath been offered the rack for it, but what he has confessed, I as yet know not. Answer was made by Sir William Wade, that Kemish had confessed he carried a letter, and knew nothing at all of the contents; and that indeed he was told that he deserved himself to be put to the rack for it. Well, said Sir Walter, the rack-keeper was called for, was he not? Sir William Wade said, that it was privately reported, that Kemish had his master's letter back from my Lord Cobham, but Sir Walter confessed no such matter. But concerning that he was charged withal, for practising to make a combustion in Scotland, he confessed the words of my Lord Cobham's accusation to this effect: That he thought the best course to trouble England, was, to cause sedition in Scotland; and said, that he had thought so any time these twenty years; and so it hath been also held by the wisest men in this kingdom: And he had delivered his opinion to be such divers times to the lords of the council, and he thought that there were but few there but were of his opinion. Sir Walter also offered to the consideration of the jury, that my Lord Cobham had not subscribed his accusation. Then the lords requested my Lord Chief Justice to deliver, whether subscriptions were necessary by the law? And my Lord Chief Justice said they were not. Nay, said Sir Walter, pardon me, my lord; for this, by your lordship's favour, I take to be the course of examination in this kind. After that the examinate hath confessed, and his confession is written, it is all read over again distinctly and deliberately to him, that he may be sure to say nothing but truth: and then, in confirmation that it is undoubtedly true, and that he will stand thereunto, he is to subscribe the same. Now, my lords, if my Lord Cobham did accuse me thus rashly out of his passion, and afterwards, when he had read it again, began to relent, and (with sorrow for the wrong he had done me) refuse to set his hand thereunto; then I say, my lords, I have reason to take hold of it. And it is well known to you, my Lord Cecil, and my lord of Northampton, how he hath recanted his accusation; moreover, he hath most penitently sorrowed for this injury he hath done me, and could never be quiet in his conscience till he had purged me. Master Attorney said, that in my Lord Cobham's accusation there were many things that he had recanted, but there was no essential point prenominated, which he had recanted. And my Lord Cecil said, that the reason that my Lord Cobham gave why he would not subscribe, was, because he thought he was privileged by his degree; wherein he appealed to my Lord Chief Justice, who answered, that it was a great contempt to refuse to subscribe; but it did not appear that thereupon he did subscribe. Then Master Attorney delivered, that it was Sir Walter's policy to have but one witness, because he thought that one witness could not condemn him. Sir Walter thereupon furiously started up, and said to him, Master Attorney, you must not think that all that maketh for me is policy, and all that maketh against me is plain, and God revealeth it. I were well fitted for justice, if you should come to be my judge; what indifferency is there in this, my Lord Chief Justice? Remember, I beseech your lordship, the statute of the first of Edward VI. hath this, that no person shall be condemned of treason, unless he be accused by two lawful accusers, and those to be brought before the party, if they belong to England. And remember, too, the statute of the 13th of the queen, no man shall be arraigned of treason, without the oath of two sufficient and lawful witnesses brought face to face. My Lord Chief Justice said, the statute of the first of Edward VI. was repealed by the first and second of Philip and Mary, and reduced all tryall of treason to the course of the common law. And that the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth extended to such offences as were mentioned in the said act, to be committed against the queen that dead is And that all was now put to the common law, and that by the common law one witness was sufficient concerning presumption; some of the judges said, that by the law a man might be condemned without a witness, only upon presumption. And if the king (whom God defend!) should be slain in his chamber, and one is seen to come

forth of the chamber, with his sword bloody, being drawn, were not this evident both in law and opinion, without further inquisition? And, my Lord Chief Justice, that one witness, accusing himself too, was very great testimony, especially in this case; for it was not to be imagined, that my Lord Cobham would do himself so much harm, as to adventure the loss of his honour, lands of so great worth, and his life, for any spleen of Sir Walter, unless the matter were true, and therefore the accusation was very strong against Sir Walter. Note, That the treasons against Queen Elizabeth, which, by the statutes of the 15th of her reign, were to be proved by the oath of two witnesses, were death, or bodily harm intending to death, imagined against her; levying of wars, within or without the realm, against her; plots to depose or deprive her; publishing her to be a tyrant, heretick, infidel, schismatick, usurious, &c. Sir Walter proceeded and urged, that though these statutes lived not, yet he knew very well the reason of these statutes and equity of them lived still; but howsoever I am sure (saith he) the law of God liveth for ever. And you shall find it in Deuteronomy, in the 17th chapter, *In ore duorum aut trium testium peribit qui interficitur. Nemo occidatur uno contra se dicente testimonium.* And in the 19th chapter, *Non stabit unus testis contra aliquem; quicquid illud peccati, et facinoris fuerit. Sed in ore duorum aut trium testium stabit omne verbum.* Divers other places in the Old Testament are to this purpose, confirmed by our Saviour too in the 18th of Mark, and the 8th of John, and by St Paul, Cor ii. 13, and by the whole consent of Scripture. And if the common law be as Brooks saith, (who was a great lawyer,) then there ought to be two witnesses: for he saith a tryal is by verdict and by witness, wherein my Lord Chief Justice said he was deceived. But, said he, you tell me of one witness, let me have him. Prove these practices by one witness, and I will confess myself guilty to the king in a thousand treasons. I stand not upon the law, I defie the law; if I have done these things, I desire not to live, whether they be treasons by the law or no. Let me have my accuser brought to my face; and if he will maintain it to my face, I will confess my judgment. Here my Lord Chief Justice being required to signifie his opinion of the law in this; he said, it was not the law to have the witness brought to his face, considering he accused himself also. To the which the rest of the judges agreed. Sir Walter replyed, it was not against or contrary to the law; howsoever I do not expect it of duty; and yet I say you should deal very severely with me, if you should condemn me, and not bring my accuser to my face. Remember a story of Fortescue, a reverend chief justice in this kingdom, that, condemning a woman for murthering her husband, upon the presumption or testimony of one witness, (as it seemed,) and, after she was burned, a servant of the man's that was slain, (being executed for the same fault,) confessed that he slew his master himself, and that the woman was innocent. What did the judge then say to Fortescue, touching the remorse of his conscience for proceeding upon such slender proof, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita sua ipse purgaret.* That he could never be at peace of conscience whilest he lived, although he gave consent upon the verdict of the jury. But, my lords, for the matter which I desire, remember too the story of Susanna:—Daniel thought the judges fools, because they would condemn a daughter of Israel, without asking the witness a question. Why, then, my lords, let my accuser be brought, and let me ask him a question, and I have done; for it may be it will appear out of his own tale, that his accusation cannot be true, or he will be discovered by examination. But yet, principally, my lords, remember what is said in the 19th of Deuteronomy, *Si steterit testis mendax contra hominem accusans cum prevaricatione, stabunt ambo, quorum causa est ante dominum, in conspectu sacerdotum, et judicum, qui fuerint in diebus illis.* And I will tell you, Master Attorney, if you condemn me upon bare inferences, and will not bring my accuser to my face, you try me by no law, but by the Spanish inquisition. If my accuser were dead, or not within the land, it were something. But my accuser lives, and is in the house, and yet you will not

bring him to my face. About this time my Lord Cecil asked him, if he would take issue upon these points upon my Lord Cobham's testimony, if my Lord Cobham would now justifie under his hand his accusation, and it might be that he would (by the advice of the lords) joyn issue with him. Sir Walter made no direct answer thereunto, but still besought them to bring his accuser to his face. My Lord Cecil then replyed, Sir Walter, it cannot be granted you: you have heard your self that the law will not dispense with it. It may not be forgotten, that before Raleigh had been so importunate to have his accuser brought to his face, he used very probable reasons to the jury to satisfy them, how silly and foolish an enterprise this was, whereof he was accused, and how unlikely a thing it was that he should enter into it. First, said he, that I should make choice of my Lord Cobham of any man living: a man of no following, nor of no force; that I should dream of disturbing the state, now every body was so glad of the king's coming and of unexpected peace; and now the state was greater and stronger than ever it was: That I should be so simple to expect mony from Spain, for I knew how much that king's revenue was impaired, and his treasure intercepted. I also knew well, that where he had usually in his havens six or seven score sail of ships, now he had not six or seven sail of ships. I knew well too, that his jesuits begged from door to door in Spain; and I knew well that the king of Spain was a bankrupt, as was protested by most of the merchants of Christendom. And could I imagine then, that in his poverty he could disburse six or seven hundred thousand crowns? or if he had been in case, could I think it so easy a matter to obtain such a sum of mony of the Spaniard? do princes so easily now a days part with such masses of mony? I knew that the queen of England disbursed no mony to the states of the Low Countreys, (though it were partly for her own security,) before she had the Brill and Flushing in pawn: I knew likewise she disbursed no mony into France (though for the like occasion) till she had Newhaven in pawn, and afterwards more warm security: nay, the citizens of London would not lend their queen money, till they had her lands in pawn. What pawn had we to give the king of Spain? what did we offer him? or how could we invent to offer the letter of an Arabella, whom he could not chuse but know to be of no following? what a mockery is this? what would I make my self? A Cade? a Kett? a Jack-Straw? Against these probabilities, the presumptions before alledged were laid altogether, to mortify my Lord Cobham's accusation, in the ordering whereof Master Attorney shewed great wisdom and care in his majesties business. And whereas Sir Walter had urged, that it was not likely the king of Spain would be so easily persuaded to provoke the king of England to a war, considering his bad fortune in six or seven enterprises again this state, and what he had lost by war with England. Master Attorney said, he was so much the more likely to desire revenge, and to entertain the least hope thereof. But Raleigh answered; all your suspitions and inferences are but to fortify my Lord Cobham's accusation; my Lord Cobham is the only man that doth accuse me. My Lord Cobham lives, and is in the house, let him maintain his accusation to my face. My Lord Cobham hath confessed himself guilty, he is meerly at his majesties mercy; and, without doubt, shall highly offend the king, if he go back from his word, wherein he hath abused his majesty, and so is to look for no mercy, but shall surely die. On the other side, he hath accused me to instigate and draw him into these treasons; and if it be so, then I have been the overthrow of him, his honour, estate, and all. He is a man of a most revengeful nature, as all the world knows; whom would he be more willingly revenged on, than on him who hath been his utter overthrow? Why then, my lords, if he will not displease the king, in hope of mercy and compassion, (which is his only plea,) if he will be revenged on the man that brought him to all this, that hath ruinated him and his house, then will he justify his accusation to my face; then, good my lords, let us be brought face to face. My lord of Northampton replied; Sir Walter, you have heard it cannot be

granted you, pray importune us no longer. No longer! said Raleigh, it toucheth (my lord) upon my life, which I value at as high a rate as you do yours. At last, Sir Walter was asked, whether he would say any more? Then he directed his speech to the gentlemen of the jury, saying, you have heard the proofs; I pray you consider that these men (meaning Master Attorney and the rest of the lawyers) do usually defend every day in the courts against men of their own profession as able as themselves; and if they can do so, what may they do with me, that never studied the law till I came into the Tower of London; that have been practised in other affairs, and am weak of memory, and feeble, as you see; for he was fain to have pen and ink to help his memory in the long speeches that were made against him. But remember the godly saying of St Augustin, *Si judicaveritis tanquam jam judicandi estis.* If you would be content to be judged upon suspitions and inferences, if you would not have your accusation subscribed by your accuser; if you would not have your accuser brought to your face. (being in the same house too,) where you are arraigned, if you would be condemned by an accusation of one recanted and truly sorrowfull for it, if you, in my case, would yield your bodies to torture, loose your lives, your wives, and children, and your fortunes, upon so slender proof; then am I ready to suffer all these things. Now, after Master Serjeant Phillips had made a very long repetition of all the accusation, Master Attorney asked Sir Walter again, whether he would say any more? Raleigh answered, if he would say any thing he would answer him. Master Attorney told him the king's council must speak last. Nay, by your leave, (said he,) he that speaks for his life shall speak last. Are you contented, said Master Attorney, that the jury shall go together? yea, in God's name, said Sir Walter. Then Master Attorney entred into a speech to this effect:—Now Jesus Christ shall be glorified; Jesus Christ shall have a great victory this day, as great as when it was said *Vicisti Galilee.* Now, Sir Walter, I will prove you to have a Spanish heart. See with what a whorish forehead he hath defended his fault: he hath deceived my poor Lord Cobham, as Eve was deceived with an apple, in a letter in an apple, and hath seduced this poor lord to write I know not what to him against his conscience; but he could not sleep quietly till he had revealed the truth of it to the lords; and voluntarily of himself written the whole matter to them with his own hand but yesterday, which I will read with a loud voice, though I be not able to speak this sennight after: and so pulled my Lord Cobham's letter out of his pocket, which was in effect thus to the lords, viz. That Sir Walter had written a letter to him a week before, to entreat him, for God's sake, to signifie unto him, by his letter, that he had wronged him in his accusation; and told him, that the lords had appointed to meet at Master Attorney's house, to consider of his cause; and that it was better to be constant in denial, than to appeal to the king; and that he should take heed of preachers by my Lord Essex's example. Now it was (writes my Lord Cobham) no time to dissemble, and therefore he protested unto their lordships, before God and angels, that the accusation of Sir Walter was substantially true. And further confessed, that Sir Walter had dealt with him since the queen's death to procure him a pension from Spain, to give intelligence when any thing was intended by England against them.[z] This letter was wonderfully esteemed by Master Attorney,

[z] Weldon thus describes this melancholy trial:—"For Raleigh's defence, it was so brave and so just, that (had he not wilfully cast himself away out of very weariness, as unwilling to detain the company longer,) no jury could ever have cast him; all the evidence brought against him was Cobham's accusation, which he only desired might appear *viva voce*, and he would yield without further defence: but they knew full well Cobham could not, or would not, accuse him, having been tampered with by Wade, then lieutenant of the Tower, and Salisbury's great creature; Wade desired it under his hand, that also he refused. At last, Wade got a trick by his cunning to surprize Cobham's weakness, to get him to write his name under a blank, to which Wade no question wrote the accusation, as will appear hereafter; for Salisbury, urging Raleigh often, if Cobham accused him under his hand, would he then yield? Raleigh replied, he knew Cobham was weak of judgment, and did not know how that weakness might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not, to his face, accuse him, and therefore would not put his fortune and all on that. At which fence he stood till nine at night; at length

and most effectually applied, with many quaint phrases, against Sir Walter; who answered nothing to those speeches which were personal; having said before, that they were used only to bring him into detestation of the world, but spake to this effect: Now it shall appear, that my Lord Cobham is an unworthy, base, silly, simple, poor soul. Master Attorney said, Is my lord so poor? Yea, (said he,) in spirit. Would to God you were so, (quoth Master Attorney.) Sir Walter proceeded, I will tell you the truth. It is true, I got a poor fellow in the Tower, to cast up a letter tied to an apple (for so Cobham's letter was conveyed) in at my Lord Cobham's window, when the lieutenant was at supper, (which I was loath to have spoken of, least the lieutenant should be blamed, but all the lieutenants in the world could not have helpt it;) wherein I intreated him, for God's sake, to do me right, and to write the truth unto me, because I knew not whether I should be arraigned before him or no: And hereupon he writ to me how he had wronged me; and herein I did nothing that was dishonest, for ought I know; but I sent him a letter again, (because I heard he should be arraigned first,) and desired him to publish my innocence at his arraignment; but that, notwithstanding, he writ unto me again; which letter I have now about me, (being all my hope,) and I beseech your lordships to peruse it. Master Attorney would not have it read; but said, my Lord Cecil, mar not a good cause. My Lord Cecil replied, Master Attorney, you are more peremptory than honest; you must not come here to shew me what to do.[1] Then Sir Walter desired my Lord Cecil particularly to read it, because he knew my Lord Cobham's hand, which, at his request, my Lord Cecil did. The letter was to this purpose: That whereas my Lord Cobham did not know whether he or Sir Walter should be first arraigned; and because the blood of Sir Walter, and undoing of him, his posterity should not be required at his hands at the last day; therefore, he did by this letter confess, that he had wronged Sir Walter in his former accu-

his fate carried him against his reason; and he yielded, upon producing his hand, which was instantly pulled out, and was in truth his hand, but not his act and deed."—*Court of King James*, p. 35. Yet if the handwriting of the body of the letter had been different from the subscription, surely Raleigh would have stated so suspicious a circumstance against this fatal piece of evidence.

[1] This indecent scene, with the insolent and indecorous language, which preceded and followed it, is thus more particularly detailed in the State Trials.

" *Ralegh.* I never had intelligence with Cobham since I came to the Tower.

Attorney. Go to, I will lay thee upon thy back, for the confidentest traitor that ever came at a bar. Why should you take 8000 crowns for a peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not so impatient, good Mr Attorney, give him leave to speak.

Attorney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage traitors, and discourage us. I am the king's sworn servant, and must speak. If he be guilty, he is a traitor; if not, deliver him.

Here Mr Attorney sat down in a chafe, and would speak no more, until the commissioners urged and entreated him. After much ado he went on, and made a long repetition of all the evidence, for the direction of the jury; and, at the repeating of some things, Sir Walter Ralegh interrupted him, and said, he did him wrong.

Attorney. Thou art the most vile and execrable traitor that ever lived.

Ralegh. You speak indiscretely, barbarously, and uncivilly.

Attorney. I want words sufficient to express thy viperous treasons.

Ralegh. I think you want words indeed, for you have spoken one thing half a dozen times.

Attorney. Thou art an odious fellow, thy name is hateful to all the realm of England for thy pride.

Ralegh. It will go near to prove a measuring cast between you and me, Mr Attorney.

Attorney. Well, I will now make it appear to the world, that there never lived a viler viper upon the face of the earth than thou."—*State Trials*, Vol. I. p. 218.

While the disgraceful and oppressive demeanour of Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, cannot be too much detested, it forms a striking contrast to that of his insulted victim, of whom, Sir Roger Aston, sent by the king to observe the trial, reported to his majesty, " that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come." Another person, sent on the same errand, said, " that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone an hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life." These particulars are reported in a letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr Chamberlain, 27th November 1603, and he adds, " In a word, never was man so hated and so popular in so short a time."—CAYLEY's *Life of Raleigh*, Vol. II. p. 12.

sation, and that Sir Walter was innocent of any such practices, and this was true, as he hoped to be saved. Hereupon Sir Walter desired the jury to consider what a man this was, and what his testimony was, yet if it were worth any thing. The protestations which he had made to clear him, were more violent than those which he had made against him. And the reasons that might draw my Lord Cobham to write this last letter in accusation of him, were greater than could be alledged to persuade him to write the letter in his excuse. Here my Lord Chief Justice desired my Lord Cecil and my Lord of Northampton to satisfy the jury, that there was no condition of favour promised to my Lord Cobham for writing this last letter; which they both did protest to their knowledge. Nay, said Sir Walter, I dare say your lordships would not offer it. But my Lord Cobham received a letter from his wife, that there was no way to save his life but to accuse me; which was said upon the going together of the jury. Concerning the mater in my Lord Cobham's letter, of standing to his denial, and to admit no preachers by the misfortune of my Lord of Essex, and his desire of a pension from Spain; I protest to God, said Sir Walter, they are false like as the rest, saving that this, I do confess, that my Lord Cobham offered me a pension, and I, (alas, my lords,) loath to cast him away, and being confident that I had dissuaded him from these humours, did conceal it; but that ever I dealt with him for any such pension is most untrue. And for the meeting of the lords at Mr Attorney's house, he heard so, he protested, by hap by a child of his. After all this, the jury went together, and staid about half an hour, and returned with their verdict, Guilty. Then my Lord Chief Justice asked, what he could say why judgment should not be given upon him? He said, he knew the court was to give judgment after their verdict, and so was willing my lord should proceed. Then my Lord Chief Justice pronounced judgment against him in this manner, viz. Sir Walter Raleigh, you are to be conveyed to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there to be hanged till you are half dead, your members to be cut off, your bowels to be taken out, and cast into the fire before your face, (you being yet alive,) your head to be cut off, your quarters to be divided into four parts, to be bestowed in four several places, and so (said my Lord Chief Justice) Lord have mercy upon your soul. Sir Walter, upon this, humbly desired, that the king might know the proofs against him. And that he did persist in his loyalty, notwithstanding the said verdict, (which he would pray his said jury might never answer for:) And further, said, the death of him and my Lord Cobham should witness between them. Only he craved pardon for concealing my Lord Cobham's offer to him; and humbly besought the king to have compassion on him, he was a poor gentleman, and had a poor wife, and a poor child, raw, and unbrought up; he had much forgotten his duty in concealing my Lord Cobham's fault. So judgment being given as aforesaid, and he having talked a while with the lords in private, went back with the sheriff to the prison with admirable erection, yet in such sort as a condemned man should do.[1]

[1] The execution which followed upon this conspiracy was not so bloody as the case seemed to threaten. The two priests, and George Brook, were executed; but Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, and Sir Griffin Markham, after being brought upon the scaffold, and made to undergo all the bitterness of expected death, received the king's pardon when about to stoop to the block. If this retarding of mercy, and the theatrical and ostentatious mode of at length bestowing it, marked the meanness of James's disposition, the reasons which he alleged were in another way no less characteristic. He told his counsel, that, to execute Grey, who was a spirited young nobleman, and save Cobham, who was of a poor and unworthy disposition, would be injustice---that it would be no less so to execute Cobham, who had confessed and craved mercy, and save Grey, who had contumaciously stood on his defence---and thus he proceeded with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, still travelling in contraries, and holding the balance even, until the admiring lords heard his resolution to pardon them all.

Raleigh, who was to have been beheaded upon the Monday following, was now confined to the Tower of London during pleasure. And it proved to be the king's pleasure that he should remain there for twelve years, until liberated to go upon an expedition, which ended in his ruin.

His Majesty's Reasons for his Proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh, 1618.

The unfortunate fate of Sir Walter Raleigh, is a melancholy subject to every true Englishman. The circumstances which drew on that catastrophe are well known, though some doubt hangs over the conduct of the hero himself. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that, after a long imprisonment in the Tower, he was permitted to sail upon an expedition, the object of which was, to discover and work a gold mine in Guiana. Raleigh made a descent near the town of St Thomas, met with opposition by the Spaniards, carried the town by storm, in which his son Walter was slain, and reduced the place to ashes. But Keymis, the confident of Sir Walter, and the person on whose local knowledge the whole enterprize depended, returned on board to his general without any attempt to penetrate to the mine. Being upbraided by Raleigh that he had undone him, Keymis killed himself in despair, and the whole expedition returned baffled, discontented, and almost in a state of mutiny against their commander. Whether Sir Walter had in reality persuaded himself, as he did his followers and the king, of the existence and value of the pretended mine, may be doubted. He must have known, that the surer road to wealth was a piratical war on the Spaniards, such as had been waged by Drake and others. But times were greatly altered. The influence of the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, was predominant at Court, and James was accessible to terrors to which Elizabeth was a stranger. Besides, Raleigh had failed in acquiring the wealth which might have made his peace.—The sentence of death still hung over his head, although a commission under the Broad Seal, giving him power over the persons of his fellow-subjects, had been naturally deemed equivalent to a pardon. Under such disadvantageous circumstances, his returning to England, and placing his head at the king's mercy, seems to have been matter of general surprize. Howel, in his Familiar Letters, thus mentions his arrival as a piece of current news:

"The news that keeps greatest noise here now is, the return of Sir Walter Raleigh from his mine of gold in Guiana, the south parts of America, which at first was like to be such a hopeful boon voyage; but it seems that that golden mine is proved to be a mere chimera,[1] an imaginary airy mine; and indeed his majesty has never had any other conceit of it. But what will not one in captivity (as Sir Walter was) promise, to regain his freedom? Who would not promise, not only mines, but mountains of gold, for liberty? and 'tis pity such a knowing well-weighed knight had not a better fortune; for the Destiny (I mean that brave ship which he built himself, of that name, that carried him thither) is like to prove a *fatal* Destiny to him, and to some of the rest of those gallant adventurers which contributed for the setting forth of thirteen ships more, who were most of them his kinsmen and younger brothers, being led into the said expedition by a general conceit the world had of the wisdom of Sir Walter Raleigh; and many of these are like to make shipwreck of their estates by this voyage. Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, whence he thought to make an escape; and some say he hath tampered with his body by physic, to make him look sickly, that he may be the more pitied, and permitted to lie in his own house. Count Gondamar, the Spanish ambassador, speaks high language, and had but one word to tell him: his majesty wondering what might be delivered in one word, when he came before him, he said only, *pirates, pirates, pirates,* and so departed.

"'Tis true that he protested against this voyage before, and that it could not be but for some predatory design. And that if it be, as I hear, I fear it will go very ill with Sir Walter, and that Gon-

His confinement seems to have been unusually severe, if we may judge from the following letter from Sir William Wade to Salisbury, in 1608:

"Sir Walter Ralegh, sithence his being before your lordship, (whereof notice is generally taken,) doth shew himself upon the wall in his garden, to the view of the people, who gaze upon him, and he stareth on them; which he doth in his cunning humour, that it might be thought his being before your lordship was rather to clear than to charge him: and so he challengeth his keeper, that your lordship gave him new liberty for his son to go abroad, and his physician to resort to him; which, I assure your lordship, he useth only to justify himself, and the world expected rather farther restraint than liberty, which made me bold, in discretion and conveniency, to restrain him again, and meet with his indiscreet humour, until your lordship shall otherwise order."—CAYLEY'S *Life of Sir W. Raleigh,* Vol. II. p. 41.

[1] Many years after this letter was written, this expression gave offence to Carew Raleigh, the son of Sir Walter, to whom Howel addresses a long, and somewhat apologetical answer. It is subjoined to a subsequent Tract, entitled, A Brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles.

damar will never give him over till he hath his head off his shoulders, which may be quickly done, without any new arraignment, by virtue of the old sentence that lies still dormant against him, which he could never get off by pardon, notwithstanding that he mainly laboured in it before he went; but his majesty could never be brought to it, for he said he would keep this as a curb to hold him within the bounds of his commission, and the good behaviour.

" Gondamar cries out, that he broke the sacred peace 'twixt the two kingdoms; that he hath fired and plundered Santo Thoma, a colony the Spaniards had planted with so much blood, near under the Line, which made it prove such hot service unto him; and where, besides others, he lost his eldest son in the action; and, could they have preserved the magazine of tobacco only, besides other things in that town, something might have been had to countervail the charge of the voyage. Gondamar alledgeth farther, that the enterprize of the mine failing, he propounded to the rest of his fleet to go and intercept some of the plate-galeons, with other designs which would have drawn after them apparent acts of hostility, and so demand justice; besides other disasters which fell out upon the dashing of the first design, Captain Kemish, who was the main instrument for discovery of the mine, pistoled himself in a desperate mood of discontent in his cabin, in the Convertine.

" This return of Sir Walter Raleigh from Guiana, puts me in mind of a facetious tale I read lately in Italian, (for I have a little of that language already) how Alphonso, king of Naples, sent a Moor, who had been his captive a long time, to Barbary, with a considerable sum of money to buy horses, or return by such a time. Now, there was about the king a kind of buffoon or jester, who had laid a table-book or journal, wherein he was used to register any absurdity, or impertinence, or merry passage that happened upon the court. That day the Moor was dispatched for Barbary, the said jester waiting upon the king at supper, the king called for his journal, and asked what he had observed that day; thereupon he produced his table-book, and, among other things, he read how Alphonso, king of Naples, had sent Beltram, the Moor, who had been a long time his prisoner, to Morocco, (his own country) with so many thousand crowns, to buy horses. The king asked him why he inserted that? Because, said he, I think he will never come back to be a prisoner again, and so you have lost both man and money. But if he do come, then your jest is marred, quoth the king: No, Sir; *for if he return, I will blot out your name, and put him in for a fool.*

" The application is easy and obvious; but the world wonders extremely, that so great a wise man as Sir Walter Raleigh, would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock, as I fear he will; and much more, that such choice men, and such great power of ships, should all come home and do nothing."—HOWELL's *Familiar Letters*, ed. 9, 1726, p. 21.

When Raleigh was moving by slow journies towards London, he obtained leave to go to his own house, a permission which was probably granted in expectation of what followed. The news from Court were such as to induce him to apply to his keeper, Stukely, to countenance and accompany his escape. His traitorous kinsman accepted a bribe, and actually embarked with his prisoner in a boat on the Thames, but it was only to arrest him, and bring him back to the Tower. Indeed, it was the obvious intention of the Court, by committing Raleigh to the charge of a relation, and allowing him to be a prisoner at large, to encourage him to attempt an escape, and so, in the eye of the world, acknowledge a consciousness of guilt.

This account of his conduct on his journey, was published in order to lessen the general unpopularity of his execution. It was preceded, in point of time, by the pitiful defence of Sir Lewis Stukely; but it seemed more natural to arrange these Tracts according to the date of the events which they refer to, than according to that of their respective publication.

Although kings be not bound to give account of their actions to any but God alone, yet such are his majesty's proceedings, as he hath alwayes beene willing to bring them before sunne and moone, and carefull to satisfie all his good people with his intentions and courses, giving as well to future times as to the present, true and undisguised declarations of them; as judging, that for actions not well founded, it is advantage to let them passe in uncertain reports; but for actions, that are built upon sure and solide grounds, (such as his majesties are) it belongeth to them to be published by open manifests; especially, his majestie is willing to declare and manifest to the world

his proceedings in a case of such a nature as this which followeth is, since it not onely concernes his own people, but also a forreine prince and state abroad.

Accordingly, therefore, for that which concerneth Sir Walter Raleigh, late executed for treason, (leaving the thoughts of his heart, and the protestations that he made at his death, to God, that is the searcher of all hearts, and judge of all truth) his majestie hath thought fit to manifest unto the world, how things appeared unto himselfe, and upon what proofes and evident matter, and the examination of the commaunders that were employed with him in the voyage, (and namely of those which Sir Walter Raleigh himself, by his owne letter to Secretarie Winwood, had commended for persons of speciall worth and credit, and as most fit for greater employments) his majesties proceedings have bin grounded; whereby it will evidently appear, how agreeable they have been in all points, to honour and justice.

Sir Walter Raleigh having beene condemned of high treason, at his majesties entrance into this kingdom, and by the space of fourteene yeeres, by his majesties princely clemency and mercy, not onely spared from his execution, but permitted to live, as in *libera custodia* in the Tower, and to enjoy his lands and living, till all was by law evicted from him upon another ground, and not by forfeiture;[1] (which notwithstanding, his majestie, out of his abundant grace, gave him a competent satisfaction for the same) at length, he fell upon an enterprise of a golden mine in Guiana.

This proposition of his, was presented and recommended to his majestie by Sir Ralph Winwood, then secretary of state, as a matter not in the aire, or speculative, but reall, and of certaintie; so that Sir Walter Raleigh had seene of the oare of the mine with his eyes, and tried the richnesse of it. It is true that his majestie, in his owne princely judgement, gave no beleefe unto it; aswell, for that his majestie was verely perswaded, that in nature there are no such mines of gold entire, as they described this to be; and if any such had been, it was not probable that the Spaniards, who were so industrious in the chase of treasure, would have neglected it so long; as also for that it proceeded from the person of Sir Walter Raleigh, invested with such circumstances both of his disposition and fortune: But neverthelesse, Sir Walter Raleigh had so inchanted the world with his confident asseveration of that which every man was willing to beleeve, as his majesties honour was in a manner ingaged, not to deny unto his people the adventure and hope of so great riches, to be sought and atchieved, at the charge of voluntaries; especially, for that it stood with his majesties politique and magnanimous courses, in these his flourishing times of peace, to nourish and incourage noble and generous enterprises, for plantations, discoveries, and opening of new trades.

Hereupon the late Spanish ambassadour, the Count de Gondomar, tooke great alarme, and represented unto his majestie by loud and vehement assertions, upon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir Walter Raleigh to bee but hostile and piraticall, and tending to the breach of the peace betweene the two crownes, and danger and destruction of the king his masters subjects in those parts, protesting in a sort against the same. To which his majesties answer alwayes was, that he would send Sir Walter Raleigh with a limited commission, and that he durst not, upon the perill of his head, attempt any such matter; and if he did, he would surely doe justice upon him, or send him bound hand and foot into

[1] The grant of Sherborne manor was confirmed to him for his life, notwithstanding his attainder. But a conveyance which he had granted of the estate to his son, was so severely scrutinized, that a legal flaw was detected, and the consequences referred to Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of the King's Bench. That judge, founding upon the want of some words of form, declared, that the deed could convey nothing, and that Sherborne was forfeited to the crown. Or, to tell the story in a few words, Car, then the reigning favourite, desired to have the estate and a pretence was found, that the king might indulge him. A grant of L. 8000 to Lady Raleigh and her eldest son, was the boasted compensation for this noble estate.

Spaine, and all the gold and goods he should obtaine by robbery, and bring home, were they never so great. And for further caution, his majesty enjoyned Secretary Winwood to urge Sir Walter Raleigh upon his conscience, and allegiance to his majestie, to deale plainely, and expresse himselfe, whether he had any other intention, but onely to goe to those golden mines in Guiana, which he not onely solemnely protested unto the saide Sir Ralph Winwood, but by him writt a close letter to his majestie, conteining a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseverations; and that he never meant or would commit any outrages or spoiles upon the king of Spaines subjects. But notwithstanding his majestie acquainted the Spanish ambassadour with this his protestation, yet the said ambassadour would never recede from his former jealousie, and importuning his majestie to stay his voyage, alledging that the great number of shippes that Sir Walter Raleigh had prepared for that voyage, shewed manifestly that he had no such peaceable intent; and offering, (upon Sir Walter Raleigh his answere thereunto, that those ships were onely provided for his safe convoy) that if Sir Walter Raleigh would goe with one or two ships onely to seek the said mine, that he would moove the king of Spaine to send two or three ships with him backe againe for his safe convoy hither with all his gold; and the said ambassadours person to remain here in pledge for the king his master, his performance thereof. But such were the constant faire offers of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and specious promises, as his majestie in the end rejected the importunate suit of the said Spanish ambassadour for his stay, and resolved to let him goe; but therewithall tooke order, that bothe he, and all those that went in his company, should find good securitie to behave themselves peaceably towards all his majesties friends and allies; and to observe strictly all the articles of the commission, which his majestie for that, had the greater care to have it well and clearly penned, and set downe. And that his majesties honest intention may herein the better appeare, the words of the commission are heerein inserted, as followeth:

" James, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seene, and to every of them, greeting. Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea and shipping, unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to the end to discover and finde out some commodities and merchandizes in those countries, that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdomes and dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue by trade and commerce, some propagation of the Christian faith, and reformed religion amongst those savage and idolatrous people: and whereas we are crediblie informed, that there are divers merchants and owners of ships, and others, well disposed to assist the sayd Sir Walter Raleigh in his enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the profits returned (in respect of the perill of law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth:) And whereas also we are informed, that divers other gentlemen, the kinsmen and friends of the sayd Sir Walter Raleigh, and divers captaines and other commanders are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their lives with him, in this his journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himselfe.

" Know ye, that we, upon deliberate consideration had of the premises, being desirous by all wayes and meanes to worke and procure the benefit and good of our loving subjects, and to give our princely furtherance to the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh, his friendes and associates herein, to the incouragement of others in the like laudable journeys and enterprizes, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, aswell of the conversion of savage people, as of the increase of the trade, traffique, and merchandizes used by our subjects of this our kingdome, being most famous throughout all nations: of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge,

and meere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, doe give and graunt unto the saide Sir Walter Raleigh, full power and authoritie, and free licence and libertie out of this our realme of England, or any other our dominions, to have, carry, take, and leade, for and towards his said intended voyage into the said south parts, or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) and to travell thither, all such and so many of our loving subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving subjects, and live under our obeysance and alleageance as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordinance, munition, powder, shot, habiliments, victuals, and such wares and merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wilde people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, and mares, and all other such things as he shall thinke most necessary for his voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts to give away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandizes, and premisses, to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his company, and such other person or persons, as shall be adventurers or assistants with, or unto him in this his intended voyage, and from thence to return, import, convey, and bring into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares or merchandizes, or commodities whatsoever, as they shall thinke most fit and convenient; and the same being so returned, imported, conveyed, and brought into this our kingdome, or any other our dominions, to have, take, keepe, retaine, and convert to the only proper use, benefit, and behoofe of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his sayd company, and other persons adventurers and assistants with or to him in this voyage, without the let, interruption, molestation, and disturbance of us, our heires or successours, or any the officers or ministers of us, our heires or successours whatsoever, paying and answering unto us, our heires, and successours, the full fift part in five parts to be divided, of all such gold and silver, and bullion, and oare of gold or silver, and pearle, and precious stones, as shall be so imported, ouer and besides, and together with such customes, subsidies, and other duties, as shall be due for or in respect of any other goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever to be imported by the true meaning of these presents. And to the end the sayd Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his enterprise, and all our loving subjects desirous to be adventurers with him, or assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his proceedings: We doe hereby in *verbo regio*, for us, our heires and successours, covenant, promise, and grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh and all other persons that shall accompany him or to be attendant upon him, or to be adventurers or assistants with or to him in this his voyage, that no gold, silver, goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him or them, or any of them, to be imported into this our kingdome of England, or any other our dominions, from any the sayd south or other parts of America, (possessed or inhabited as aforesayd) shall be attached, seized, or taken by us, our heirs or successours, or to the use of us, our heires or successours, or by any the officers or ministers of us, our heires or successours whatsoever; but that the same and every of them (the fift part of the sayd gold, silver, or bullion, and oare of gold, and silver and pearle, and precious stones, and other the customes and duties aforesayd being truly answered and payd) shall be, and remaine to the sole and proper use and behoofe of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his sayd company, and such persons as shall be adventurers with him, or assistant to him in this voyage, any law, statute, act of parliament, proclamation, provision, or restraint, or any right, title, or clayme of us, our heires, or successours, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of our more speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we do hereby for us, our heires, and successours, ordaine, constitute, and appoint the sayd Sir

Walter Raleigh to be the sole governor and commander of all persons that shall travell, or be with him in the said voyage, to the said South, or other parts of America, (so possessed and inhabited as aforesayd) or in returning from thence. And we doe hereby give unto him, full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, governe and rule them or any of them, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by the sayd Sir Walter Raleigh shall be from time to time established, as well in cases capital and criminall, as civil, both marine and other; so alwayes as the sayd statutes, ordinances, and proceedings, (as neere as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the lawes, statutes, government, and policy of this our realme of England, and not against the true Christian faith now professed in the Church of England. And because that in such and the like enterprises and voyages, great inconveniences have growne by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the marriners and saylors imployed in the same, for want of sufficient authoritie to punish them according to their offences: We doe therefore by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of rebellion, or mutiny by sea or land, to use and exercise marshall law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or our lieutenants in our counties, within our realme of England, have, had, or ought to have by force of their commission of lieutenancie. And we doe further by these presents, give full power and authoritie to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to collect, nominate, and appoint such captaines and other inferior commanders and ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his companie, and the good of the voyage. And further, we doe by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, straightly charge and command the warden of our Cinque-Ports, and all the customers, comptrollers, surveyers, searchers, waiters, and other officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors for the time being, that they, and everie of them, doe quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all person and persons that shall be willing to travell and adventure with him in this voyage with their ships, munition. goods, wares, and merchandizes whatsoever, out of this our realme, or any other our dominions, to passe into the said South, or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) and from thence to returne and import into this our realme, or any other our dominions, any goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever, and there to sell or otherwise to dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoofe of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his companie, and such other persons as shall be adventurers with him in this voyage, paying the fift part of all gold and silver, bullion, and oare of gold and silver, and of pearle and precious stones imported, and other the customes and duties aforesaid. And these presents, or the inrollement thereof, shall be unto the said warden of the Cinque Ports, customers, comptrollers, and other the officers and ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalfe. And our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we doe grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, that these our letters patents, or the inrollement thereof, and all and singular grants, clauses and things therein contained, shall be firme, strong, sufficient, and effectual in law, according to our gratious pleasure and meaning herein expressed; any law, statute, act, provision, ordinance or restraint, or anie other matter or thing to the contrarie thereof, in any wise notwithstanding,. Although expresse mention, &c. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the sixe-and-twentieth day of August, in the fourteenth year of our reigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth."

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

This commission so drawne and framed, (as you see) his majestie himselfe did oft peruse and revise, as forseeing the future events; the tenor whereof appeareth to be so farre from giving Sir Walter Raleigh warrant, or colour to invade any of the territories occupate and possest by the Spaniards, as it tended to a direction rather of commerce, then spoile, even towards the savages themselves. And the better to containe Sir Walter Raleigh, and to hold him upon his good behaviour, his majestie denied (though much sued unto for the same) to grant him pardon for his former treasons, both to disauthorise him with those that were under his command, (in case he should attempt to exceed his commission) and to reserve him to the justice of the law, if by new offences he should make himself indigne of former mercies. And as for the good securitie which his majestie ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behaviour in the voyage, his majesty never heard any thing to the contrary but that it was performed till they were upon their parting; and then was it told him, that every one of the principals that were in the voyage, had put in security one for another, which, if his majestie had knowen in time, he would never have accepted of.

But howsoever the commission was penned, and whatsoever the cautions were which his majestie intended or used, and whatsoever the protestations and promises were, that Sir Walter Raleigh made or exhibited, it appeareth plainly, by the whole sequell of his actions, that he went his owne way, and had his owne ends: First, to procure his libertie, and then to make new fortunes for himselfe, casting abroad onely this tale of the mine as a lure to get adventurers and followers; having in his eye the Mexico fleete, the sacking and spoyle of townes planted with Spaniards, the depredation of ships, and such other purchase; and making account, that if he returned rich, he would ransome his offences, (little looking into the nature and character of his majesties justice and government) and if otherwise, he would seek his fortune by flight, and new enterprises, in some forraine countrey.

In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir Walter Raleigh, carrying the reputation of an active, wittie, and valiant gentleman, and especially of a great commander at sea, by the inticement of this golden baite of the mine, and the estimation of his own name, drew unto him many brave captaines, and other knights and gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazzard and adventure their lives, and the whole, or a great part of their estates and fortunes, in this his voyage; whose ruines and decayes following, remaine as sad and grievous reliques and monuments of his unfortunate journey, and unfaithful proceedings.

But, before he went from London, he was not so reserved, nor so constant unto his pretence of the mine, but that some sparkes brake foorth of that light, which afterwards appeared. For he cast foorth some words to some particular friends of his company, that he knew a towne in those parts, upon which he could make a saving voyage in tobacco, though there were no other spoile. Neverthelesse, to make the better faith of that he had given out touching the mine, he promised his companie at London, that when he came to Plimouth, he would take a great company of pioneers out of the west, (where best workmen are of that kind) and he maintained this his pretence so farre, as he billited the sayd pioners for severall ships; but when he came into the west, this vanished. For it is testified of all parts, and by himselfe confessed, that he carried none at all, excusing it, that there were many other tall men of the mariners, and common souldiers, that he would have made fall to worke, which is a slender excuse of omitting so principall a point. As for picke-axes, mattockes and shovels for the working of the mine, it is true he carried some small quantitie for a shew, but, by the judgement of all that were in his companie, nothing neere sufficient for that which had been requisite for the working of the mine, which he excused onely by saying, that his men never saw them unpacked, and that the mine was not past a foote and a half under ground.

After, when he was once at sea, he did not much labor to nourish and maintain the beliefe, that he meant to make his voyage upon the profite of the mine, but fell a degree, as if it were sufficient to bring home certainty and visible proofe, that such a mine there was, though he brought not the riches of it. For soone after his setting foorth from Ireland, he professed, that if he brought home but a handfull or basketfull of oare, to shew the king, he cared for no more, for it was enough to save his credit; and being charged therewith, he confessed the speech, with this argument and inference, that if there had beene a handfull of the mine, it followed there was a mine to be confessed; as if so many ships, so many lives of men, such charge of provisions, and such an honourable commission, had beene but for an experiment.

About the same time likewise, he began to forget his commission, aswell as his pretences of the mine; for he did declare himselfe to divers of his company, that he meant to take St Thome, and that he would make his voyage good upon that towne, for that it was very rich; so as where it was blowne abroad, that the assault of St Thome was inforced by a kinde of necessity, for that our troops were first assailed, it appeareth manifestly, both by his speech at London, of a towne indefinitely, and by this his speech earely in his voyage at sea by St Thome by name, that it was an originall designe of his from the beginning; and yet it is confessed by all, that the parts of Guiana, where St Thome was scituate, were planted by Spaniards, who had divers townes in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their vassals, so as it is plaine, both place and persons were out of his commission.

And that this was well knowne to him, it appears notably in a letter of his own hand, written since his returne from his voyage, wherein he complaines, that the Spaniards of the same place did murder divers of his men, which came in peace to trade with them, some seven yeeres past; neither doeth he in that letter, any way decline his knowledge, that those parts were inhabited by the Spaniards, but stands upon a former title, which he would needs now have strengthened by a new possession, notwithstanding that this his pretence is no way competible with his commission, and that himselfe, before his going, never made overture, or allegation of any such pretext, nor so much as intimated, or insinuated, any such design or purpose.

Again, before he came to the islands, he made no difficultie to tell many in expresse termes, that he meant to surprise and set upon the Mexico fleete, though sometimes he would qualific it, by saying, "If all failed, or if the action of the mine were defeated."

And Sir Walter Raleigh himselfe being charged with these speaches, confessed the words, but saith, that in time, they were spoken after the action of the mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the end, to keepe his men together, and if he spake it before, it was but discourse at large.

After, when he began to be upon the approaches of his pretended designe of the mine, and was come to Trinidad, he fell sicke in some extremitie, and in doubt of life (as was thought) at what time he was mooved by some principall persons about him, upon two points, in case he should decease: the one, that he should nominate a generall to succeed him; the other, that he would give some direction for prosecution of the action of the mine. To the first he made answere, that his commission could not be set over, and therefore left them to agree of that among themselves; but for the mine, he protest he could give them no direction; and stayed not there, but told them, there was another course, which he did particularize unto them to be a French commission, whereby they might doe themselves most good upon the Spaniards.

When he was upon recoverie, he dispatched the land-forces pretended for the mine, and had designed captaine Sentleger to command in that expedition: but by reason of Sentleger's infirmitie at that time, he resorted to his kinseman captain George Raleigh, who was his sergeant major; in whose written commission which he gave him, he was wary enough not to expresse the taking of St Thome, but onely inserted a clause of

commandement, "that they should in all things obey him, as they would doe to himselfe in person:" yet in private directions and instructions, he did open himselfe to divers of his company, that in case they should not receive some advertisement, that the towne was reinforced by new supplies of men (whereby the enterprise might be of too great hazard for their number) they should take the towne first, telling them, that the mine was but three miles distant short of the towne, and inferring (as Kemish expounded it afterwards) that it was in vaine to meddle with the mine, except the towne were first taken, and the Spaniards chased; for that otherwise, they should but discover it, and worke it for the Spaniards: and when he had opened himselfe thus farre, some of his company, of the more intelligent and duetifull sort, did in plain terms turn it upon him, setting before him, that the taking of the towne would breake the peace, and that they should goe against the commission: whereupon, most falsly and scandalously, he doubted not with confidence to affirme, that he had order by word of mouth from the king and his councell, to take the towne, if it were any hinderance to the digging of the mine.

But the event did sufficiently expound and manifest the direction; and yet that kinde of interpretation little needed; for that young M. Raleigh, (who was likest to know his fathers secret) when he ledde his soldiers upon the towne, used these or the like words, "Come on, my hearts, here is the mine that ye must expect; they that look for any other mine, are fooles;" and with this did well concurre that which followed, in the prosecution of the mine after the towne was taken; for this mine was not onely imaginary but moveable; for that which was directed to be 3 miles short of Saint Thome, was after sought 30 miles beyond St Thome.

All this while Sir Walter Raleigh staied at Pont Degallo, by the space of some 9 weeks; during which time it was much noted by those that remained with him, that the speech of the mine was dead, (whereas men in expectation do commonly feed themselves with the talke of that they long to hear of;) nay more, after he had received newes of the taking of the towne, which had been the fittest time to pursue the enterprize of the mine, (in regard the town that might have been the impediment was mastered) he never entertained any such design, but contrariwise, having knowledge at the same time, that his son was slaine, (who as it seems was his onely care amongst the land souldiers) he did moove very inhumanly, to remoove not a little from Pont Degallo to Port Hercule, in respect of the danger of the current (as he pretended) but to goe for the Charibes many leagues off; accompting (as it seemeth) the land souldiers, but as *fruges consumere natos*, and having his thoughts onely upon sea forces, which how they should have been imployed, every man may judge. And whereas some pretence is made by him, as if he should leave some word at Pont Degallo of direction, to what place the land souldiers should follow him; it is plaine, he knew them at that time so distressed for victuall, as famine must have overtaken them, before they could overtake him; at which time one of his captaines told him, that he had delivered out 52 men to that service, which were then at the enterprize on land, whose lives he held at a dear rate, and that he would not weigh anchor, as long as he had a cable to ride by, or a cake of bread to eate: so Sir Walter Raleigh finding no consent in that which he propounded, that cruell purpose was diverted.

It was also much observed, that after that unfortunate returne of Kemish, notwithstanding Sir Walter Raleigh did publiquely give out, that he would question him for failing to prosecute the mine, he had him at dinner, and supper, and used him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to George Raleigh the sergeant major, to whom he did use the like discountenances in publique, who took it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it; he did open himselfe more plainely, telling him that he must seem to doe as much as he did, to give satisfaction.

After all this, when the prosecution of this imaginarie mine vanished, and was defeat-

ed, and that his company cast a sad eye homewards, finding they were but abused, Sir Walter Raleigh called a councell of his captaines, and held the same in his cabbine, where he propounded to them, that his intention and designe was; first, to make to the New-foundlands, and there to revictuall and refresh his ships; and thence to goe to the Westerne islands, and there to lie in waite to meet with the Mexico fleete, or to surprise some Carrackes; and so having gotten treasure, which might make him welcome into any foreine countrey, to take some new course for his future fortunes, valuing himselfe as a man of great enterprise, and fame abroad; but then and at divers times, he did directly, and openly declare, that it was no comming for England, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and that he (for his part) would never put his head under the kings girdle, except he first saw the great seale for his pardon.

At which time, his cogitations imbracing east and west, rather than any returne into his country, he did in particular make promise to a principall commander in his company, to give him a ship to goe into the East Indies, if he would accompanie him thither. But according to his first project, he went to the New-foundland, which he needed not to have done, if his purpose had been for England, (for that he had victualls enough, and to spare, for that journey) and there at New-foundland his other company having formerly dispersed and forsaken him, his own companie which was in his own ship began likewise to mutinie. And although some old pirates, either by his inciting, or out of feare of their own case, were fierce and violent for the sea, and against the returne, yet the far greater number were for the return; at which time himself got a-land, and stood upon the sea-banke, and put it to a question, whether they should return for England, or land at Newfoundland: whereupon there was a division of voyces, the one part to the starreboard, and the other to the larboard; of which that part which was for the returne for England, was two parts of three, and would by no meanes be drawn to set foot on land, but kept themselves in the ship, where they were sure they were masters; which he perceiving, for feare of further mutinie, professed in dissimulation, that he himselfe was for the returne into England, and came and stood amongst them that had most voyces; but neverthelesse, after that he despaired to draw his companie to follow him further, he made offer of his own ship, (which was of great value) to his company, if they would set him aboard a French barque: the like offer he made, when he came upon the coast of Ireland, to some of his chiefe officers there.

But about the time of his arrival upon the coast of Ireland, the forcing and sacking of Saint Thome, and the firing of the towne, and the putting the Spaniards to the sword, was noysed abroad in all parts, and was by speciall advertisement come unto the knowledge of the Count de Gondomar, then ambassador for the king of Spaine with his majesty, who thereupon prayed audience of his majesty, and with great instance demanded justice against the persons, and their goods (who had committed those outrages and made those spoyles upon his majesties subjects) according to his majesties promise, and the treaty of peace. Whereupon his majestie published his royall proclamation for the discovery of the truth of Raleigh's proceedings, and the advancement of justice. Notwithstanding all which, his majestie used a gracious and mild course towards Sir Walter Raleigh, sending downe Sir L. Stucley, vice-admirall of the countie of Devon, to bring Sir Walter Raleigh in faire manner, and as his health would give leave, by easie journeys to London. For about this time Sir Walter Raleigh was come from Ireland into England, into the port of Plimouth, where it was easie to discerne with what good will he came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; for soon after his comming to Plimouth, before he was under guard, he dealt with the owner of a French barque (pretending it was for a gentleman a friend of his) to make ready his barque for a passage, and offered him twelve crownes for his paines: and one night he went in a little boate to have seen the barque that should have transported him, but the night being verie dark, he missed of the barque, and came backe againe, nothing done; where

in by the way appeares, that it was not any traine laide for him by Sir Lewis Stucley or any other (as was voyced) to moove or tempt him to an escape, but that he had a purpose to flie, and escape, from his first arrival into England.

But in this his purpose, he grew to be more resolute, and fixed, after that the lords of his majesties councell, observing the delaies in his comming uppe, had sent unto Stucley,[1] some quicke letters for the hastening thereof: but thereupon, as his desire of escape encreased, so did the difficulty thereof encrease also; for that Stucley from that time foorth kept a better guard upon him, whereof he tooke that apprehension, in so much as (knowing Stucley to be witty and watchfull) he grew to an opinion that it would be impossible for him to escape, except he could winne one of these two points; either to corrupt Stucley, or at lest to get to have some liberty, when he came to London, of remayning in his own house; for guiltinesse did tell him that upon his comming to London, it was like he should be laid prisoner in the Tower. Wherefore he saw no other way, but in his journey to London, to counterfeit sicknesse in such a manner as might, in commiseration of his extremity, move his majesty to permit him to remaine in his own house, where he assured himselfe ere long, to plot an opportunity of an escape: and having in his company one Mannowry a French man, a professor of physicke, and one that had many chymicall receipts, he practised by crownes, and promised to draw him into his consort, the better to make faith of his counterfeiting to be sicke, the story whereof, Mannowry himselfe reporteth to have passed in this manner.

Upon Saturday the 25 of July, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Lewis Stucley, and Mannowry, went to lie at Master Drakes, where the letters of commission from the privie councell were brought unto Sir Lewis Stucley, by one of his majesties messengers, which caused a sudden departure, with much more haste then was expected before: and the countenance of Sir Walter Raleigh was much changed after Sir Lewis Stucley had shewed the commission; for Mannowry saw him from the stairehead (he being alone in his chamber, the doore standing halfe open) how he stamped with his feet, and pulled himselfe by the haire, swearing in these words, "Gods wounds, is it possible my fortune should returne upon me thus againe?"

From Master Drakes they went on their journey to the house of Master Horsey, distant from thence four miles, or thereabouts. It was in that house that Sir Walter Raleigh began first to cause Mannowry to be sounded, what was in his heart by an old domesticke of his called Captaine King,[2] who there began to discourse unto Mannowry of the unfortunitie of his master, and amongst other things, sayd thus; "I would we were all at Paris." To whome Mannowry answered, "I would we were all at London, alas, what should we do at Paris?" "Because," quoth King, "that as soon as we come to London, they will commit Sir Walter Raleigh to the Tower, and cut off his head:" Whereupon Mannowry answered, That he hoped better then so, and that he was sorrie for his ill fortune; and that, according to his small abilitie, he was ready to doe him all honest service he could, so it might be done without offence.

After dinner, it being Sunday, Sir Walter Raleigh departed from Master Horsey his house, and went to Sherburne, and in the way when he came within view thereof, turning to Mannowry, and shewing him the place and the territorie about it, he said unto him sighing, that all that was his, and that the king had unjustly taken it from him."[3] He and Stucley lay not at Sherburne, but were invited to the house of old Master Par-

[1] Sir Lewis Stukely, Vice-Admiral of Devon, Raleigh's near relation, who, in accepting the office, shewed the meanness of his spirit; there being many others on whom it would have reflected less discredit.

[2] Captain Samuel King, drew up a narrative of all that happened from Raleigh's landing till his arrival in London. It was never printed, but is used by Oldys, in his life of Raleigh.

[3] He acquired the estate from Elizabeth, who, at Raleigh's request, took it from the see of Sarum. See the account of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles, a subsequent tract, written by his son.

ham: Mannowry and their traine went to lie at Sherburne, at the signe of the George. The next day, being Munday, the seven-and-twentieth of July, Mannowry went to them, and from thence they took their way towards Salisbury, five-and-thirty miles from Sherburne; and arriving there, Sir Walter Raleigh going afoot downe the hill, addressed himselfe unto Mannowry, and asked him if he had any of his vomits or other medicines; which he telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready against the next morning, and to tell no body thereof. "I know (quoth he) that it is good for me to evacuate many bad humours, and by this means I shall gaine time to worke my friends, give order for my affairs, and, it may be, pacifie his majesty before my comming to London: for I know well, that assoone as I come there, I shall to the Tower, and that they will cut off my head, if I use no means to escape it; which I cannot doe, without counterfeiting to be sicke, which your vomits will effect, without suspicion." For which cause, the same evening, as soon as he arrived, he laide him down upon a bedde complayning much of his head, and blaming his great dayes journey from Sherburne to Salisbury, (notwithstanding he supped very well) but after supper he seemed to be surprised with a dimnesse of sight, by a swimming or giddinesse in his head, and holding his hand before his face, he rose from his bed, and being ledde by the arme by Sir Lewis Stucley, he staggered so, that he strooke his head with some violence against a post of the gallery before his chamber, which made Sir Lewis Stucley thinke that he was sick indeed; in which beleefe Mannowry left him for that time.

The next day in the morning, he sent his lady his wife, and most of his servants to London, and also captaine King: and Cuthbert and Mannowry, and Sir Lewis Stucley being in Stucley's chamber, a servant of the said Sir Walter, named Robine, came and told them that his master was out of his wittes, and that he was naked in his shirt upon all foure, scratching and biting the rushes upon the plankes, which greatly pitied Sir Lewis Stucley, who rising in haste, sent Mannowry to him, who when he came, found him gotten againe to his bed, and asking him what he ailed, he answered, he ailed nothing, but that he did it of purpose. And Sir Walter Raleigh asking him for his vomit, he gave it him, who made no bones, but swallowed it downe incontinentlie; at which time Sir L. Stucley comming in, Sir Walter began againe to crie and rave; then Mannowry went out of the chamber, and the vomit which he had given him was an houre and a halfe before it wrought, but in the meane time Sir Walter Raleigh beganne to drawe up his legges and armes all on a heape, as it had been in a fit of convulsions, and contractions of his sinewes, and that with such vehemencie, that Sir Lewis Stucley had much adoe with the helpe of others to pull out streight, sometimes an arme, sometimes a legge; which against all the strength they had, he would draw up againe as it was before; whereat the sayd Sir Lewis Stucley took great compassion, causing him to be well rubbed and chafed; which Sir Walter Raleigh himself afterwards told unto Mannowry, laughing, that he had well exercised Sir Lewis Stucley, and taught him to be a physician.

This fained fitte being thus past, Sir Walter Raleigh called Mannowry, and when he came, he prayed him to stay by him, and said he would take some rest. Mannowry shut the doore, and being alone with him, Sir Walter Raleigh tolde him, that his vomite had done nothing as yet, and said, that he would take another more violent; but Mannowry assuring him, that without doubt it would worke, he contented himselfe, and asked Mannowry if he could invent any thing that might make him look horrible and loathsome outwardly, without offending his principall parts, or making him sicke inwardly: Mannowry studied a little, and then told him, that he would make a composition presently, of certaine things which would make him like a leper from head to foot, without doing him any harme, which at his intreatie he effected speedily, at

which time Sir Walter Raleigh gave him the reason, why he did it, telling him that his being in that case would make the lords of the counsell afraide to come neer him, and moove them with more pitie to favour him. Soon after that Mannowry had put this composition upon his brow, his armes, and his breast, Sir Lewis Stucley came into the chamber, and Mannowry went away, and Sir Lewis Stucley perceiving the places where Mannowry had put this composition to be all pimpled, his face full of great blisters of divers colours, having in the middest a little touch of yellow, and round about like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skinne as it were inflamed with heate, he began to apprehend the danger of the disease, that it was contagious, and being very much astonished at the suddaine accident, he asked Mannowry what he thought thereof, but Mannowry judged it fit to conceale it from him at that time, seeing Sir Walter Raleigh had not yet told him, that he meant to flie out of England, but that it was onely to gaine time to satisfie his majestie.

Upon Mannowry his uncertain answere to Sir Lewis Stucley touching Sir Walter Raleigh his maladie, Stucley resolved to goe to my lord bishop of Elie, now of Winchester, to relate unto him in what case Sir Walter Raleigh was, and brought unto Raleigh two physicians to see and visit him; who being come, could tell nothing of what humour the said sicknesse was composed. There came also a third, a bachelour in physicke, who all could not, by all that they could doe, discover this disease; onely they gave their opinion and advise, that the patient could not be exposed to the ayre, without manifest perill of his life, and thereof they made their report in writing, unto which Mannowry also set his hand.

Sir Walter Raleigh, seeing that all these things fell out according to his intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, especially that in the presence of the sayde physicians, the vomit beganne to worke both upwards and downewardes. And because he doubted that the physicians would aske to see his water, hee prayed Mannowry to doe something to make it seeme troubled and badde; which to content him, (giving him the urinall into his bedde) Mannowry rubbed the inside of the glasse with a certaine drugge, which as soon as he had made water therein, the urine even in the hands of the physicians turned all into an earthy humour, of a blackish colour, and made the water also to have an ill savour, which made the physicians judge the disease to be mortall and without remedy, but from heaven.

He made Mannowry also to tie his arms about with blacke silke ribband, which he took from his poyniard, to trie if it would distemper the pulse, but that succeeded not, as he thought it would. The day following he called Mannowry, and prayed him to make some more such blisters upon him, as upon his nose, his head, his thighes, and his legges: which Mannowry having done, it succeeded according to his desire, for which he was very jocond and merry with Mannowry, and sayde unto him, that the evacuation which his physicke had caused, had so opened his stomacke, that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed Mannowry that he would goe and buy him some meat secretly; for, quoth he, if I eate publiquely, it will be seen that I am not sicke; so according to his request, Mannowry went to the White-hart in Salisbury, and bought him a legge of mutton and three loaves, which he eat in secret, and by this subtility it was thought that he lived three dayes without eating, but not without drinke: thus he continued until Friday the last of July, seeming alwayes to be sicke in the presence of company, and neverthelesse, being alone, he wrote his declaration or apology, and prayed Mannowry to transcribe it, which was since presented to his majestie.

The same evening Sir Lewis Stuckely discoursing upon his sicknesse, and whence it should proceed, Sir Walter Raleigh said in these words, "As God save me, I thinke I have taken poyson where I laye the night before I came to this towne; I know that Master Parham is a great lover of the King of Spaine, and a papist, and that he keepes

alwayes a priest in his house; but I will not have any of you to speake of it, nor you, mounsier, (quoth he) speaking to Mannowry. Also, Sir Walter Raleigh, his chamber doores being shutte, walked uppe and downe, and only Mannowry with him, there naked in his shirt, and tooke a looking glasse, and looking upon the spots in his face, whereat he tooke great pleasure, and laughing, said unto Mannowry these wordes, "We shall laugh well one day, for having thus cozened and beguiled the king, his councell, and the physitians, and the Spaniards and all."

Upon the Saturday that his majestie arrived at Salisbury, which was the first of August, Sir Walter Ralleigh desired to speak with Mannowry in secret, and seemed to have a verie great apprehension of something, and having made him shut the doores, praying him to give him a redde leather coffer, which was within another coffer, which when he had, he was a good while looking in it, and then called Mannowry, and putting nine pieces of Spanish money of gold into his hand, he said thus; "There is twenty crownes in pistolets, which I give you for your physical receipts, and the victuall you bought me; and I will give you fiftie pound a yeere, if you will doe that which I shall tell you; and if it happen that Sir Lewis Stucley doe aske you what conference you had with me, tell him that you comfort me in mine adversity, and that I make you no other answere then thus, as is here written," which he had alreadie written with his owne hand in a little peece of paper for Mannowry's instruction, as followeth:

Vela M. Mannowry l'acceptance de tout mes travaus, pertie de mon estat, et de mon fils, mes maladies et doleurs. Vela l'effect de mon confidence au Roy. Which paper of Raleigh's hand writing Mannowry produced.

And now Sir Walter Raleigh began to practice with Mannowry, and to tell him that he would flie, and get himselfe out of England, and that if Mannowry would aide him in his escape, it was all in his power: and that Sir Lewis Stucley trusted in nobody but Mannowry; whereupon Mannowry made him an overture, that at his comming to London, he should keepe himselfe close in a friends house of Mannowry's, in Shirelane, in London, whereunto he seeemed to encline, and found Mannowry's advise good for a while; but in the end he told him, that he was resolved otherwise, and that he had already sent Captain King to hire him a barke below Gravesend, which would goe with all windes, and another little boat to carrie him to it; "for (quoth he) to hide myself in London, I should be alwayes in feare to be discovered by the generall searchers that are there; but to escape, I must get leave to goe to my house, and being there, I will handle the matter so, that I will escape out of the hands of Sir Lewis Stucley by a backe door, and get me into the boate; for no bodie will doubt that I can goe on foot, seeing me so feeble, as I seem to be." And then Raleigh, having mused a while, without speaking, Mannowry asked him, "Sir, wherefore will you flie? your apologie, and your last declaration, doe not they justifie you sufficiently?" Then, all in choler, Raleigh answered him in English, thus, "Never tell me more; a man that feares is never secure;" which fashion of his put Mannowry to silence for that time.

Now, there rested nothing but his majesties licence, to permit him to go to his owne house, without which (he sayde) he could not possibly escape. This licence was after granted him by the meanes of Master Vicechamberlaine and Master Secretarie Naunton; which being obtained, Mannowry tooke occasion to say to him, "That hereby one might see that his majesty had no meaning to take his life, seeing that he suffered him to goe to his owne house to recover his health." "No, (quoth Raleigh,) they used all these kindes of flatteries to the duke of Byron, to draw him fairely to the prison, and then they cut off his head; I knowe that they have concluded amongst them, that it is expedient that a man should die, to reassure the trafficke which I have broken in Spaine." And thereupon brake foorth into most hatefull and trayterous wordes against the king's owne person; ending in a menace and bravery, That if he could save himselfe for that time, he would plot such plots as should make the king thinke himselfe happy

to send for him again, and render him his estate with advantage, yea, and force the king of Spaine to write into England in his favour"

Mannowry at that time did aske him further, if he escaped, what should become of Sir Lewis Stucley? and, whether he should loose his office and estate? "Not to death, (quoth Raleigh,) but he will be imprisoned for a while, but his landes the king cannot have, for that they are already assured to his eldest sonne; and for the rest it was no part of his care." Mannowry further asked him, if it were not treason in himselfe to be ayding to his escape? "No, (quoth he,) for that you are a stranger; neverthelesse, you must not be knowne of any thing, for then you will be sure to be put in prison." In conclusion, Mannowry demaunded of him yet further, "but what if it be discovered that I had any hand in your escape?" "why, (quoth he,) follow me into France, (that is your countrey,) and quit all, and I will make you amends for all."

After, Raleigh went on his journey to Andover, and so to Hartford-bridge, and from thence to Staines; during which time, Sir Lewis Stucley being made acquainted by Mannowry with Raleigh his purpose to escape, used extraordinary dilligence in guards and watches upon him; which Raleigh perceiving, said to Mannowry at Staines; "I perceive well it is not possible for me to escape by our two meanes alone, Stucley is so watchfull, and sets such strait guard upon me, and will be too hard for us for all our cunnings; therefore, there is no way but to make him one of our counsell; and if we can persuade him to let me save my selfe, I will give him in hand two hundred pounds sterling worth;" and thereupon drew forth a jewel, and shewed it to Mannowry, and gave it into his hand, made in the fashion of haile, powdered with diamonds, with a rubie in the middest, which he valued at one hundred and fiftie pound sterling; and said, besides this jewel, he shall have fiftie pound in money; I pray you, go tell him so from me, and persuade him to it, I know he will trust you.

Mannowry went presently to Stucley, and told him as before; and concluded with him, that Mannowry should report backe to Raleigh, that he would accept of his offer; and bade him tell Raleigh also, that he was content to do as he desired; but he would chuse rather to goe away with him, then to tarrie behind with shame and reproach; and he bade Mannowry aske him further, how he thought he coulde doe this, without loosing his office of vice-admirall, which cost him sixe hundred pounds, and how they should live afterwards; and to what place they should go, and what meanes he would carrie with him to furnish this intended escape. Which Mannowry did, and was answered by the said Raleigh, and prayed to tell Stucley, that if he would sweare unto him not to discover him, he would tell him his whole intent; and that, for the first point, though Stucley should loose his office, yet he should be no looser upon the matter; and for afterwards, assoone as he was gotten into France or Holland, his wife was to send him a thousand pounds sterling; and that he carried with him onely a thousand crownes in money and jewells, to serve for the present in his escape. But after supper, Raleigh said unto Mannowry, "Oh, if I could escape without Stucley, I should doe bravely; but it is no matter, (said he,) Ile carry him along, and afterwards Ile dispatch my selfe of him well enough." And after, Mannowry relating all that had passed to Stucley, brought them together, at which time Raleigh shewed the jewel to Stucley, and he, making shew to be content, prayed him a little respite to dispose of his office; whereupon, Mannowry seeing them so accorded upon the matter in appearance, tooke his leave of them to go to London; and in the morning, Mannowry, upon the taking of his leave, said to Raleigh, "that he did not thinke to see him againe while he was in England;" whereupon Raleigh gave him a letter, directed to Mistres Herrys of Radford, that should deliver him an yron fornace, with a distillatory of copper belonging unto it, and charged him to tell every man he mett that he was sicke, and that he left him in an extreme loosenesse that very night.

But Raleigh having formerly dispatched a messenger to London to prepare him a barque for his escape, came at last to London, and having wonne his purpose, (by these former devices of feigned sicknesse,) to be spared from imprisonment in the Tower, and to be permitted to remaine at his owne house till his better recoverie; there fell out an accident, which gave him great hopes and encouragement speedily to facilitate his intended designe for escape: for as he came on his way to London, in his inn at Brentford, there came unto him a Frenchman, named La Chesnay, a follower of Le Clere, last agent here for his majesties dearest brother the French king; who tolde him, that the French agent was very desirous to speake with him as soone as might be after his arrivall at London, for matters greatly concerning the sayd Sir Walter's weale and safetie; as in effect it fell out, that the very next night after his arrival at London, the said Le Clere and La Chesnay came unto him to his house, and there did the said Le Clere offer unto him a French barque, which he had prepared for him to escape, and withall his letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception to the governour of Calis, and to send a gentleman expresly that should attend and meet him there; to which offer of his, Raleigh, after some questions passed, finding the French barke not to be so ready, nor so fit as that himselfe had formerly provided, gave him thanks, and told him, that he would make use of his own barke, but for his letters, and the rest of his offer, he should be beholding to him, because his acquaintance in France was worne out. So passionately bent was he upon his escape, as that he did not forbear to trust his life, and to communicate a secret importing him so neere, upon his first acquaintance, and unto a stranger, whom he hath since confessed, that he never saw before. And thus, after two nights stay, the third night he made an actuall attempt to escape, and was in boat towards his shippe, but was by Stucley arrested, brought backe, and delivered into the custodie of the lieutenant of the Tower.

For these his great and hainous offences, in acts of hostilitie upon his majesties confederates, depredations, and abuses, as well of his commission as of his majesties subjects under his charge, impostures, attempts of escape, declining his majesties justice, and the rest evidently prooved or confessed by himselfe, he had made himselfe utterly unworthy of his majesties further mercy: and because he could not by law be judicially called in question, for that his former attainder of treason is the highest and last worke of the law, (whereby he was *civiliter mortuus*) his majestie was inforced (except attainders should become priviledges for all subsequent offences) to resolve to have him executed upon his former attainder.

His majesties just and honourable proceedings being thus made manifest to all his good subjects by this preceeding declaration, not founded upon conjectures or likelyhoods, but either upon confession of the partie himselfe, or upon the examination of divers unsuspected witnesses, he leaves it to the world to judge, how he could either have satisfied his owne justice, (his honourable intentions having been so perverted and abused by the said Sir W. Raleigh,) or yet make the uprightnesse of the same his intentions appeare to his dearest brother the king of Spaine; if he had not, by a legal punishment of the offender, given an example, aswell of terrour to all his other subjects, not to abuse his gracious meanings, in taking contrary course for the attaining to their owne unlawful endes; as also of demonstration to all other forreigne princes and states, whereby they might rest assured of his majesties honourable proceeding with them, when any the like case shall occur: by which means his majestie may the more assuredly expect and claime an honourable concurrance, and a reciprocall correspondence from them upon any the like occasion. But as to Sir Walter Raleigh his confession at his death, what he confessed or denied touching any the points of this

declaration, his majestie leaves him and his conscience therein to God, as was said in beginning of this discourse; for soveraigne princes cannot make a true judgement upon the bare speeches or asseverations of a delinquent at the time of his death, but their judgement must be founded upon examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments, and such like reall proofes, as all this former discourse is made up and built upon; all the materiall and most important of the said examinations being taken under the hands of the examinates that could write, and that in the presence of no fewer than sixe of his majesties privie counsell, and attested by their alike severall subscriptions under their hands, which were, my lords the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Verulam, lord chancellor of England, the Earle of Worcester, lord privy seale, Master Secretary Naunton, the master of the rolls, and Sir Edward Coke.[1]

[1] Did it rest wholly on the authority of the authors of private history, that Raleigh was meanly sacrificed to the jealousy of Spain, the advocates of James might have some colour for combating the accusation. For although nothing can remove the suspicion arising from his being executed upon a sentence which was virtually annulled, it is difficult to see how, if brought to a fair trial, he could have been acquitted of exceeding his commission, and committing piracy on a nation with whom England was at peace. But the following passage affords damning proof that Raleigh was a victim to Spanish influence, instead of British justice; that James knew the extent of the sacrifice, and claimed merit with Spain, in proportion to the guilt and impolicy of his conduct. It occurs in a letter from a minister of James, to Cottington, then envoy at Madrid; in which, after complaining of the slowness of the Spaniards to close the projected match with England, the writer declares, that if they mean not to deal sincerely, "I must confess, I am not yet well persuaded of their intentions; for if there be either honour, religion, or moral honesty in them, the protestations and professions which I have so often heard them make, and you likewise daily advertise hither, are sufficient to persuade a man that will not judge them worse than infidels, to expect sincere dealing in the business; and when soever I shall perceive that they go about to do otherwise, I must confess myself to have been deceived, as I shall ever be on the like terms while I deal with inmost care; but withal, I shall judge them the most unworthy and perfidious people of the world; and the more, for that his majesty hath given them so many testimonies of his sincere intentions towards them, which he daily continueth, as now of late, by the causing Sir Walter Raleigh to be put to death, *chiefly for the giving them satisfaction;* whereof his majesty commanded me to advertise you; and concerning whom, you shall, by the next, receive a declaration, shewing the motives which induced his majesty to recal his mercy, through which he had lived this many years a condemned man. In the mean time, I think it fit, that to the Duke of Lerma, the confessor, and the secretary of state, you do represent his majesties real manner of proceeding with that king and state; and how, for the advancing of the great business, he hath endeavoured to satisfie them in all things; letting them see how, in many actions of late of that nature, his majesty hath strained upon the affections of his people; and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, who died with a great deal of courage and constancy; and, at his death, moved the common sort of people to much remorse, who all attributed his death to the desire his majesty had to satisfie Spain.

"Further, you may let them know, how able a man Sir Walter Raleigh was to have done his majesty service, if he should have been pleased to employ him; yet, to give them content, he hath not spared him, when, by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom: and, on the contrary, the king of Spain is not pleased to do any thing which may be so inconvenient unto him as to lessen the affections of his people, or to procure so much as murmuring or distraction amongst them: and therefore, it is to be expected, that, on his part, they answer his majesty, at least with sincere and real proceeding, since that is all they are put to, the difficulties and hazards being indeed on his majesty's side."—RUSHWORTH'S *Collection*, I. p. 9.

The Proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt., at the King's Bench Bar in Westminster, the 28th of October, 1618. *Together with his Execution at Westminster, on the 29th of October*, Anno 16, Jacobi Regis, &c.

The fate of Sir Walter Raleigh is generally known. No intercession, neither that of the queen with Buckingham, nor of Lord Carew with the king, though he knelt before him well nigh an hour, might prevail for saving his life. "Better hang him," said the king, "than send him to be hanged in Spain, as must otherwise be the case." And in mockery of justice, the sentence of death pronounced against him fourteen years before, was put into execution. No act reflected more disgrace upon James's reign. Had Raleigh been fairly tried, and stood convicted of piracy against the Spaniards, which might have been the issue of a trial, it would have been sufficiently unpopular The English would have remembered, that he trod but in the path by which Drake, Cavendish, and Hawkins had risen to eminence, whose expeditions hovered between the exploits of Admirals and of Buccaneers, but had reflected never-fading honour on the national character for enterprise. It was a common belief of the times, that there was no peace beyond the Line, and that though all was at repose in Europe, the Transatlantic regions were always open to adventurers of every description. But the course adopted by King James, with all the unpopularity of that which lay straight before him, was at once mean and unjust. He gave to the Spaniards revenge on one of his bravest and most worthy subjects, without doing them justice; and he degraded himself by instructing his council to plead, that a commission under the royal seal, which constituted Raleigh arbiter of the lives of all under his command, had been granted to one, who, even while acting under it, was himself a condemned criminal Nor was it the least remarkable incongruity in the proceeding against Raleigh, that a sentence of death pronounced on account of an alleged treasonable intercourse with Spain, was executed for an aggression committed against the same nation

Dr Tounson, who attended Raleigh while preparing for death, and in his last moments, mentions a relation of his death drawn up by order of government, and adds, "One Crawford, for some time Mr Rodeknight's pupil, hath penned it prettily, and meaneth to put it to the press, and came to me about it, but I hear not that it is come forth."—CAREY's *Life of Raleigh*, Vol. II. p. 174. The following seems to be the narrative alluded to, and differs in no material respect from that given in Dr Tounson's letter.

Upon Wednesday the 28th of October, *Anno Domini* 1618, the lieutenant of the Tower, according to a warrant to him directed, brought Sir Walter Raleigh from the Tower to the King's Bench bar at Westminster, where the records of his arraignment at Winchester were opened, and he demanded, why execution should not be done upon him, according to the judgment therein pronounced against him.

To which he began, in way of answer, to justify himself in his proceedings in the late voyage.

But the Lord Chief Justice silenced him therein, saying, there was no other matter there in question, but concerning the judgment of death, that formerly had been given against him; the which the king's pleasure was, upon some occasions, best known to himself, to have been executed, unless he could shew good cause to the contrary.

Upon which Sir Walter Raleigh said, that he was told by his council, that, in regard his majesty, since the said judgment, had been pleased to imploy him in his service, as by commission he had done, it made void the said judgment, and was a verification unto him.

But the Lord Chief Justice told him, that he was therein deceived, and that the opinion of the court was to the contrary.

Whereupon he was satisfied, and desired that some reasonable time might be allowed him, to prepare himself for death.

But it was answered him, that the time appointed was on the morrow, and that it was not to be doubted, but that he had prepared himself for death long since.

And I am glad, said the Lord Chief Justice, that you have given the world so good satisfaction of your religion, as by some books published by you, you have.

And so, Master Attorney General, requiring in the king's behalf, that execution might be done upon the prisoner, according to the foresaid judgment, the sheriffs of Middlesex were commanded for that purpose, to take him to their custody, who presently carried him to the Gatehouse.

From whence, the next morning, between the sheriffs of Middlesex, Sir Walter Raleigh was brought to the old Palace in Westminster, where a large scaffold was erected for the execution.

Whereupon, when he came with a cheerful countenance, he saluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen, there present.

After which, a proclamation was made for silence, and he addressed himself to speak, in this manner:

I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my feaver, and if I shall shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come.

Then pausing a while, he sate, and directed himself towards a window, where the Lords of Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaster, with some other lords and knights sate, and spake as followeth:

I thank God, of his infinite goodness, that he hath brought me to die in the light, and not in darkness; but by reason that the place where the lords, &c. sate, was some distance from the scaffold, that he perceived they could not well hear him, he said, I will strain my voice, for I would willingly have your honours hear me.

But my Lord of Arundel said, Nay, we will rather come down to the scaffold, which he and some others did.

When being come, he saluted them severally, and then began again to speak, as followeth, viz.

As I said, I thank God heartily, that he hath brought me into the light to die, and that he hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of misery, and cruel sickness; and I thank God that my feaver hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not.

There are two main points of suspicion that his majesty, as I hear, hath conceived against me.

To resolve your lordships wherein his majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear, and to resolve your lordships off:

One is, that his majesty hath been informed, that I have often had plots with France, and his majesty had good reason to induce him thereunto.

One reason that his majesty had to conjecture so, was, that when I came back from Guyana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go in a bark to Rochel, which was, for that I would have made my peace, before I had come to England.

Another reason was, upon my flight, I did intend to fly into France, for the saving of my self, having had some terror from above.

A third reason is, his majesty had reason to suspect, was the French agents coming to me; besides, it was reported that I had a commission from the French king, at my going forth; these are the reasons that his majesty had, as I am informed, to suspect me.

But this I say, for a man to call God to witness to a falsehood at the hour of death, is far more grievous and impious, and that a man that so doth, cannot have salvation;

then what shall I expect, that am going instantly to render up my account? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his kingdom, which I hope I shall within this quarter of this hour, I never had any commission from the French king, nor never saw the French king's hand-writing in all my life, neither know I that there was a French agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my gallery at my lodging unlooked for; if I speak not true, O Lord let me never enter into thy kingdom.

The second suspicion was, that his majesty had been informed that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of my sovereign; but my accuser was a base Frenchman, a runnagate fellow, one that hath no dwelling, a kind of a chymical fellow, one that I knew to be perfidious; for being by him drawn into the action of fearing my selfe at Winchester, in which I confess my hand was toucht, he being sworn to secrecy over night, revealed it the next morning

But this I speak, now what have I to do with kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them; I have only now to do with my God, in whose presence I stand; therefore, to tell a lye, were it to gain the king's favour, were vain: therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last judgment day, I never spake dishonourably, disloyally, or dishonestly of his majesty in all my life: and therefore I cannot but think it strange, that that Frenchman, being so base and mean a fellow, should be so far credited as he hath been.

I have dealt truly, as I hope to be saved, and I hope I shall be believed; I confess I did attempt to escape, I cannot excuse it, but it was only to save my life.

And I do likewise confess, that I did feign myself to be ill disposed and sick at Salisbury, but I hope it was no sin; for the prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall down upon his beard, to escape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed to him; so, what I did, I intended no ill, but to gain and prolong time till his majesty came, hoping for some commiseration from him.

But I forgive this Frenchman, and Sir Lewis Stewkelye, with all my heart, for I have received the sacrament this morning of Master Dean of Westminster, and I have forgiven all men, but they that are perfidious, I am bound in charity to speak, that all men may take heed of them.

Sir Lewis Stewkeley, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed that I should tell him, that my Lord Carewe, and my Lord of Doncaster here, did advise me to escape; but I protest before God, I never told him any such thing, neither did the lords advise me to any such matter; neither is it likely that I should tell him any such thing, of two privy counsellors: neither had I any reason to tell him, or he to report it; for it is well known, he left me six, seven, eight, nine, and ten days together alone, to go whither I listed, whilst he rode himself about the country.

He further accused me, that I should shew him a letter whereby I did signify unto him, that I would give him ten thousand pounds for my escape; but God cast my soul into everlasting fire, if I made any such profer of ten thousand pounds, or one thousand, but indeed I shewed him a letter, that if he would go with me, there should be order taken for his debts when he was gone; neither had I ten thousand pounds to give him, for if I had had so much, I could have made my peace better with it otherways, than in giving it to Stewkeley.

Further, when I came to Sir Edward Pelham's house, who had been a follower of mine, and who gave me good entertainment, he gave out, that I had there received some dram of poison; when I answered him, that I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the house, and therefore wisht him to have no such thought; now God forgive him, for I do, and I desire God to forgive him; I will not only say, God is a God of revenge, but I desire God to forgive him, as I do desire to be forgiven of God.

Then, looking over his note of remembrance, well, said he, thus far I have gone; a little more, a little more, and I will have done by and by.

It was told the king that I was brought perforce into England, and that I did not intend to come again; but Sir Charles Parker, M. Tresham, M. Leake, and divers, know how I was dealt withall by the common soldiers, which were a hundred and fifty in number, who mutinied, and sent for me to come into the ship to them, for unto me they would not come, and there was I forced for to take an oath, that I would not go into England, till that they would have me, otherwise they would have cast me into the sea, and therewithal they drove me into my cabbin, and bent all their forces against me.

Now, after I had taken this oath, with wine and other things, such as I had about me, I drew some of the chiefest to desist from their purposes; and at length I persuaded them to go into Ireland, which they were willing unto, and would have gone into the north parts of Ireland, which I dissuaded them from, and told them that they were Red Shanks that inhabited there, and with much ado, I persuaded them to go into the south parts of Ireland, promising them to get their pardons, and was forced to give them a hundred-and-twenty-five pounds at Kinsall, to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from them.

I hear likewise, there was a report that I meant not to go to Guyana at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such thing or matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep.

But I protest it was my full intent, and for gold, for gold for the benefit of his majesty, and myself, and of those that ventured and went with me, with the rest of my countrymen; but he that knew the head of the mine would not discover it, when he saw my son was slain, but made away himself.

And then turning to the Earl of Arundel, he said, My lord, being in the gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember your honour took me by the hand, and said, you would request one thing of me, which was, that whether I made a good voyage or a bad, I should not fail, but to return again into England, which I then promised you, and gave you my faith I would; and so I have.

To which my lord answered and said, It is true, I do very well remember it, they were the very last words I spake unto you.

Another slander was raised of me, that I would have gone away from them, and left them at Guyana.

But there were a great many worthy men that accompanied me always, as my serjeant-major George Raleigh, and divers others, which knew my intent was nothing so.

Another opinion was held of me, that I carried with me to sea sixteen thousand pieces, and that was all the voyage I intended, only to get money into my hands.

As I shall answer it before God, I had not in all the world in my hands, or others to my use, either directly or indirectly, above a hundred pound, whereof, when I went, I gave my wife twenty-five pounds thereof; but the error thereof came, as I perceived, by looking over the scrivener's books, where they found the bills of adventure arising to a great sum, so raised that false report.

Only I will borrow a little time of Mr Sheriffs to speak of one thing, that doth make my heart to bleed, to hear that such an imputation should be laid upon me; for it is said, that I should be a persecutor of the death of the Earl of Essex, and that I stood in a window over against him, when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him; God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died, and as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my Lord of Essex did not see my face when he suffered, for I was afar off in the armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me.

I confess indeed I was of a contrary faction, but I know my Lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone; for I got the

hate of those which wished me well before, and those that set me against him, afterwards set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies, and my soul hath many times been grieved, that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterwards, that he asked for me at his death, to have been reconciled unto me.

And these be the material points I thought good to speak of, and I am now at this instant to render up an account to God, and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true, and I hope I shall be believed.

Then a proclamation being made, that all men should depart the scaffold, he prepared himself for death, giving away his hat, his cap, with some money, to such as he knew, that stood near him.

And then taking his leave of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and others of his acquaintance, and amongst the rest, taking his leave of my Lord of Arundel, he thanked him for his company, and intreated him to desire the king that no scandalous writing to defame him might be published after his death, saying further unto him, I have a long journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave.

And then putting off his doublet and gown, he desired the headsman to shew him the ax, which not being suddenly granted unto him, he said, I prethee let me see it, dost thou think that I am afraid of it? so it being given unto him, he felt along upon the edge of it, and smiling, spake unto Mr Sheriff, saying, This is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician that will cure all diseases.

Then going to and fro upon the scaffold on every side, he intreated the company to pray to God to give him strength.

Then having ended his speech, the executioner kneeled down and asked him forgiveness, the which, laying his hand upon his shoulder, he forgave him.

Then being asked, which way he would lay himself on the block, he made answer and said, so the heart be streight, it is no matter which way the head lyeth: so laying his head on the block, his face being towards the east, the headsman throwing down his own cloak, because he would not spoil the prisoners gown, he giving the headsman a sign when he should strike, by lifting up his hands, the executioner strook off his head at two blows, his body never shrinking nor moving His head was shewn on each side of the scaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and his wrought gown thrown over it, which was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach. [1]

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to the King, the night before his Death.

The life which I had, most mighty prince, the law hath taken from me, and I am now but the same earth and dust out of which I was made. If my offence had any proportion with your majesties mercy, I might despair, or if my deserving had any quantity with your majesties unmeasurable goodness, I might yet have hope; but it is you that must judge, and not I. Name, blood, gentility, or estate, I have none; no, not so much as a being; no, not so much as a *vitam planta:* I have only a penitent

[1] Sir Walter Raleigh's body was interred in the church of St Margaret's, Westminster. His head was preserved by his widow for the twenty-nine years she survived him, and afterwards by his son Carew Raleigh, with whom it is believed to have been buried at West Horsley, in Surry. Edward Wimark, a politician who used to frequent St Paul's, was called in question for wishing, that, since Raleigh must lose his head, it could be placed on the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton, secretary of state; a proceeding, which, as might have been expected, only rendered Naunton doubly ridiculous; for Wimark being examined before the council, professed he only meant an allusion to the old proverb, "Two heads are better than one." The secretary, however, had his revenge; for, when a sort of compulsory loan was exacted from the citizens to repair St Paul's, to which Wimark subscribed only one hundred pounds, Naunton remarked, "*two* are better than *one*, you know, Mr Wimark." So the unlucky wit, between fear and charity, was fain to double his subscription.—FULLER'S *Worthies*, also OSBORNE'S *Memoirs*.

soul in a body of iron, which moveth towards the load-stone of death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your majesties mercy turn the point towards me that expelleth. Lost I am for hearing of vain man, for hearing only, and never believing nor accepting; and so little account I made of that speech of his, which was my condemnation, (as my forsaking him doth truly witness) that I never remembered any such thing, till it was at my tryal objected against me. So did he repay my care, who cared to make him good, which I now see no care of man can effect. But God (for my offence to him) hath laid this heavy burthen on me, miserable and unfortunate wretch that I am. But for not loving you (my soveraigne) God hath not layed this sorrow on me; for he knows (with whom I am not in case to lye) that I honoured your majesty by fame, and loved and admired you by knowledge. So that whether I live or die, your majesties loving servant I will live and die. If now I write what seems not well favoured, (most merciful prince) vouchsafe to ascribe it to the counsel of a dead heart, and to a mind that sorrow hath confounded. But the more my misery is, the more is your majesties mercy, (if you please to bestow it) and the less I can deserve, the more liberal your majesties gift shall be; here you shall only imitate God, giving free life; and by giving to such a one from whom there can be no retribution, but only a desire to pay a lent life with the same great love which the same great goodness shall bestow on it. This being the first letter that ever your majesty received from a dead man, I humbly submit myself to the will of God, my supream lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatsoever it shall please your majesty to afflict me withall,

WALTER RALEIGH.

The Copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to his Wife, the night before his death.

You shall now receive (my dear wife) my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you that you may keep it when I am dead, and my counsel that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not by my will present you with sorrows, (dear Bess) let them go into the grave with me and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not God s will that I should see you any more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself. First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can rehearse for your many travails, and care taken for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less, but pay it I never shall in this world. Secondly, I beseech you for the love you bear me living, do not hide your self many days, but by your travails seek to help your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child. Thy mourning cannot avail me, I am but dust. Thirdly, you shall understand, that my land was conveyed *bona fide* to my child: the writings were drawn at midsummer was twelve months, my honest cousin Brett can testify so much, and Dolberry too, can remember somewhat therein. And I trust my blood will quench their malice that have cruelly murthered me; and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extream poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of tryal. And I perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that being thus surprized with death, I can leave you in no better estate. God is my witness I meant you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it, half my stuff, and all my jewels, but some one for the boy, but God hath prevented all my resolutions, that great God that ruleth all in all; but if you live free from want, care for no more, the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself upon him, and therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort: for the rest, when you have travelled and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of

worldly cogitations, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to love and fear God whilst he is young, that the fear of God may grow with him, and then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him; a husband and a father which cannot be taken from you. Baily oweth me 200 pounds, and Adrian 600; in Jersy I also have much owing me besides. The arrearages of your wines will pay your debts. And howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men. When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy men, and no greater misery can befall you in this life, than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this, (God knows,) to diswade you from marriage, for it will be best for you both in respect of the world and of God. As for me I am no more yours, nor you mine, death hath cut us asunder: and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you, and loved you in his happiest times. Get those letters (if it be possible) which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life: God is my witness it was for you and yours that I desired life, but it is true that I disdained myself for begging of it: for know it (my dear wife) that your son is the son of a true man, and who in his own respect despiseth death and all his mishapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much, God he knows how hardly I steal this time while others sleep, and it is also time that I should separate my thoughts from this world. Beg my dead body which, living, was denied; and either lay it at Sherburne, or in Exeter Church by my father and mother; I can say no more, time and death call me away. The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, that Almighty God, who is goodness it self, the true life, and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my prosecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewell.—Bless my poor boy. Pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms.—Written with the dying hand of sometimes thy husband, but now alass overthrown,

WALTER RALEIGH.

To the King's most Excellent Majestie. The humble petition and information of Sir Lewis Stucley, Kt. Vice-Admiral of Devon, touching his owne behaviour in the charge committed unto him, for the bringing up of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the scandalous aspersions cast upon him for the same, 1618.

No action of James's reign was more thoroughly unpopular than the death of Raleigh. It may easily be believed, that the wretched Sir Lewis Stukely, who, after accepting a bribe to assist Raleigh in his escape, was the means of his being retaken, became odious in proportion to his infamy. But we can hardly suppose his worthless character of so much value, even to himself, as to induce the penning of a vindication, had he not received some encouragement from the King, whose cause was mingled in the general impeachment. Oldys accordingly quaintly terms this tract "a fomentation to supple the minds of the sinewy people, that the sovereign unguent might enter more effectually." In Raleigh's dying declaration he thus noticed the treachery of Manourie the empiric, and of his base kinsman:

"I did never receive any direction from my Lord Carew to make my escape, nor did I ever tell Stukely any such thing.

"2. I did never name my Lord Hay and my Lord Carew to Stukely in other words or sense than as my honourable friends, among other lords.

" 3. I did never shew unto Stukely any letter wherein there was L.10,000 named, or any one pound only I told him, that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his absence.
" 4. I never had commission from the French King.
" 5. I never saw the French King's hand or seal in my life.
" 6. I never had any plot or practice with the French, directly or indirectly, nor with any other prince or state unknown to the King.
" 7. My true intent was to go to a mine of gold in Guiana; it was not feigned, but it is true, that such a mine there is within three miles of St Thome.
" 8. I never had it in my thought to go from Trinidado, and leave my companies to come after to the Savage island, as Hatby Fearn hath falsely reported.
" 9. I did not carry with me 100 pieces; I had with me about 60, and brought back nearly the same number.
" 10. I never spake to the French Mannourie any one disloyal word, or dishonourable speech of the King. Nay, if I had not loved the King truly, and trusted in his goodness somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death.
" These things are most true, as there is a God, and as I am now to appear before his tribunal seat, where I renounce all mercy and salvation, if this be not truth,

" At my death,
" WALTER RALEIGH."

To this accusation, which left an indelible impression upon the spectators, Stukely endeavours to reply in the following tract, which may be considered as another, though contemptible injury, to the memory of a kinsman to whose death he contributed. This bad man did not escape temporal punishment. He was detected clipping the king's coin at Whitehall, was forced to sell all he had to bribe two hungry courtiers to procure his pardon, and finally died a poor distracted beggar in the Isle of Lundie.

Being deterred by your majesties more important affaires, from any hope of redresse of those scarres cast upon my reputation by Sir Walter Raleigh at his death, without some remonstrance of the businesse made by my selfe; I have presumed to offer to your most excellent majesty, a just defence of my carriage in that affaire: Wherein as I hold it the part of an honest man, to preferre publique duety before private affection; so I cannot but keepe the heart of a gentleman, which is ever more sensible of a wound given to his reputation, then to his life. I have no pleasure to fight with a ghost: But seeing an angel of darknesse did put on him the shape of an angel of light at his departure, to performe two parts most cunningly; first, to poison the hearts of discontented people; secondly, to blemish me in my good name, a poore instrument of the just desires of the state, with false imputations: give me leave, most gracious sovereign, to speake for my selfe: which I do not to insult upon the dead, but to defend my selfe against the false reports of the living, taken from the dead upon trust, to strike me directly, but, through my sides, indirectly ayming at a higher marke. All men have long knowen, that this mans whole life was a meere sophistication, and such was his death, in which he borrowed some tincture of holinesse, which he was not thought to love in his life, therewith to cover his hatred of others in his death. As it appeareth, that being moved by the Deane of Westminster,[1] and thereupon promising charitie to me in the prison, doth thus vent his hatred on the scaffold, in shew of charitie to the living, to take heed of so dangerous a man. An uncharitable charitie, not much unlike that mans repentance, who purposing to hang himselfe, writes his repentance of that sinne before hand in his booke, which he did purpose to commit.

Yet will not I take upon me to judge of his last repentance, I leave him unto God, to whom he stands or falls; but I would he had given a better signe of it, then by godly words at his death to gather credit to himselfe to worke upon the compassion of men, thereby to infuse more warily the venome of sedition into the hearts of as many

[1] Dr Tounson, afterwards Bishop of Sarum.

as he might, and to gain reputation upon his soveraigne, but to spend his malice upon me your poore servant, who did nothing, but execute your just commands, with the perill of my life. Witnesse his open invitation of divers to his death, wherein he means, as in his last will and testament, to leave a legacie of his hatred unto me, to be executed upon me by them to my destruction.

But it is nothing in respect of his generall end, to spread by them whom he had invited, the contagion of his seditious humour unto others, which the event doth manifest: that it grows very questionable, whether this man did more hurt by his life, or by his death: by his life through his ill example; by his death through his false testimony to traduce the justice and instruments of the state. Yea, but it was the testimony of a dying man, now a penitent (as all say) as some say, a saint, even then when, as himself said, it was no time to flatter or feare princes: yea, but it was the testimony of an enemie, of a perjured, of a condemned man. First, of an enemie, of an angrie enemie, even with your majestie that would have justice executed on him, upon his original condemnation, who were satisfied, as he publickely did speake of his innocence in that cause, as privately before he bewrayed his deepe discontentment, when it was urged, that the testimony of the Lord Cobham was never retracted, Sir Walter Raleigh did peremptorily deny it. To whom answere was made, that then the publicke act registred in the counsell booke would manifest it, for there it appeares. So fain would this man cast aspersion upon your justice for taking the life of an innocent in that cause, wherein he was condemned by his countrey. When this would not serve his turne, then did he flie to the commission of a general; pleading it as an implicit pardon of that former offence: Not considering that being already a man condemned for treason, he was, as the learned in the law held, uncapable of another triall, by which he might have been found as *nocent* as before. For he having a commission, to goe into those parts of America, unpossessed by any christian prince in league with your majestie, and no where else, either to plant or trade, he made his designe for the river of Oroonoque, where he knew the subjects of the King of Spaine were already planted, which, as he confessed under his hand to your majestie, he concealed from you; and this under pretence of his gold mine, which he did apparently to this end, to breake the league, and to imbroyle the two states. Many generals have for exceeding their commissions beene punished, even for good services: how then could he have escaped, for this his disservice, being against his commission, if he might by the law have been tried upon it? Its cleere then, that he was angry with your majestie for commanding justice to be done upon him: how then could he chuse but be angry with me, the poor instrument who brought him backe to justice, from whence he intended often to make an escape?

First at sea, upon his returne, making motion to be set on shore in France, and to quit his ship to his company on that condition; for the which he was blocked up in his cabin a moneth together, as himselfe hath confessed unto me, and is to be proved by divers of his company: By which it is cleere againe, that out of his guiltinesse, he did not so much trust in your goodnesse, as he said on the scaffold he did too much, or else he had not suffered death. Next at Plymouth, after he was by your majesties speciall command committed to my keeping, he plotted with two French captaines; by name, with Captaine Flory, and Captaine Le Grand, to escape in one of their shippes, then there in harbour, as he then confessed to the lords commissioners, it being first evidently prooved against him; by which it appeareth againe, he did not trust your majesties goodnesse; as he writte and said at his death. But I am sure by this he did much wrong my kindnesse, to my undoing, had not the goodnesse of heaven prevented him. Next he plotted his escape at Salisbury; which my worthy cozen William Herbert first discovered to your majestie. Last, upon the same Saturday when I received your majesties commission, by my cozen Herbert, by whom also I received intelligence, that at

that instant, he was flying from my custody without my privity; not having as yet made him any semblance of condiscent, so that I almost came on him at unawares, even at the instant that he was putting on his false beard, and his other disguisements: which declares he did still distrust your goodnesse; doubtlesse out of the conscience of his guiltinesse, whatsoever he writte or said to the contrary. And is it any marvaile then, that he was angry with me at his death, for bringing him backe? Besides, that being a man, as he was thought, of so great a wit, it was no small griefe, that a man of so meane a wit as I, should be thought to goe beyond him. Yea, but you should not have used such craft to goe beyond him; No? *Sic ars deluditur arte. Neque enim lex justior ulla est quam necis artifices arte perire sua.* But why did not you execute your commission barely to his apprehension on him in his house? Why? my commission was to the contrary, to discover his other pretensions, and to seaze his secret papers, &c. And can any honest subject question mine honesty, in the performance of such a commission, which tended to the discovery of the secret intentions of an ill affected heart to my soveraigne? How can any dislike this in me, and not bewray his owne dishonest heart, unto the state? Yea, but though another might have done this, yet how might you doe it, beeing his kinsman and his friende? Surely if I had been so, yet in a publique employment, and trust laid upon me, I was not to refuse it, much lesse to prefer private kindnesse or amity, before my publique duety and loyalty: For what did I know the dangerous consequence of these matters, which were to be discovered? or who knowes them yet, of those that make themselves my competent judges? But if there were no kindred or amity between us, as I avow there never was, what bond then might tie me to him, but the tie of compassion of his misery? which was in my soveraignes heart to distribute, when he saw time, that did command me, and not in the dispensation of me, nor of any other instruments of power, that is to be commanded. Hitherto I have proved he was angry, both with your majesty, and with my selfe, and therefore his testimony ought not to be of any force against me. It followeth next to prove, that his protestations and oathes concerning others were false, both before he came to the scaffold, and upon the scaffold. Before, against Queene Elizabeth of infinite famous memory, who advanced him with great favour from the dust. For one day my selfe upbrayding him with the notorious extreame injury he did my father, in deceiving him of a great adventure which my sayd father had in the Tyger, when he went to the West Indies with my unkle Sir Richard Grenvill; which was by his own confession worth fifty thousand pounds: which came all to his hands, my father's portion at the least being tenne thousand pound that he might lawfully clayme: He answered, that the queene, howsoever she seemed a great good mistresse unto him in the eyes of the world, yet was so unjust and tyrannous unto him, that she layde the envie aswell of this, as of many other her oppressions upon him; and that she tooke all the pearle in a cabinet unto her selfe, without ever giving him so much as one pearle. This he swore to me, and to Captain Pennington, he did so basely and barbarouslie raile upon that our most excellent Queen oftentimes, as he can attest, that no man hath cause to beleeve his oath against others, that would breake his oath of allegeance to so excellent a mistresse, that had raysed him from such meannesse to such greatnesse, as we of his country did well know

Now that he swore that he was not guiltie of the plotting of the Earle of Essex's death, nor did insult upon him being dead,[1] there is a gentleman of worth, which about

[1] This aspersion, which Raleigh must have felt doubly severe when he was himself in Essex's unhappy condition, he shewed great anxiety to clear himself of. "I shall speak of the imputation, that I should be a persecutor of my Lord of Essex, that I rejoiced in his death, and stood in a window over against him when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco against him. Whereas God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died. And as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my Lord of Essex did not see my face at the time of his death, for I was afar off in the Armoury when I saw him, but he saw not me. I confess, indeed, I was of a contrary fac-

that time came from out of a long captivitie, which he had suffered in Spaine, who touched at Sherborne, and Sir Walter Raleigh asked him, what they said in Spaine of Essex's death? He answered, they heard not of it there: but that he was sorry he heard in the iland voyage, that the Earle had brought him to his mercy. To which Sir Walter Raleigh answered, but I trust I am now quittance with him; which this gentleman is ready to attest. Besides, in his letters written to others, he did ordinarily upbraid him, that he died like a craven: and in another, that the great boy died like a calfe: and he was often heard to say, that he died like a foole, and like a coward: so persecuting his ghost, and insolently trampling in his ashes; that it thence grew into many mens mouthes, that it was better to be a living dogge, then a dead lyon. But a more evident demonstration there cannot be of any thing, then that an old warder of the Tower will depose, that he saw Sir Walter Raleigh the night before the Earle's suffering, with his footman onely with him, to come to the Tower, and heard him give strait instructions to the lieutenant of the Tower for execution of the warrant, for that worthy lords execution, which shortly followed him. Whether then he forswore not himselfe even at his death for publique applause, about the not plotting the destruction, and not insulting on the death of that most noble Earle, and excellent saint of God, whose christian humilitie and charitie, if Sir Walter had followed, he had not called his repentance and saintship so farre into question, as now he hath done, and so seditiously have poisoned the hearts of discontented people, nor so maliciously wounded the reputation of an honest subject: who, upon just reason, beleeving the disloyall and dishonourable wordes spoken by such a proude vassall against your sacred person to Monsieur Mannowry, as other his disloyall deeds which he intended against you: That if he had escaped, he was like to proove as dangerous a traitour to this crowne, as ever Antonio de Peres was to the crowne of Spaine; tooke them to heart, and performed my best devoyer to bring him unto justice. But whether, I say, he forswore not himselfe in these things, I referre my selfe to them that are better acquainted with the tragedie of that time.

Not to forget in the end, that which he confessed himselfe unto me and others, that he took an oath upon the bible to his company, which he purposed to breake; which perjury, his lady hath said, was the cause of all his ruine. And what interpretation can my greatest enemie make of his oath, which voluntarily he swore unto my selfe in the lieutenants dining chamber, the Wednesday after his commitment; which was, that he loved me as well, as any friend he had in the world; to which I have substantiall witnesse. But in all these things he used an equivocation, as he doeth in these things now concerning me. To which I answere in generall once for all, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, father to his wife, was thought justly to except against the testimonie of one Vaughan, brought against him, because he was a condemned man: and may not I then except against the testimonie of Sir Walter Raleigh, urged against me upon the scaffold, comming from an outlaw after judgement, even in a case of high treason? Yet to answere in particular to the points, he sayth first; I never did receive advice from my Lord Carew to make mine escape. And I doe now verely beleeve he never did receive

tion, but I knew my Lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone. For I got the hate of those who wished me well before, and those that set me against him afterwards, set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies. And my soul hath been many times grieved, that I was not nearer him when he died, because I understood afterwards he asked for me at his death, to have been reconciled unto me." *Dying Speech.* Giving full credit to Raleigh's dying declaration, and believing him incapable of the inhuman triumph ascribed to him at Essex's execution, there is no doubt that he accelerated the fate of that unfortunate nobleman. A letter from Raleigh to Cecil, pressing him not to *relent to this tyrant*, as he calls him, is in Murdin's State Papers. Stukely artfully insists on this topic, hoping perhaps that the recollection of Essex's popular qualities might qualify the public regret, for the fate of his enemy Raleigh.

any such advice, as I ever said to the lords: but that Raleigh told it unto Stucley, yea, and that many times, I will avow it unto death, and take the sacrament upon it.

To the second: I never named my Lord Hay, and my Lord Carew, in other wordes and sence, then as my honourable friends, amongst other lords my honourable friends. That is very true, and I would the rest of his honourable friends understood how farre he named them, as well as I doe. But as ever I beleeved, that he did abuse their honourable names, to seduce me, and to draw me to his purpose; so did I promise to my selfe, that some of the chiefe of them being joyned in the bond either of blood or affinitie with me, a poore gentleman, would be a comfort unto me in the way of my loyaltie, and renounce the testimonie of such a disloyall man, that was never true to any, but to himselfe. There is no mans displeasure can further hurt me; he hath threatened me, that if I revealed the things he told me in private, I should die for it. And die for this cause I am content, so it be not by an assacinate: but whensoever I die, there shall die your majesties faithfull and loyall servant, and one that will part with his blood at as deere a rate as he can.

For the third, concerning the shewing of a letter to me about money, his wife, if she were put to her oath, can tell whether it were so or no. But under the former protestation, I avow it to be true that he shewed me such a letter, though I think it not true what the letter spake. I omit his perjury in swearing he had no design for Fraunce; when as Sir John Fearne, and Captaine Pennington, are able to testifie upon their oathes, that he often told them he had commission to stand them in stead from the high admirall of France, which confirmes the testimony of M. Mannowry, who saw the commission at Plymouth, as he will depose it. I urge not his perjury in that article concerning Sir John Fearne, that he never had it in his thought to goe from Trinidado, to leave his company: which Sir John Fearne is ready to prove, by the deposition of 60 persons, that Sir Walter propounded it unto them, whatsoever he intended. And therefore how this man equivocates at his death, all the world may see. O barbarous cruelty, to leave so many gentlemen, when he had secretly heard that his son was dead, to the mercy of their enemies, without hope or meanes to return! Where he also perswaded Captain Penington to goe away, who answered him, he would rather die then lay the guilt upon his soul, of the death of so many gentlemen: but if I would, you lately swore you have no money left, quoth Captaine Pennington, without which we cannot victuall at Virginia; but, whatsoever I swore (sayd Sir Walter) I have 300 pieces in a corner at a dead lift; as he confessed also to the lords that he gave 150 pieces to his company to come home: and how then can that be true, which he swore at his death, that he carried but 60 pieces with him, and brought home neer the same summe? Certainly perjury was but a *peccadillo* with this man, which he shewed also towards me, when he protested that I perswaded him to goe to Sir Edward Parham's fathers house, which is most untrue: for Sir Walter Raleigh having a secret intention, which afterwardes appeared, to play the mountebanke at Salisbury to pretend the taking of a doze of poyson, by which he deceived me first, that by me he might deceive others, which was a most base unmanly part; thought Sir Edward Parham's fathers house, whom he thought to be a papist, to be a fit subject of suspicion, which he meant to cast upon his friend, who had so lovingly and worthily entertained us.—For, sayd Sir Walter, though the gentleman would not hurt me, yet there might be priests or jesuites there that did it: For I remember after my mornings draught, of a cuppe of ale, which Sir Edward Parham offered me in the hall, I felt presently a kind of excoriation in mine intrails, as if some jesuit had been the butler. Now when I saw the pustules break out upon him at Salisbury, my compassion I confesse was too credulous to report from his mouth so much, wherein I made no lie, but told a lie: *Non mentientis astu, sed compassionis affectu*, which hath been ill requited by him to whom I shewed it. But I am heartily sorry for it, that being so farre abused as I was, I should wrong my true kinsman, which moved me after to no small just indignation against Sir

Walter, who had thus abused us both. When I heard of his often purposes to escape to mine undoing, to draw him forward to it, which he intended of himself by making of a lie, *Non amore mendacii, sed officii,* the rather because he had inveigled me to hurt my kinsman by telling of a lie, which I doubt that divinitie would not bear but reason of state, (as the best philosophers do hold) doth bear it to be lawfull to lie for the discoverie of treason to do service to the common-wealth. Yea, but they say that he hath not left so sufficient a man behind him, and that therefore his death is a loss to the common-wealth; I doubt much of both. But no man denies, but he had many sufficiencies in him: but what were these, but so many weapons of practise and danger to the state, if he escaped, being so deeply tainted in so many points of discontent, dishonesty, and disloyaltie? He knew, as he writ, that as in nature, so in policy, *A privatione ad habitum non fit regressio,* and therefore being desperate of any fortune here, agreeable with the height of his mind, who can doubt, but he would have made up his fortune elsewhere upon any tearmes against his soveraigne and countrey? No Coriolanus heart could be more vindicative, then he was unto them to whom he did impute his fault. Yea, but he died most resolutely: yea, but he was taken most sheepishly. Never was there man out of the conscience of his own corruption and guiltinesse so cowed at his taking, as he was: trembling and weeping to come before justice. Yea, but he gathered his spirits afterwards, and died resolutely. Even so hath many a jesuite done at Tyburne; a cancred enemy to God and his soveraigne: but with this difference, that they died in hope of false martyrdome, and this with a desire of a false popular fame.

But he died like a saint too: He hath before verie much called his saintshippe into dispute by the carriage of his life:[1] we may now judge of it, by that he did a night before his death, who, after his conferences with the Deane of Westminster, for his better instruction and preparation of his soul for God, called the keeper of the Gatehouse (Master Weekes) to him, and was curiously inquisitive to know whether he had any Romish priests under his charge and custodie, and what they were; but upon his answere, (that he had not any,) whether he mistrusted that Master Weekes would not deale plainely with him, or would not be true unto him, he presently surceased from any further inquisition of that matter; which, whether it might proceed of an irresolution in the religion wherein he professed himself to die, or. out of a popular affectation to insinuate and applie himself to all factions, I leave it to the censure of the judicious reader, and of such as best observed the whole scene of his action upon the scaffold. But, to go further, they say he died like a soulder and a saint; and therefore then to be beleeved, not only against me, but against the attestation of the state.[2] O wicked times, to say no more! But my hope is, that religion, and the feare of God, and the conscience of our duty and loyaltie to your majestie, will sway more with the most and best, by that time men shall from the state be better informed. *Opinionum commenta delebit dies, veritatis judicia confirmabit,* saith Tully. Wherfore, I doe here make two most humble petitions to your most excellent majestie; first, That seeing I, your poor loyall subject, am burthened and oppressed, with the testimony of a bitter enemy, of a perjured and condemned man, which is against all reason, conscience, and law, that I may have your majesties leave to the confirmation of the truth, which I

[1] Sir Walter Raleigh was accused of being a freethinker; with which charge he was taxed by the lord chief justice at his first receiving sentence.

"You have been taxed by the world with the defence of the most heathenish and blasphemous opinions; which I list not to repeat, because Christian ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the authors and maintainers of them be suffered to live in any Christian commonwealth. You know what men said of Harpool. You shall do well, before you go out of the world, to give satisfaction therein; and not to die with these imputations on you. Let not any devil persuade you to think there is no eternity in heaven; for if you think thus, you shall find eternity in hell-fire."—CAYLEY'S *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh,* I. 433.

[2] In the conclusion of his speech, Raleigh acknowledged he had been a courtier, a soldier, and a sea captain, all courses of great vice and wickedness, yet trusted that God would forgive and pardon him his sins.

have avowed to be sufficient—to receive the sacrament upon it in your majesties chappel. The next is, that your majestie will be so gracious unto me, as to suffer a declaration to come forth from the state for the cleering of these matters, and further satisfaction of the world: by which it may appeare, that the justice of God, and the justice of the king, did never better meet together in one man; which my just and humble request, I hope your majesty will not deny to

Your majesties loyall subject and servant,

LEWES STUCLEY.

A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles, with the taking away of the Lands and Castle of Sherborne, in Dorset, from him and his Heires, being his indubitable Inheritance. Printed in the year 1669.

The castle and manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, belonged to the see of Salisbury until the time of Elizabeth, when Dr John Coldwell, bishop of Sarum, resigned it to the crown. The memorable Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a gift of this noble estate, who at first designed to rebuild the castle, but, altering his purpose, "he built, in a park adjoining to it, out of the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of much variety and great delight; so that, whether that you consider the pleasantness of the seat, the goodness of the soil, or the other delicacies belonging unto it, it rests unparalleled by any in these parts."—COKER'S *Survey of Dorsetshire.*

This fair estate, however, was not obtained without odium and envy. Bishop Coldwell complained loudly, though in vain, of the harshness with which Sir Walter acted in respect to him. There is a letter extant, in which he seems to intimate, that Raleigh, while he was a suitor to become feoffee of other manors belonging to the see, would not pay the arrears of rent for that part of the lands which he had already obtained.—See Letter Bishop Coldwell to Henry Brook, 10th April 1594, in MURDIN'S *State Papers.*—And while the bishop complained of being pillaged by the favourite of the crown, both were considered by others as leagued to impoverish the see by alienations. Sir John Harrington prefers this charge very roundly in the following passage of the *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

"And to speak first of the knight that carried the *spolia opima* of this bishoprick; having gotten Sherborne castle, parke, and parsonage, he was in those dayes in so great favour with the queene, as I may boldly say, that with less suite then he was faine to make to her ere he could perfect this his purchase, and with lesse money than he bestowed in Sherborne, in building and buying out leases, and in drawing the river through rocks into his garden, he mought have verie justly, and without offence of church or state, have compassed a much better purchase.

"Also, if I have bene trulie informed, he had a presage before he first attempted it, that did foreshow it would turne to his ruine, and might have kept him from medling with it, *Si mens non læva fuisset;* for, as he was ryding post betweene Plymouth and the court, as many times he did upon no small imployments, this castle being right in the way, he cast such an eye upon it as Achab did upon Naboth's vyneyard; and once, above the rest, being talking of it, of the commodiousness of the place, of the strength of the seate, and how easilie it might be got from the bishoprick; sodenly over and over came his horse, that his very face, which was then thought a verie good face, plowd up the earth where he fell. This fall was ominous, I make no question, as the like was observed in the Lord Hastings, and before him in others; and himself was apt enough to construe it so; but his brother Adrian would needes have him interpret it not as a courtier, but as a conqueror, that it presaged the quiet possession of it. And accordingly for the present that fell out, he got it with much labour, and travaile, and cost, and envy, and obloquie, to him and his heyres, *habendum et tenendum;* but, ere it came fully to *gaudendum,* see what be-

came of him? In the publique joy and jubile of the whole realme, when favour, and peace, and pardon, was offered even to offenders, he that in wit, and wealth, and courage, was inferior to few, fell sodenly (I cannot tell how) into such a downfall of despayre, as his greatest enemie could not have wisht him so much harme as he would have done himself. Can any man be so wilfull blind, as not to see and to say, *Digitus Dei est hic?* that it is God's doing, and his judgement; which appears yet also more playn by the sequell: For by St Augustin's rule, when adversity breedes amendement, then it is a signe it is of God's sending, who would not have our correction turne to our confusion. So happend it to this knight, being condemnd to dye, yet God (in whose hand is the heart of the king) put into his mercifull minde, against man's expectation, to save his life, and since, by the suite of his faithfull wife, both to preserve his estate, and to ease his restraint in such sort, as many that are at libertie tast not greater comforts than he doth in prison, being not bard of those companions, (I mean bookes,) that he may, and perhaps doth, take more trew comfort of, than ever he tooke of his courtly companions in his chiefest bravery. Neither is he without hope, that, upon his true repentance, God may yet add further to incline his majestie (ere the tymes goe over his head) to restore him to a full libertie.

"Now, to returne to the bishop, that was the second partie delinquent in this petty larceny, or rather playn sacriledge. What was his purpose?—To make himselfe rich, by making his see poore. Attayn'd he his purpose herein?—Nothing lesse: no bishop of Sarum, since the conquest, dyed so notoriouslie in debt; his friends glad to bury him suddenly and secretly, *sine lux, sine crux, sine clenco,* as the old by-word is, being, for hast be-like, clapt into Bishop Wyvill's grave, that even at the resurrection he may be ready to accuse him, and say, 'I recoverd Sherborne from a king, when it had been wrongfully detayned two hundred yeare, and thou didst betray it to a knight, after it had bene quietly possest other two hundred yeare.' Some might imagin this a presage, that Sherborne may one day revert againe to the bishoprick. But there is a signe in Hydromantz against it: for in digging the grave, (for all the hast was made,) so great a spring brake into it as filled it all with water, and quite wash't away the presage, so as the dead bishop was drownd before he could be buried, and, according to his name, laid in cold well before he was coverd with the cold earth."—*Nugæ Antiquæ.*

The following Tract gives an account of the fate of this estate, which was destined by King James to gratify his worthless favourite, Car, earl of Somerset. Mr Carew Raleigh, the author, was born in 1604-5. He was obliged to leave court, as King James complained he appeared to him like the ghost of his father. A singular expression, implying at once, fear, remorse, and dislike of an injured person. Neither was Mr Raleigh much more favoured by Charles I., for although he was restored in blood, it was on his compounding his claim to Sherborne for a pension of 400l. a-year to his mother. In 1635 he was a gentleman of the privy chamber; and Charles, according to Wood, honoured him with a kind token at leaving Hampton-court; yet, very naturally, he did not find his attachment to the court so violent, as to take arms in the royal cause, although, until its final downfal, he does not seem to have espoused that of the parliament. When a committee was held in 1651 for the sale of delinquents' estates, Mr Raleigh laid claim to Sherborne, as the Earl of Bristol had fled into France. Upon this occasion, he drew up the following state of his own case and of his father's troubles, but it does not appear that the parliament afforded him any assistance. In 1659 he was governor of Jersey, and being the friend of Monk, seems to have expected some marks of royal favour; but they terminated in the knighthood of his eldest son. Mr Carew Raleigh died in 1666, and is described by Anthony a Wood as a gentleman of dexterous abilities; but "far, God wot, from his father's part, either as to the sword or pen."—*Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 440.

To the Right Honourable the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament,

The humble Petition of Carew Ralegh, Esq. only Son of Sir Walter Ralegh, late deceased;

Humbly sheweth,

That whereas your petitioner conceiveth, that his late father, Sir Walter Ralegh, was most unjustly and illegally condemned and executed, and his lands and castle of Sher-

borne wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief narrative hereunto annexed. The particulars whereof your petitioner is, upon due proofs, ready to make good. Your petitioner, therefore, humbly submitting to the great justice and integrity of this House, (which is no way more manifested than by relieving the oppressed,) humbly craveth, that he may receive such satisfaction for these his great oppressions and losses, as to the wisdom and clemency of this honourable House shall seem fit.

And your petitioner shall humbly pray, &c.

A brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralcigh's Troubles, with the taking away of the Lands and Castle of Sherborne, in Dorset, &c.

When King James came into England, he found Sir Walter Ralegh (by the favour of his late mistress Queen Elizabeth) lord warden of the Stannaries, lord lieutenant of Devonshire and Cornwal, captain of the guard, and governor of the isle of Jersey, with a large possession of lands both in England and Ireland. The king, for some weeks, used him with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents which he had received from him, being in Scotland, for which he gave him thanks: [1] but finding him (as he said) a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs, and great actions, he feared lest he should engage him in a war, (a thing most hated, and contrary to the king's nature,) wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous eye; especially after he had presented him with a book, wherein, with great animosity, he opposed the peace with Spain, then in treaty, persuading the king rather vigorously to prosecute the war with that prince, then in hand, promising (and that with great probability) within few years to reduce the West Indies to his obedience. But Sir Walter Ralegh's enemies soon discovering the king's humour, resolved at once to rid the king of this doubt and trouble, and to enrich themselves with the lands and offices of Sir Walter Ralegh; wherefore, they plotted to accuse him and the Lord Cobham (a simple passionate man, but of very noble birth and great possessions) of high treason. The particulars of their accusation I am utterly ignorant of, (and I think all men, both then and now living,) only I find, in general terms, they were accused for plotting with the Spaniard to bring in a foreign army, and proclaim the infanta of Spain queen of England, but without any proofs, and the thing itself as ridiculous as possible: However, Sir Walter Ralegh was condemned without any witness brought in against him; and the Lord Cobham, who was pretended to have accused him barely in a letter, in another letter to Sir Walter Ralegh, upon his salvation, cleared him of all treason or treasonable actions, either against king or state, to his knowledge; which original letter is now in the hands of Mr Carew Ralegh, son of Sir Walter, to be produced at any time. Upon this condemnation, all his lands and offices were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower; but they found his castle of Sherborne, and the lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his children; so that he could not forfeit it but during his own life. And the king finding in himself the iniquity of Sir Walter's condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited again, but still kept him close prisoner. Seven years after his imprisonment, he enjoyed Sherborn; at which time it fell out, that one Mr Robert Car, a young Scotch gentleman, grew in great

[1] This seems doubtful. Sir Richard Baker, in his Chronicle, (no great authority, perhaps,) states, that when King James, on his approach to London, heard of the intention of Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Cobham to meet him, he sent them word they might save their labour.

[2] Afterwards Earl of Somerset.

favour with the king, and having no fortune, they contrived to lay the foundation of his future greatness upon the ruin of Sir Walter Ralegh; whereupon they called the conveyance of Sherborne in question in the Exchequer-chamber, and for want of one single word (which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherborne forfeited to the crown; a judgment easily to be foreseen without witchcraft, since his chiefest judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a poor friendless prisoner and a king of England.

Thus was Sherborne given to Sir Robert Car, (after earl of Somerset.) The lady Ralegh [1] with her children humbly and earnestly petitioning the king for compassion on her knees, could obtain no other answer from him, but that "he mun have the land, he mun have it for Car:" She being a woman of a very high spirit, and noble birth and breeding, fell down upon her knees with her hands heaved up to heaven, and in the bitterness of spirit beseeched God Almighty to look upon the justice of her cause, and punish those who had so wrongly exposed her and her poor children to ruin and beggary. What hath happened since to that royal family is too sad and disastrous for me to repeat, and yet too visible not to be discerned. But to proceed: Prince Henry hearing the king had given Sherborne to Sir Robert Car, came with some anger to his father, desiring he would bestow Sherborne upon him, alledging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked, but indeed with an intention to give it back to Sir Walter Ralegh, whom he much esteemed.

The king, who was unwilling to refuse any of the prince's desires (for indeed they were most commonly delivered in such language as sounded rather like a demand than an intreaty) granted his request; and, to satisfy his favourite, gave him five-and-twenty thousand pounds in ready money, so far was the king or crown from gaining by this purchase; but that excellent prince within a few months was taken away, how and by what means is suspected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his death the king gave Sherborne again to Sir Robert Car, who not many years after, by the name of Earl of Somerset, was arraigned and condemned for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and lost all his lands. Then Sir John Digby, now Earl of Bristol, begged Sherborne of the king, and had it. Sir Walter Ralegh being of a vigorous constitution, and perfect health, had now worn out sixteen years imprisonment, and had seen the disastrous end of all his greatest enemies; so that new persons and new interests now springing up in court, he found means to obtain his liberty, but upon condition to go a voyage to Guiana, in discovery of a gold mine. That unhappy voyage is well known, almost to all men, and he was betrayed from the very beginning, his letters and designs being discovered to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador[2], whereby he found such strong opposition upon the place, that though he took and fired the town of St Thoma, yet he lost his eldest son in that service, and being desperately sick himself, was made frustrate of all his hopes.

Immediately upon his return home he was made prisoner, and by the violent pursuit of Gondomar and some others (who could not think their estates safe while his head was upon his shoulders) the king resolved to take advantage of his former condemnation sixteen years past (being not able to take away his life for any new action) and

[1] She was the only daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who was arraigned in queen Mary's time, and acquitted. Sir Walter was engaged in an intrigue with her before marriage, which gave great offence to queen Elizabeth.

[2] Sir Walter himself, in a letter to his lady, after his miscarriage, complains, "There never was poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was; for being commanded on my allegiance to set down not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it, to name my ship's number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master the King of Spain." One would think from this passage, that James had some design of getting rid of Raleigh, by ensuring his falling into the hands of the Spaniards.

though he had given him a commission, under the broad seal, to execute martial law upon his own soldiers, which was conceived by the best lawyers a full pardon for any offence committed before that time, without any further trouble of the law, cut off his head.

Here justice was indeed blinded, blindly executing one and the same person upon one and the same condemnation for things contradictory; for Sir Walter Ralegh was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. Thus kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God; and having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves of that just power whereby others are subservient to them. To proceed: Mr Carew Ralegh, only son of Sir Walter, being at this time a youth about thirteen, bred at Oxford, after five years came to court, and by the favour of the Right Honourable William, Earl of Pembroke, his noble kinsman, hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes; but the king not liking his countenance, said he appeared to him like the ghost of his father; whereupon the earl advised him to travel, which he did until the death of King James, which happened about a year after. Then coming over, and a parliament sitting, he, according to the custom of this land, addressed himself to them, by petitioning to be restored in blood, thereby to enable him to inherit such lands as might come to him either as heir to his father, or any other way; but his petition having been twice read in the lords house, King Charles sent Sir James Fullerton (then of the bed-chamber) unto Mr Ralegh to command him to come unto him; and being brought unto the king's chamber by the said Sir James, the king (after using him with great civility) notwithstanding told him plainly, that when he was prince, he had promised the Earl of Bristol to secure his title to Sherborne against the heirs of Sir Walter Ralegh; whereupon the earl had given him, then prince, ten thousand pounds, that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king: that therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to Sherborne, he neither could nor would pass his bill of restoration. Mr Ralegh urged the justice of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any freeman. Notwithstanding all which allegations, the king was resolute in his denial, and so left him. After which, Sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission to the king's will; as the impossibility of contesting with kingly power; the not being restored in blood, which brought along with it so many inconveniences, that it was not possible without it to possess or enjoy any lands or estate in this kingdom; the not being in a condition, if his cloak were taken from his back, or hat from his head, to sue for restitution. All which things being considered, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the king not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr Ralegh, who, being a person not full twenty years old, left friendless and fortuneless, prevailed so far, that he submitted to the king's will.

Whereupon there was an act passed for his restoration, and together with it a settlement of Sherborne to the Earl of Bristol; and, in shew of some kind of recompence, four hundred pounds a year pension, during life, granted to Mr Ralegh after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid unto her during life in lieu of jointure.

Thus have I, with as much brevity, humility, and candor, as the nature of the case will permit, related the pressures, force, and injustice committed upon a poor oppressed, though not undeserving[1] family; and have forborn to specify the names of those who were instruments of this evil, lest I should be thought to have an inclination to scandalize particular, and perchance noble, families.

[1] "Sir Walter Raleigh discovered Virginia at his own charge, which cost him 4000l. He was the first of the English that discovered Guiana, in the West Indies. He took the islands of Fayall from the Spaniard, and did most signal and eminent service at the taking of Cadiz. He took from the Spaniard the greatest and richest caric that ever came into England, and another ship laden with nothing but gold, pearls, and cochineal."

Upon the consideration of all which, I humbly submit myself to the commons of England, now represented in parliament; desiring, according to their great wisdom and justice, that they will right me and my posterity, according to their own best liking; having, in mine own person (though bred at court) never opposed any of their just rights and privileges, and for the future being resolved to range myself under the banner of the commons of England; and so far forth as education and fatherly instruction can prevail, promise the same for two sons whom God hath sent me.[1]

[1] It would seem, that Howel's Familiar Letters being published about this time, Mr Carew Raleigh wrote to him, requesting an explanation of the passage concerning his father's voyage to Guiana, (see p. 422;) to which Howel, then a prisoner in the Fleet, returned the following interesting answer:

To the Honourable Master Car. Ra.

SIR,

Yours of the 7th current was brought to me, whereby I find that you did put yourself to the penance of perusing some epistles that go imprinted lately in my name: I am bound to you for your pains and patience (for you write you read them all through) much more for your candid opinion of them, being right glad that they should give entertainment to such a choice and judicious gentleman as your self. But whereas you seem to except against something in one letter that reflects upon Sir W. Raleigh's voyage to Guiana, because I term the gold mine he went to discover, an airy and suppositious mine, and so infer that it toucheth his honour; truly, Sir, I will deal clearly with you in that point, that I never harboured in my brain the least thought to expose to the world any thing that would prejudice, much less traduce in the least degree that could be, that rare renowned knight, whose fame shall contend in longevity with this island itself, yea with that great world which he historiseth so gallantly. I was a youth about the town when he undertook that expedition, and I remember most men suspected that mine then to be but an imaginary politick thing; but at his return, and missing of the enterprise, these suspicions turned in most to real beliefs that 'twas no other. And King James, in that declaration which he commanded to be printed and published afterwards, touching the circumstances of this action (upon which my letter is grounded, and which I have still by me) terms it no less: and if we may not give faith to such publick regal instruments, what shall we credit? Besides, there goes another printed kind of remonstrance annexed to that declaration, which intimates as much; and there is a worthy captain in this town, who was a co-adventurer in that expedition, who, upon the storming of St Thomas, heard young Mr Raleigh encouraging his men in these words: "Come on, my noble hearts, this is the mine we come for, and they who think there is any other are fools." Add hereunto, that Sir Richard Baker, in his last Historical Collections, intimates so much. Therefore 'twas far from being any opinion broached by myself, or bottomed upon weak grounds; for I was careful of nothing more than that those letters, being to breathe open air, should relate nothing but what should be derived from good fountains. And truly, Sir, touching that apology of Sir W. Raleigh's you write of, I never saw it, and am very sorry I did not; for it had let in more light upon me of the carriage of that great action, and then you might have been assured, that I would have done that noble knight all the right that could be.

But, Sir, the several arguments that you urge in your letters are of that strength, I confess, that they are able to rectify any indifferent man in this point, and induce him to believe it was no chimera, but a real mine; for you write of divers pieces of gold brought from thence by Sir Walter himself and Captain Kemys, and of some ingots that were found in the governor's closet at St Thomas, with divers crucibles, and other refining instruments: yet, under favour, that might be, and the benefit not countervail the charge; for the richest mines that the King of Spain hath upon the whole continent of America, which are the mines of Potosi, yield him but six in the hundred, all expences defrayed. You write how King James sent privately to Sir Walter, being yet in the Tower, to intreat and command him, that he would impart his whole design to him under his hand, promising upon the word of a king to keep it secret: which being done accordingly by Sir Walter Raleigh, that very original paper was found in the said Spanish governor's closet at St Thomas: whereat, as you have just cause to wonder, and admire the activeness of the Spanish agents about our court at that time, so I wonder no less at the miscarriage of some of his late majesty's ministers, who, notwithstanding that he had passed his royal word to the contrary, yet they did help Count Gondomar to that paper; so that the reproach lieth more upon the English than the Spanish ministers in this particular. Whereas you alledge, that the dangerous sickness of Sir Walter being arrived near the place, and the death of (that rare spark of courage) your brother upon the first landing, with other circumstances, discouraged Captain Kemys from discovering the mine, but would reserve it for another time; I am content to give as much credit to this as any man can; as also that Sir Walter, if the rest of the fleet, according to his earnest motion, had gone with him to revictual in Virginia (a country where he had reason to be welcome unto, being his own discovery) he had a purpose to return to Guyana the spring following, to pursue his first design. I am also very willing to believe, that it cost Sir Walter Raleigh much more to put himself in equipage for that long intended voyage, than would have paid for his liberty, if he had gone about to purchase it for reward at home; though I am not ignorant that many of the co-adventurers made large contributions, and the fortunes of some suffer for it at this very day. But although Gondomar, as my letter mentions, calls Sir Walter pirate, I for my part am far from thinking so; because, as you give an unreasonable reason, the plundering of St Thomas was an act done beyond the equator, where the

articles of peace between the two kings do not extend. Yet, under favour, though he broke not the peace, he was said to break his patent, by exceeding the bounds of his commission, as the foresaid declaration relates: for King James had made strong promises to Count Gondomar, that this fleet should commit no outrages upon the King of Spain's subjects by land, unless they began first; and I believe that was the main cause of his death, though I think if they had proceeded that way against him in a legal course of trial, he might have defended himself well enough.

Whereas you alledge, that if that action had succeeded, and afterwards been well prosecuted, it might have brought Gondomar's great catholic master to have been begged for at the church-doors by fryars, as he was once brought in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's days: I believe it had much damnified him, and interrupted him in the possession of his West Indies, but not brought him, under favour, to so low an ebb. I have observed, that it is an ordinary thing, in your popish countrys, for princes to borrow from the altar, when they are reduced to any straits; for they say, "The riches of the church are to serve as anchors in time of a storm." Divers of our kings have done worse, by pawning their plate and jewels. Whereas my letter makes mention, that Sir W. Raleigh mainly laboured for his pardon before he went, but could not confess it; this is also a passage in the foresaid printed relation: but I could have wished with all my heart he had obtained it; for I believe, that neither the transgression of his commission, nor any thing that he did beyond the Line, could have shortened the line of his life otherwise; but in all probability we might have been happy in him to this very day, having such an heroick heart as he had, and other rare helps by his great knowledge, for the preservation of health. I believe without any scruple what you write, that Sir Wm. St Geon made an overture to him of procuring his pardon for 1500l., but whether he could have effected it I doubt a little, when he had come to negotiate it really. But I extremely wonder how that old sentence, which had lain dormant above sixteen years against Sir W. Raleigh could have been made use of to take off his head afterwards, considering that the Lord Chancellor Verulam, as you write, told him positively (as Sir Walter was acquainting him with that proffer of Sir Wm. St Geon for a pecuniary pardon) in these words: "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is passed already, the king having under his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers." One would think that by this royal patent, which gave him power of life and death over the king's liege people, Sir W. Raleigh should become *rectus in curia*, and free from all old convictions; but, Sir, to tell you the plain truth, Count Gondomar at that time had a great stroke in our court, because there was more than a mere overture of a match with Spain; which makes me apt to believe, that that wise knight being such an Anti-Spaniard, was made a sacrifice to advance the matrimonial treaty. But I must needs wonder, as you justly do, that one and the same man should be condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard (which was the ground of his first condemnation), and afterwards lose his head for being their enemy by the same sentence. Touching his return, I must confess I was utterly ignorant that those two noble earls, Thomas of Arundel, and William of Pembroke, were engaged for him in this particular; nor doth the printed relation make any mention of them at all; therefore I must say, that envy her self must pronounce that return of his, for the acquitting of his fiduciary pledges to be a most noble act; and waving that of King Alphonso's Moor, I may more properly compare it to the act of that famous Roman commander (Regulus, as I take it), who, to keep his promise and faith, returned to his enemies where he had been prisoner, though he knew he went to an inevitable death. But well did that faithless cunning knight, who betrayed Sir W. Raleigh in his intended escape, being come a-shore, fall to that contemptible end, as to die a poor distracted beggar in the isle of Lundey, having for a bag of money falsifyed his faith, confirmed by the tie of the holy sacrament, as you write; as also, before the year came about, to be found clipping the same coin in the king's own house at Whitehall, which he received as a reward for his perfidiousness; for which, being condemned to be hanged, he was driven to sell himself to his shirt, to purchase his pardon of two knights.

And now, Sir, let that glorious and gallant cavalier, Sir W. Raleigh ("who lived long enough for his own honour, though not for his country," as it was said of a Roman consul) rest quietly in his grave, and his virtues live in his posterity, as I find they do strongly and very eminently in you. I have heard his enemies confess, that he was one of the weightiest and wisest men that this island ever bred. Mr Nath. Carpenter, a learned and judicious author, was not in the wrong, when he gave this discreet character of him: "Who hath not known or read of this prodigy of wit and fortune, Sir Walter Raleigh, a man unfortunate in nothing else but in the greatness of his wit and advancement, whose eminent worth was such, both in domestick policy, foreign expeditions, and discoveries in arts and literature, both practic and contemplative, that it might seem at once to conquer example and imitation?"

A true Copy of the Latine Oration of the excellent Lord George Ossolinski, Count Palatine of Tenizyn and Sendomyria, Chamberlain to the Kings Majestie of Poland and Suethland, and Embassadour to the Kings most excellent Majesty. As it was pronounced to his Majestie at White-Hall by the said Embassadour, on Sunday the 11. *of March,* 1620. *With the Translation of the same into English. Commanded by his Majestie to be published in Print.*

About this period a war was going to break out betweenTurkey and Poland; or rather, these two kingdoms, so rarely at permanent and actual peace, were about to engage in more active hostilities. The Polish monarch, or his ambassador, could, however, scarcely hope that James, whose aversion to war could not be overcome by the disgrace of his dethronement, and exile of his son-in-law the Elector Palatine, should be roused to engage in a more distant contest, where he or his kingdom had no direct interest.

Serenissime Rex,

Sacra, regia Poloniæ, et Sueciæ majestas, dominus meus clementissimus integram diuturnamque valitudinem, fœlicissimos votorum omnium eventus, florens ac tranquillum latissimarum ditionum imperium, M. V. precatus, singularem fraterni animi, et rerum, M. V. studiosissimi, propensionem, maximà quà potest particularis ergà M. V. affectus testificatione declarat, ac his obstringit literis. Quibus præviis, ut reliqua legationis meæ expedienti mihi, M. V. benignas aures præbere dignetur, humilimè postulo.

Tandem erupit Ottomanorum jam diu celatum pectore virus, et depositâ simulatæ multis abhinc annis amicitiæ larvâ, publico barbarorum furore, validissimum christiani orbis antemurale, petitur Polonia. Perstrepit bellico apparatu oriens, onerantur classibus maria, jungitur Europæ Asia, Africanorum, si quid est virium in nostram armatur perniciem. In societatem tanti belli veniunt hæreditarii nominis nostri hostes, Scythæ; venit et uterque Dacus; Servii, Bulgari, Bosnenses, Illyrii, Thraces, Epirotæ, quicquid ferarum usquam est gentium, vi, præmiis, pollicitationibus, spe prædæ, cupiditate vindictæ cogitur, pellicitur, accenditur. Paratus nuper lamentabilis cruentæ tragœdiæ prologus; hausit immitis primum cruorem Dacia, cùm perfidus hostis veterum ac recentium solenni jurejurando firmatorum immemor fœderum, innumeris copiis regiæ majestatis domini mei clementissimi petens ditiones, appositam sibi parvam quidèm, sed bellicossimam nostrorum manum cæcîdit, ingenti christianæ reip. detrimento.

Crevêrunt etenim eâ victoriâ barbari spiritus, et tam faustis insolentes primordiis universam spe concipiunt Europam, eô provecti vel arrogantiæ, vel amentiæ, ut nec assentiente quidem Deo, delere gentem nostram se posse arbitrentur. Tanto non suarum duntaxat, sed christianarum omnium provinciarum commota sacra regia majestas dominus meus clementissimus discrimine, eo fuit animo, ut et reliquos principes impendentis metus commune faceret, et imprimis ad M. V. nullâ interpositâ morâ, referret.

Sed ea est M. V. singularis vigilantia, tantum communis christianorum boni studium, ut et illos, ad quos ipsa potissimùm vel temporum, vel locorum ratione pertinent pericula animadvertat. Antevertit M. V. et hunc serenissimi regis mei nuncium, idque ultrò præstitit quod postulandum erat, cùm eidem hosti se regiæ M. domini mei clementissimi amicum esse, nec ei ullo in discrimine deesse posse, nunciavit. Quà in re agnoscit R. M. verè magnum, verè regium, ver échristianum M. V. animum; agnoscit fraternum ergà se affectum, quem gratissimi testificatione animi prosequitur, ac profitetur,

nihil tam grave, nihil tam difficile, nihil tam periculosum fore, quod vicissim M. V. causâ aggredi recuset. Moveantur utinam tam præclaro M. V. exemplo reliqui christianorum principes, velintquè potiùs tam gloriosi laboris esse cooperatores, quàm segnes et otiosi spectatores alieni periculi, pessundaturi quandoquè propria, dum vicina negligunt. Id verò usu venire nostro, si Diis placet, credant cautiores, exemplo, quos neglecta Græcia, deserta Pannonia, in has conjecit augustias. Et nos quidèm eam quam cœlum tulerit sortem feremus, renovatori Saguntinorum fidei, Tyriorum constantiæ, et si quid usquam fortiter actum, exempla; cæterùm vicini nostri provideant, qua ratione animos firmare possint, ad similes, vel (avertant omen superi) graviores casus tolerandos. Nequè putent tyrannum, cujus animum humiles Sarmatarum casæ ad tam detestandum impulêrunt perjurium, sanctiora habiturum vicinitatis jura quæ cum eis jecerit, quorum urbibus mercaturâ florentissimis, opibus præstantissimis, ædificiorum cultu splendissimis, jamdudum inhiat. Non detinebunt hæc, sed allicient, non extinguent, sed inflammabunt sacrilegam per nefas propagandi imperii sitim. Quis enim non videt hoc unum tyrannum intendere, quod in majorum ejus multo tempore agitatum constet fuisse consilio, ut occupatâ patentissimâ in omnes Europæ partes regione, omnis grani feracissimâ, omnium ad classem instruendam, armandamquè necessariorum refertissima, innumeris suis copiis opima apperiat horrea, navium ingentem præparet copiam, quibus Balthicum occupet sinum, transiturus in Oceanum, ut sic binis classibus, velut alis, ab utroquè mari Europam premat, et opprimat; terrestres copias per apertissimos, quà Poloniam spectat, campos, in Germaniam effundat, quà euntem non montium claustra retinere, non fluminum rapacitas poterit retardare? Volvebat hæc Solymannus animo, agitabant ejus posteri, nec ullâ aliâ ab eo consilio deterritos eos fuisse constat ratione, quàm quòd crederent universos conspiraturos christianos, ad tuendum hoc Regnum, ex cujus salute totius Europæ pendeat integritas. Nec deerant illo ævo tam magnanimi Principes, qui maluissent opum, ac vitæ propriæ detrimentum facere, quàm vicini sibi populi salutem periclitantem deserere. Hæc nostrâ ætate, proh dolor! multi non intelligunt, negligunt nonnulli, et quod dolendum magis, accersunt ultrò ad communem omnium perniciem, perfidum nominis christiani hostem, indigni christiano nomine, barbaris ipsis execrabiliores. Unum Te habent, Serenissime Rex, hæc nostra tempora, qui pro singulari tuâ prudentiâ animadvertisti, et judicasti per latus Poloniæ universam peti Europam, ac ejus periculum ad omnes pertinere christianos; solenne Ottomanorum esse bella ex bellis quærere, et regna regnis cumulare, qui non contenti Asiæ, Africæ, et majoris Europæ partis imperio, quicquid reliquum est prædæ destinant; nec sibi per religionem licere aliter posse opinantur.

Videt hæc M. V. singula, unde et hanc gloriam est consecuta, ambigentibus cæteris Principibus quid sentirent, solam M. V. quid christianæ reip. expediret, maximè et vidisse, et eligisse, autoremquè reliquis extitisse, ut, dum licet, mutuis auxiliis, communibus subsidiis tantæ imanissimi hostis obviam eant libidini, cujus opes intestinis ipsorum dissidiis eô crevêrunt potentiæ.

Perge porrò, Invictissime Rex! et hanc dextram non armis magis quàm pietate notam, tuam fidem imploranti, porrige Poloniæ. Defensor fidei es, commune Numen ne blasphemetur, provide; imitêre majores tuos, quibus haud grave fuit è propriis barbaros eruere latebris, et ultimæ Syriæ finibus Britannici nominis gloriam terminare. Abundè amplissimis Majestatis Vestræ ditionibus suppetunt, quæcunquè ad reprimendas potentissimi hostis vires requiruntur. Procerum copia, populi multitudo, omnis generis apparatus, vis immensa; ne patiatur Majestas Vestra peritissimos rei militaris Anglos, bellicosissimos Scotos, Hybernos ferocissimos, conjunctissimi Majest. Vestræ Regis, et amicissimæ gentis, discrimina spectare otiosos, ac tàm latè serpens incendium in propriâ potiùs opperiri domo, quàm in vicinâ, dum licet, restinguere. In alieno discrimine propria curare pericula, nec præsentia duntaxat intueri, sed futura prospicere, erit cele-

bratæ Majestatis Vestræ prudentiæ, erit et magnanimitatis, quam uterquè admirabitur orbis, quam sera prædicabit posteritas, quam servata venerabitur Polonia Serenissimus verò Rex meus utî nunc particularem Majestatis Vestræ ergà se affectum, quá potest maximà animi gratitudine, complectitur, ità in posterum eum se Majest. Vestræ declarabit amicum, qui et secundus Majestatis Vestræ rebus ex animo faveat, et adversis, si quæ impendeant, non secùs quàm proprio commoveatur discrimine.

Most renowned King,

The sacred, royall majesty of Poland, and Suethland, my most gracious lord and master, wishing unto your majesty perfect, and long health, most happy successe in all your desires, a flourishing, and peacefull government over your most large dominions, declareth, by the most ample testification hee may, of particular affection to your majestie, the singular propension of a minde, brotherly, and most studiously addicted to your majesties affaires, and obligeth himselfe by these letters. And this preface past, I most humbly beseech your majesty, while I briefely declare the rest of my embassage, to vouchsafe me your benigne attention.

The long concealed poyson in the brest of the Ottomans, hath now at length broke forth, and the maske of many yeeres faigned friendship laid aside, Poland, the strongest bulwarke of the christian world, is assaulted with the universall fury of the barbarous. The east is filled with noise of preparation for warre, the seas are loaden with navies, Asia joyned to Europe, and what forces Africa affoords, are armed for our destruction. Into the society of so great a warre there come the hereditary enemies of our name, the Tartars; there comes also both the Dacians; the Servians, Bulgars, Bosnians, Illyrians, Thracians, Epirotes, all wilde, and barbarous people whatsoever, by force, rewards, promises, hopes of prey, desire of revenge, are compelled, allured, enraged. A lamentable prologue to this bloudy tragedy hath lately bin acted; cruell Dacia hath greedily drunke the first bloud, where the perfidious enemy mindlesse of his past and present leagues solemnely sealed, and sworne, invading with innumerable troopes the territories of the king, my most clement master, slue, to the singular losse of the christian commonwealth, our small, but most warlike army opposed against him. For by that victory the courage of the barbarous increased, and they growne insolent with so happy beginning, have, in hope, devoured all Europe, being so farre transported either with arrogance, or madnesse, that even without [1] Gods assent, they beleeve themselves able to destroy our nation, with so great a danger not onely of his owne, but of all other christian provinces, the sacred majestie of my most gracious master being moved, hath determined with himselfe to forewarne other princes of the imminent perill, but especially, all delay set apart, to referre it to your majestie. But such is the singular vigilancy of your majestie, so great is the study of the common good of christians, that you doe advertise them, to whom the dangers, in respect either of time or place chiefely belong; and your majestie preventeth even this message of my most renowned king, and of your own accord you have offered what we should have sought, when to this selfesame enemie, you declared your selfe friend to the regall majestie of my most gracious master, and that you would not forsake him in any danger. Wherein his regall majestie acknowledgeth your truely great, truely royall, truely christian minde; wherein hee acknowledgeth your majesties brotherly affection, which, with the testification of a most thankefull heart, hee embraces, and professeth there is nothing so grievous, so difficult, so dangerous, which hee would not likewise for your majesties cause undertake. I would to God other christian princes might be moved by this most famous example of your majestie, and that they would rather be fellow labourers in so glori-

[1] When the chiefe Muphty, at the instance of Scanaber Basha, generall against the Polonians, appointed solemn prayers in their Moschites, for the good successe of his armie, the great Turke he forbid them, saying, that without any aide from God, they were sure by their own forces to destroy the Polonians.

ous a worke, then idle and slothfull spectators of others danger, since, by neglecting their neighbours, they cannot but at length ruine themselves. Which, how likely it is to come to passe, they may, if heaven bee pleased, beleeve, forewarned by the example of our selves, whom neglected Greece, forsaken Hungary, have cast into these present straights. And surely wee shall suffer whatsoever heaven imposeth, with resolution to renew the examples of the Sanguntines faith, Tyrians constancie, or of what fortitude hath else beene found; but let our neighbours forethinke how they shall prepare their mindes to endure the like, or, (which heaven forbid) greater calamities. Neither let them once imagine the tyrant, whose minde the poore Sarmatian cottages drew to so detestable perjury, wil esteeme more holy the rights and lawes of neighbourhood which he shall make with them, after whose cities most flourishing in merchandise, most excelling in riches, most beautifull in buildings, hee hath long gaped. These things will not keepe backe, but draw him on, they will not quench, but inflame his sacrilegious thirst of enlarging his empire by all, both inhumane, and irreligious wickednesse.. For who sees not the tyrant onely to intend that which is knowne to have beene long time debated in the counsell of his predecessors, that, by possessing a country yeelding easiest accesse into all parts of Europe, most fertile of all kinde of graine, most replenished with all necessaries to build, and arme a navie, hee might open plentifull granaries to his numberlesse armies, and prepare infinite shipping, by which, being master of the Balthike Sound, hee might passe into the ocean, and so with two navies, as it were with two wings, by both the seas, presse, and oppresse Europe; that he might through most open countries and plaines powre into Germany, by those quarters it bordereth with Poland, his land forces, where are no closure of mountaines to restraine, no swiftnesse of rivers to fore-slowe his journey? This, long since, Solyman and his successors cast in their minde, neither were they, as it is manifest, by any other reason deterred from that purpose, then for that they beleeved, all christians would conspire to defend that kingdome, on whose safety the good estate of all Europe depended. Neither did there want in that age princes so magnanimous, that they rather chose to suffer losse of substance, yea of life, then to forsake the endangered safety of their neighbour nation. But many in this our age apprehend not, with griefe I speak it, these things; some neglect them, and which is more to be lamented, industriously invite this faithlesse enemie of the christian name, of which they are unworthy, any then the barbarous themselves more execrable, to the common destruction of all. These our times, most renowned king! finde onely you, who, in your singular wisedome have considered, and understood that all Europe is strooke at through the sides of Poland, and that the danger toucheth all christians; that to seeke warres after warres, and heape kingdomes to kingdomes, is customary with the Turkes, who, not satisfied with the empire of Asia, Africa, and greater part of Europe, designe what e're remaines for prey, and according to their religion, imagine it is not lawfull for them to doe otherwise. All these things your majestie well sees, and thereby hath attained the glory, while other princes stand doubtfull what to thinke, alone to have understood, and chosen what was behovefull for the christian common-wealth, and to have beene author to the rest, of resisting, by mutuall aides, and common succours, the so great rage of a most cruell enemy, whose fortunes have growne unto this height of power by their intestine discords. Proceede then, O most invincible king! and reach out this your hand, not more knowne by armes then piety, to afflicted Poland imploring your helpe. You are defender of the faith; take then care that our common deity be not blasphemed; imitate your predecessors, who held it not burthensome to rowze the barbarous out of their owne dens, and stretch unto the bounds of farthest Syria, the glory of the British name. In your majesties most ample territories, all thing abound which are required to represse the force of the most potent enemy; store of nobility, multitude of people, provisions of all kinde, immeasurable power. Let not your majesty suffer the English,

most experienced in military affaires, the most warlike Scotsh, the fierce and most couragious Irish, idly to behold the dangers of a king most joyned in friendship, and of a nation most affected to your majesty; and rather to expect in their own roofes so large a spreading flame, then, whiles they may, extinguish it in their neighbours. To provide in others danger for your owne, nor to cast your eye only on present, but also on future things, belongs to your majesties celebrated wisedome, belongs to your magnanimitie, which either world shall admire, which long posteritie shall report and praise, which preserved Poland shall reverence. And my most renowned king, as for the present, hee imbraceth with all possible thankfulnesse, the particular affection of your majestie towards him, so in all time to come, he will declare himselfe that friend, which shall, from his soule, both favour your majesties prosperous successes, and in adverse, if any such should chance, be no lesse mooved then with his proper danger.

True Copies of the insolent, cruell, barbarous, and blasphemous Letter, lately written by the Great Turke, for denouncing of Warre against the King of Poland. And of the magnanimous, and most Christian Answere made by the said King thereunto. With a short Preface, declaring the unjust Cause on which this Turkish Tyrant, and faithlesse Enemy of Christendome, now laying hold to invade.

Published in Print by Authoritie, the 11. of June, 1621.

THE PREFACE.

About the yeere, 1608, Jeremy, prince of Moldavia dying, left 3. sonnes, Constantine, Alexander, and Bougdan, the eldest of which being but 8 yeeres old, the government, during his minority, was by the deceased father committed to his uncle Simeon, who dying within three or four yeeres after, Constantine the eldest sonne, according to his right, and supported by the councell of his mother, undertooke the government. At which time there lived at Constantinople, one Tomsho or Stephen, who falsly pretending to bee sonne unto Aron, who had been prince of Moldavia before Jeremy, had, by money and other sinister practices, framed to his ends Mehemet Basha, Lieutenant to the Grand Visier (which is the highest officer under the Turk), and by falsly suggesting, that Constantine refused to pay the yeerely tribute of forty thousand chequines to the Great Turke, obtained from him an army of 20,000 men, under the conduct of a Turkish generall, to expell prince Constantine, and establish himselfe in the government. And notwithstanding Constantine endevored to give all due satisfaction to this Turkish generall, and made evident the fraud and falshood of Tomsho, yet hee being also corrupted by Tomsho's bribes and great promises, would admit no reason. Whereupon prince Constantine making head to defend himselfe and country, was in a battaile overcome, taken prisoner, and after, seeking to escape, drowned in the river Niestre. Tomsho, after this victory, being thrust into the government, and indevoring to keepe by tyranny, what he had gotten by injustice and usurpation, the nobility attempted by armes to free themselves and their country from his unspeakable cruelties, but with successe unworthy their vertue; for, by an overthrow, both his malice, and the countries misery increased. In which disaster, the greatest part of them fly into Poland, the refuge of the unfortunate princesse with her remaining children, and the

tribunall from which their country was in justice to expect a governour: The Polonians having by ancient articles, and capitulations betweene the Turke and them, to the end their kingdom might not be prejudiced by that neighbour province, which, though christian, was yet tributary to the Turk, reserved to themselves the right and interest to name a vaivod, or prince over that country. And to this purpose the king of Poland sent an embassador to Constantinople, whom the great Turke, contrary to the law of nations, Turkishly answered, by detaining him prisoner, and ever since hath threatened that most noble, and christian kingdome, with utter subversion, having (as it is probably conceived) to that ende drawne all his forces out of Asia, and made a greater levy in Europe, then hath beene knowne in that empire, consisting (by report) of four hundred thousand men; an armie sufficient to satisfie the most covetous, or religious christian souldier with riches, or glory.

The Great Turkes Letter.

Sultan Achmat, most puissant, and highest emperour of theTurkes, king above all kings that dwell upon the earth, a king that dwelleth on the earthly paradise, an anointed prince, and sonne of Mahomet, prior of the earthly paradise, and keeper of the grave of thy God, lord of the tree of life, and of the river Flisky, conqueror of the Macedonians, the seede of great Alexander, prince of the kingdomes of Tartary, Mesopotamia, Media, and of the martiall Georgians, Anatolia, Bythinia, Asia, Armenia, Servia, Thracia, Morea, Valachia, Moldavia, and of all warlike Hungary, soveraigne lord and commander of all Greece, Persia, both the Arabia's, the most noble kingdome of Egypt, Tremisen, and African empire, of Trabezond, and the most glorious Constantinople, lord of all the White and Blacke Sea, and of the holy cities Mecha, and Medina, shining with divine glory, commander of all things that are to bee commanded, and the strongest and mightiest champion of the wide world, a warriour appointed by heaven in the edge of the sword, a great persecuter of his enemies, and of all their evil vices, a most perfect jewell of the blessed tree, the chiefest keeper of the crucified God, a prince and lord in whom the mahometans trust, and a great persecuter of all christians; To Sigismund, king of Poland, if thou doest desire our welfare, and art friend to us and our officer lieutenant generall of all our forces which we will send, our greeting. But thou hast long since broken our friendship, and yet are neither ready nor fit to wage warre, or fight battell against us. But thou hast some secret advice and intelligence with other confederate petty kings, and their counsellors, to deliver thee out of our hands, and our vicegerents power, wherein thou hast done unadvisedly, and indiscreetly. If therefore thou thus persevere to oppose thy selfe against us, then feare, for thy death, and the death of all thy people is determined. Wee tell thee, wee will overcome thee, from the rising of the sun, to the going downe thereof, and wee will shew our majesty in our own person and sight, unto the uttermost parts of the earth; our very thoughts shall be a terrour unto thee, shewing that wee will performe all that which wee have herein denounced. And wee will make knowne unto thee the powerfulnesse of our dominions. And thou, O king, which puttest thy trust in strong forts and castles, shalt have experience of our resistlesse might. I will roote thee out altogether, and thou shalt behold this with thine owne eyes. Wherefore expect now no more friendship at my hands; put not thy hope in the strength of thy walles, with thy owne forces and people. I will ruinate thee without any resistance, I will destroy thy Cracovia, in signe of triumph I will leave there my bloudy sword, that every one shall take notice thereof, and my beliefe shall bee spread throughout all thy dominions, and I will utterly roote out the very remembrance of thy crucified God. Let thy God bee angry, I care

not; he may then helpe thee. Thy anointed (the priests) I will surely put to the plague; wolves and wilde beasts shall sucke the brests of thy women; thou shalt leave and forsake thy religion which thou now hast; that which remaineth of all things, shall bee consumed with fire. Herewith rest thou satisfied; I doe not tell thee now what I will doe, or mean to doe with thee; understand if thou wilt or canst.

Given at our most high port of Constantinople, most strongly guarded, &c.

The King of Poland his Answere.

Sigismund the Third, by the grace of God king of Poland, great duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Masovia, Samogitia, Livonia, &c. and hereditarie king of the Suecians, Gothes, and Vandales, one of the most humble servants of the true God, and of his Sonne Jesus Christ crucified, to Achmat chiefe prince of Turkes, and infidels, soules health. We have received thy letter, full fraught with threats, and swolne with impieties against the majestie of the most high God, whereunto wee had not vouchsafed answere, but that wee were persuaded, our silence would have been a meanes of causing thee to flatter thy selfe so much the more, else had wee neglected thee like an arch-enemy of God, as thou art. Wee have therefore thought fit in some sort to regard the salvation of thy soule, giving thee to know, that thou art no other then a meere man, in thy person more weake then many of thy followers; which should cause thee to remember, that if it had not pleased God to ingrave in the front of such as rule, a kinde of awfull majestie, whereby their subjects are kept in obedience; the good by reward, the evil and perverse by rigorous lawes, and both the one and the other by authoritie; it were impossible they should continue eminent above others. Thou then, who in thy selfe are but as other men, must know that there is a Supreme Power of more might then thine, which doth uphold thy estate, causing thee to bee respected by thy followers. This power proceeds from God, most good, most just, most mighty, who preserveth it so long as princes humble themselves before him; but if they suffer themselves to bee transported with presumption and pride, he easily abateth and corrects their fury. I will offer no other example to thy consideration, then that of Bajazet the First, one of thy predecessors, who thinking to scale heaven with his armie (which in the judgment of man was unresistable, but in God's sight most contemptible) lived to see himself vanquished, taken, and imprisoned, coopt up in an iron cage, (wherein he was in triumph drawne after the victorious conqueror, serving him for no better than a footstoole) and having no other food, then such as was caste him (like a dogge) from his table.

Thinke then with thy selfe, that hee that was so great, so puissant, and so terrible, may haply by right of succession have left unto thee (as beeing descended from him) the like or worse fortune, if thou shalt dare to continue thy blasphemies against God, and his beloved Sonne Jesus Christ crucified. Thou doest mistake in thinking to lay an aspersion upon us, by reproaching unto us the crosse. For wee account it our chiefest honour, and glory; by vertue whereof, as the emperor Constantine quelled his enemies, wee hope, and assure our selves to be defended against thy fury. Thy proud, and thundering words dismay us not, our courage is more masculine and generous, then so to be out-braved. For know, that wee regard not thy threats, but with just scorne tread upon thy pride, and laugh at thy idle terrours, and in stead of thanking thee for advertising us before thy coming, wee bid thee come when thou wilt, thou shalt be received contrary to thy expectation. We have steepe mountains, and impregnable rockes that shall barre thee from entering into our lands. Thou shalt finde our cities and castles well furnished with munition, our cannons mouthes breathing furious fires, our courages invincible, our blades eager and sharpe, our bodies as our mindes prepared to sustaines the violence of all seasons, our heart promising nothing but victory. And to dazell

thine eyes, the glorious standard of the blessed crosse shall goe before us; but above all, the crucified Son of the most High God shall cause his angels to conduct us, and give us the victory; He it is shall bee our leader, under whose protection wee will not feare to brave thee at thy gates. Thy miscreant troupes shall be troden under foote, and their bellies trampled on, and by a happy victory (if thou chance to escape our conquering arme) thou shalt finde thy selfe pursued unto the most secret dens of thy abominable seralio; thou shalt see thy mosques laid levell with the ground, thy muphty, and other the execrable priests of thy perfidious Mahomet, made galley-slaves; all those traiterous run-a-gates whom thou doest harbor, shalt thou see put to exquisite torments; of all which be most assured. And then shall be set free all those poore and miserable christians, who now lie groning under the burthen of thy tyrannous yoake, whose wofull cryes being mounted to heaven, have justly excited the vengeance of God upon thee, who hath permitted thee to rise to this height of pride, that thy ruine and destruction may bee the more exemplar unto after-ages. To conclude, thou shalt see the service of God re-established in Greece and Asia, which thou doest now unjustly usurpe. But if it happen thee to end thy miserable life in battell, (which we hope God will grant) be confident, that all the foresaid vengeance shall ensue upon thy death; and whiles thy wretched soule lies broiling in the quenchlesse flames of hell, wee will lift up our cheerfull voices, and, for the victory obtained over thee and thine, sing praises unto our God: to whom be all glory for ever.

Know then, O infidell, that wee feare thee not at all, and if thou beest not wilfully bent to runne headlong unto thy owne destruction, be advised; content and containe thy selfe within those bounds thou doest at this present usurpe, and if thou hast any beliefe at al that thy thrice reverenced prophet Mahomet could tell a truth, or foretell future events, then call to minde, that of those thousand yeeres which he prescribed for the continuing of thy sect, there remaine not above sixe or seven yeeres. This then is the time that the yet unsheathed sword of the christians affords for thy amendment, that thou mightest come to the knowledge of the alone true God, to worship him in his Sonne Jesus Christ, whereunto we once more exhort thee, omitting all other salutation, and commendation.

Given at our castle of Posnwich, &c.

SIGISMUND.

The Speech of King James the First, in the Upper House of Parliament, on Monday the 26th of March, 1621.

The occasion of the following speech is thus stated by Rushworth:

" But to return to the Parliament of England. They petition the King for the due execution of laws against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Popish Recusants, Likewise, they take in hand to redress the people's grievances by illegal patents and projects, and chiefly that of inns and ale-houses, for which there was a great fine, and an annual revenue throughout the kingdom; and the monopoly of gold and silver thread, whereby the people were abused with base and counterfeit wares.—But the examination of these abuses was accompanied with the grant of two subsidies, which was very acceptable to the King. Sir Giles Mompesson was convened before the House of Commons for many heinous offences and misdemeanors in this kind, to the intolerable grievance of the sub-

ject, the great dishonour of the King, and the scandal of his government. The delinquent was committed to prison, but he escaped thence, and got beyond sea, and was pursued by the King's proclamation.

" The Commons, at a conference with the Lords, offered to prove that the patents of gold and silver thread, of inns and ale-houses, and of power to compound for obsolete laws, of the price of horse meat, starch, cords, tobacco-pipes, salt, train-oil, and the rest, were all illegal: howbeit, they touched not the tender point of prerogative; but in restoring the subject's liberty, were careful to preserve the King's honour. The Lords resolved to admit no other business till this were ended.

" Hereupon the King came to the House of Lords, and there made a speech."—RUSHWORTH's *Collections*, I. 24.

My Lords,

The last time I came hither, my errand was to inform you (as well as my memory could serve me, of things so long passed) of the verity of my proceedings, and the cautions used by me in the passing of those patents, which are now in question before you; to the effect, that they might not be abused in the execution; and this I did by way of declaration. But now I am come (understanding the time of your censure to draw near) to express my readiness to put in execution, (which is the life of the law,) those things, which ye are to sentence (for even the law itself is a dead letter without execution,) for which office God hath appointed me in these kingdoms. And though I assure myself, that my former behaviour, in all the course of my life, hath made me well known for a just king; yet in this special case I thought fit to express my own intentions, out of my own mouth, for punishment of things complained of. The first proof whereof I have given, by the diligent search I caused to be made after the person of Sir Giles Mompesson, who, though he were fled, yet my proclamation pursued him instantly; and as I was earnest in that, so I will be to see your sentence against him put in execution.

Two reasons move me to be earnest in the execution of what ye are to sentence at this time: first, that duty I owe to God, who hath made me a king, and tied me to the care of government, by that politick marriage between me and my people; for I do assure you in the heart of an honest man, and by the faith of a christian king, (which both ye and all the world know me to be,) had these things been complained of to me before the parliament, I would have done the office of a just king, and out of parliament have punished them as severely, and peradventure more, than ye now intend to do.

But now that they are discovered to me in parliament, I shall be as ready in this way as I should have been in the other. For, (I confess) I am ashamed (these things proving so, as they are generally reported to be,) that it was not my good fortune to be the only author of the reformation and punishment of them, by some ordinary courts of justice Nevertheless, since these things are now discovered by parliament, which before I knew not of, nor could so well be discovered otherwise, in regard of that representative body of the kingdom, which comes from all parts of the country: I will be never a whit the slower to do my part for the execution. For, as many of you that are here have heard me often say, so I will still say; so precious unto me is the publick good, that no private person whatsoever, were he never so dear unto me, shall be so respected by me, by many degrees, as the publick good, not only of the whole commonwealth, but even of any particular corporation that is a member of it; and I hope that ye, my lords, will do me that right, to publish to my people this my heart and purpose

The second reason is, that I intend not to derogate or infringe any of the liberties or

privileges of this House, but rather to fortify and strengthen them; for never any king hath done so much for the nobility of England, as I have done, and will ever be ready to do. And whatsoever I shall now say or deliver unto you as my thought, yet when I have said what I think, I will afterwards freely leave the judgment wholly to your House. I know ye will do nothing, but what the like hath been done before; and I pray you be not jealous, that I will abridge you in any thing that hath been used. For whatsoever the precedents in times of good government can warrant, I will allow. For I acknowledge this to be the supreme court of justice, wherein I am ever present by representation: And in this ye may be the better satisfied by my own presence, coming divers times amongst you; neither can I give you any greater assurance, or better pledge of this my purpose, than that I have done you the honour to set my only son among you, and hope that ye with him shall have the means to make this the happiest parliament that ever was in England.

This I profess, and take comfort in, that the House of Commons at this time have shewed greater love, and used me with more respect in all their proceedings, than ever any House of Commons have heretofore done to me, or (I think) to any of my predecessors. As for this House of yours, I have always found it respective to me, and accordingly do I, and ever did favour you, as ye well deserved. And I hope, it will be accounted a happiness for you, that my son doth now sit amongst you, who, when it shall please God to set him in my place, will then remember, that he was once a member of your House, and so be bound to maintain all your lawful privileges, and like the better of you all the days of his life. But because the world at this time talks so much of bribes, I have just cause to fear, the whole body of this House hath bribed him to be a good instrument for you upon all occasions; he doth so good offices in all his reports to me, both for the House in general, and every one of you in particular.

And the like I may say of one that sits there (Buckingham) he hath been so ready upon all occasions to do good offices, both for the House in general, and every member thereof in particular; one proof thereof, I hope my Lord of Arundel hath already witnessed unto you, in his report made unto you of my answer, touching the privileges of the nobility, how earnestly he spake unto me in that matter.

Now, my Lords, the time draws near of your recess; whether formality will leave you time for proceeding now to sentence against all, or any of the persons now in question, I know not; but for my part, since both Houses have dealt so lovingly and freely with me, in giving me, as a free gift, two subsidies, in a more loving manner, than hath been given to any king before, and so accepted by me; and since I cannot yet retribute by a general pardon, which hath by form usually been reserved to the end of a parliament, the least I can do (which I can forbear no longer) is to do something in present, for the ease and good of my people.

Three patents at this time have been complained of, and thought great grievances:

1. That of the inns and hosteries.
2. That of the alehouses.
3. That of gold and silver thread.

My purpose is to strike them all dead, and (that time may not be lost) I will have it done presently.

That concerning the alehouses, I would have to be left to the managing of the justices of peace, as before.

That of gold and silver thread was most vilely executed, both for wrongs done to men persons, as also for abuse in the stuff; for it was a kind of false coin. I have already freed the persons that were in prison; I will now also damn the patent; and this may seem instead of a pardon. All these three I will have recalled by proclamation, and wish you to advise of the fittest form for that purpose.

I hear also, that there is another bill among you against informers: I desire you, my

Lords, that as you tender my honour, and the good of my people, ye will put that bill to an end so soon as you can, and at your next meeting to make it one of your first works. For I have already shewed my dislike of that kind of people openly in Star-chamber, and it will be the greatest ease both to me, and all those that are near about me at court, that may be. For I remember, that since the beginning of this parliament, Buckingham hath told me, he never found such quiet and rest as in this time of parliament, from projectors and informers, who, at other times, miserably vexed him at all hours.

And now I confess, that when I looked before upon the face of the government, I thought (as every man would have done) that the people were never so happy as in my time. For even as at divers times I have looked upon many of my coppices, riding about them, and they appeared on the outside very thick and well grown unto me; but when I entered into the midst of them, I found them all bitten within, and full of plains and bare spots, like an apple or pear, fair and smooth without, but when ye cleave it asunder, ye find it rotten at the heart; even so this kingdom, the external government being as good as ever it was, and I am sure as learned judges as ever it had (and, I hope, as honest) administring justice within it; and for peace, both at home and abroad, I may truly say, more settled, and longer lasting, than ever any before, together with as great plenty as ever; so as it was to be thought, that every man might sit in safety under his own vine, and his own fig-tree: yet I am ashamed, and it makes my hair stand upright, to consider, how in this time my people have been vexed and polled by the vile execution of projects, patents, bills of conformity, and such like, which, besides the trouble of my people, have more exhausted their purses, than subsidies would have done.

Now, my Lords, before I go hence, since God hath made me the great judge of this land under him, and that I must answer for the justice of the same: I will therefore (according to my place) remember you of some things, though I would not teach you; for no man's knowledge can be so good, but their memories will be the better to be refreshed. And now because ye are coming to give judgment, all which moves from the king, that you may the better proceed, take into your care two things: first to do *bonum*, secondly, next to do it *bene*. I call *bonum*, when all is well proved whereupon ye judge, for then ye build upon a sure foundation; and by *bene* I understand, that ye proceed with all formality and legality; wherein you have fit occasion to advise with the judges, who are to assist you with their opinions in cases of that nature, and woe be to them if they advise you not well: so the ground being good, and the form orderly, it will prove a course fitting this high court of parliament.

In sentence ye are to observe two parts: first, to recollect that which is worthy of judging and censuring; and secondly, to proceed against these, as against such like crimes, properly. We doubt there will be many matters before you, some complained of out of passion, and some out of just cause of grievance. Weigh both; but be not carried away with the impertinent discourses of them that name as well innocent men as guilty. Let your judgments only take hold of the guilty; proceed judicially, and spare none where ye find just cause to punish. But let your proceedings be according to law; and remember that laws have not their eyes in their necks, but in their foreheads; for the moral reason of the punishment of vices in all kingdoms and commonwealths is, because of the breach of laws standing in force, for none can be punished for breach of laws by predestination, before they be made.

There is yet one particular which I am to remember you of. I hear that Sir Henry Yelverton,[1] (who is now in the Tower, upon a sentence given in the Star-chamber

[1] Sir Henry Yelverton had been Attorney-General. He was accused of having advised the monopolies so loudly complained of; and as, in his vindication, he threw the blame on the favourite, the Duke of Buckingham,

against him, for deceiving my trust,) is touched concerning a warrant dormant, which he made while he was my attorney; the which my Lord Treasurer here refused to set his hand to, like an honest man, when it was brought unto him. I protest I never heard of this warrant dormant before, and I hold it as odious a matter as any is before you: and if, for respect to me, ye have forborne to meddle with him in examination, because he is my prisoner, I do now here freely remit him unto you, and put him into your hands.

And this is all I have to say unto you at this time; wishing you to proceed justly and nobly, according to the orders of your house; and I pray God to bless you, and ye may assure yourselves of my assistance, wishing that what I have said this day amongst you may be entered into the records of this house.[1]

Tom Tell-Troath: or, a free Discourse touching the Manners of the Time. Directed to his Majestie by waye of humble advertisement.—Quarto, 30 pages.

No part of James's policy exposed him so much to obloquy and contempt, as his reluctance to support his son-in-law, the Prince Palatine, in his pretensions upon the kingdom of Bohemia, or even in defence of his hereditary dominions, after failure in his ambitious attempt to extend them.

"The whole kingdom," says Hume, "was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardour greater, with which all the states of Europe, in former ages, flew to rescue the Holy Land from the dominion of infidels. The nation was, as yet, sincerely attached to the blood of their monarchs, and they considered their connexion with the Palatine, who had married a daughter of England, as very close and intimate; and when they heard of catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against protestants, they thought their own interest deeply concerned, and regarded their neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God, and of his holy religion. In such a quarrel they would gladly have marched to the opposite extremity of Europe, have plunged them-

and obliquely upon the King himself; James not only withdrew his protection from him, but he was heavily fined by the House of Lords for the contumacy of his defence.

[1] The consequences of the King's speech are thus stated by Rushworth;

"The Lords pronounced sentence upon Sir Giles Mompesson, who was fled beyond sea:

"1 That he shall be degraded of the order of knighthood, with reservation of the dignity of his wife and children.

"2 That he shall stand perpetually, in the degree of his person, outlawed for misdemeanor and trespass.

"3. That his testimony be received in no court, nor he to be of any inquisition or jury.

"4. That he shall be excepted out of all general pardons to be hereafter granted.

"5. That he shall be imprisoned during life.

"6. That he shall not approach within twelve miles of the court, or prince, nor of the King's high court usually held at Westminster.

"7. And that the King's Majesty shall have the profit of his lands for life, and all his goods and chattels so forfeited; and that he shall undergo fine and ransome; which was set at ten thousand pounds.

"8. Disabled to hold or receive any office under the King, or for the common-wealth.

"9. That he shall be ever held an infamous person.

"10. And his Majesty added thereunto perpetual banishment.

"Sir Francis Michel, a projector, and Mompesson's compartner, was fined one thousand pounds, degraded, and imprisoned in the same place in Finsbury fields, which he had prepared for others; for the Tower was thought too honourable for such a person. He rode likewise from Westminster into London with his face to the horse's tail. 'Likewise the King revoked his letters patents, commissions, and proclamations concerning inns and alehouses; and the manufactures of gold and silver threads."—RUSHWORTH's *Collections*, I. 28.

selves in a chaos of German politics, and have expended all the blood and treasure of the nation, by maintaining a contest with the whole House of Austria, at the very time, and in the very place, in which it was the most potent and almost irresistible."

The House of Commons joined in the general cry for war, and addressed the King in the following terms;

"The Commons assembled in Parliament, taking into most serious consideration the present state of the King's children abroad, and the general afflicted state of the true professors of the same Christian religion, professed by the Church of England, in foreign parts; and being touched with a true sense and fellow-feeling of their distresses, as members of the same body, do, with unanimous consent, in the name of themselves and the whole body of the kingdom, (whom they represent,) declare unto his most excellent Majesty, and to the whole world, their hearty grief and sorrow for the same: and do not only joyn with them in their humble and devout prayers unto Almighty God, to protect his true Church, and to avert the dangers now threatened, but also with one heart and voice do solemnly protest, that if his Majesty's pious endeavours by treaty, to procure their peace and safety, shall not take that good effect which is desired in treaty; (wherefore they humbly beseech his Majesty not to suffer any longer delay,) that then upon signification of his Majesties pleasure in parliament, they shall be ready, to the utmost of their powers, both with their lives and fortunes, to assist him so, as by the divine help of Almighty God, (which is never wanting unto those, who, in his fear, shall undertake the defence of his own cause) he may be able to do that with his sword, which by a peaceable course shall not be effected."—RUSHWORTH, *ut supra*, p. 36.

But the pacific habits of James, and his extreme eagerness to conclude the match between his son and the Infanta of Spain, rendered him absolutely deaf to all proposals for recovering the Palatinate by arms. Libels against his government appeared daily, and reiterated proclamations forbidding his subjects to talk of foreign affairs, only gave an additional zest to political disquisitions. Among others, the following tract appeared in 1621 or 1622. It is very satirical, and points out the faults of James's person and government with the keenest irony.

Since they, that have the honour to appertaine unto you, have neither the courage, nor the conscience to acquaint you with the fearful discontents of the time, but suffer you to loose the peoples hearts so slightly, as if they were not worth their keeping; I, a poore unknowne subject, who never had the happines to come near your majestie, but in the throng, nor to take any other oath in your service but that of allegiance, have ventured upon so much forwardnes at this time of need, when all places are indeed voyd; with covetousness, and huge ambition, seeme to fill; as to thrust myself into the best office about you, better than either President of the Counsel, or Earl Marshal of England, and far more discontinued, the noble office of telling truth; wherein, if boldnes makes me forget my discretion, loyalty, I hope, will begge my pardon. And the rather, because I perswade my selfe I am not altogether without warrant for what I doe; for it was my duty, not long since, to take notice of *two* proclamations, come out in your majesties name, against immoderate talkings; wherein it is your gracious pleasure, to make all your loving subjects, of what condition soever, instruments of state, by giving them, not a bare voluntary power, but a *sub pœna* charge and commission, to informe against all those that shall at any time hereafter offend in that kinde.[1] Now your majestie shall know that I am one of the greatest company-keepers in this town,

[1] The proclamations alluded to are thus noticed by Rushworth:

"The relation of England to those affairs of foreign states, had caused a general liberty of discourse concerning matters of state: which King James could not bear, but, by proclamation, commanded all, from the highest to the lowest, not to intermeddle, by pen or speech, with state concernments, and secrets of empire, either at home or abroad; which were no fit themes or subjects for vulgar persons, or common meetings."—RUSHWORTH, *ad ann.* 1620, p. 21.

In summer 1631, "a second proclamation was issued forth against excess of licentious speech touching state affairs; for, notwithstanding the strictness of the King's former command, the peoples inordinate liberty of speech increased daily. Wherefore the King threatened severity, as well against the concealers of such discourses, as against the boldness of audacious tongues."—*Ibid.* p. 36.

and therefore cannot but be guilty of hearing many thinges, that I am bound to reveal, in obedience to the royall command, which is the duty which I propose to my selfe; at this present the miserie is, I know not where to begin, nor whom to accuse in particular of so generall a crime.

For I vow to God and your majestie, I can come into no meetinges, but I finde the predominant humour to be talking of the wars of Christendome and honour of their country, and such like treasons; and would to God they would stop there, and prophane no more the thinges that are above them; but such is the rage and folly of theire tongues, that they spare not your majesties sacred person, yea, (I horror) to descant upon the royall style is now their common pastime; that you are trewe and lawfull kinge there is none so divellishly affected as to deny; but some there are that find such fault with your majesties government, as they wish Queen Elizabeth were alive again, who (they say) would never have suffered the enemies of her religion to have unballanced Christendome, as they have done within these few yeares.

They make a mock of your word, Great Brittaine, and offer to prove, that it is a great deal lesse, then Little England was wont to be; lesse in reputation, lesse in strength, lesse in riches, lesse in all manner of virtue, and whatsoever else is required to make a state great and happy.

They wonder you will call your selfe King of France, and suffer your best subjects there to be ruined; for, Ireland, they say, you content your selfe with the name, and let others receive the profit.

As for the glorious title, Defender of the Faith, (which was wont to be a point of controversie betweene us and Rome,) they say flattly that your faithful subjects have more cause to question that then the papists.

For they[x] were never better defended in their lifes; witnesse, the judges privy instructions, the pursuivants open prohibitions, and your Spanish ambassadors more than parliament protections

Lastly, that you are Head of the Church, they dare not doubt; but of *what* church they would gladly know; the triumphant, they say, it cannot be, because there are too many corruptions and vexations in it.

And how far it is from the militant, they call heaven and earth to witnesse. Therefore they conclude, it must be either the church dormant, or none. And to say the truth, sir, wee are the securest sinners in the world.

These are the thinges, that have most readily offered themselves to my remembrance; because they follow one another in a kind of order But, if I should reporte all the disorderly and extravagant speeches I have heard of this nature, I must be faine to racke my memorie, and (I feare) your majesties patience; yet rather than leave the least shadow of suspition upon my plain dealing by seeming too curtall in the performance of so necessary a duty, I will venture to add these fewe.

They that take the affaires of your children abroad most to hearte, not being able to discerne the compassion of your bowels, but judginge thinges by the exterior of your actions, will hardlie be perswaded that you are their father, because they see the lamentable estate whereto you suffer thinges to run, comes nearer to destruction than the nature of fatherly correction.

They are not ignorant that your majestie hath made as though you would doe somethinge for them; but they also know the course you have taken, hath beene more formal than effectual, more chargeable than honourable, and are of opinion that either your embassadors have not negotiated as they ought, or else have mett with very ill masters

[x] The Papists.

of requests abroade, since they have not bin able, all this while, to get their petition answered.[1]

The very papists themselves, sir, repine at your errour, and say that the prayers and monyes that your majestie hath consumed of late, in the unprofitable treaties, might have beene farr better imployed in redeeming your mothers soul out of purgatorie; for, to get the enemie out of your childrens countrie, other ensignes might have beene founde a great deale more proper. In the mean time, they do not onely bind, but satisfy their pernicious hopes upon your majesties patience. For, seeing how easily you tolerate all thinges abrode, they doubt not, ere long, but they shall also have toleration at home. Our godliest preachers do allready pray against the evil day, with so much earnestness as if that were at hande. And, though there be orders given to preach nothing but courte divinitie, yet a man may easily perceive, by the very choyce of their texts, and the very teares in their eyes, that if they durst, they would speak their consciences.[2]

The perpetual walkers of Paules doe now despair to see their materiall church ever repaired, since the spirituall, and more worthy, is suffered to go to wracke. And some of them not daring to meddle with affaires of state, because they are monied men; and yet, not knowing how to holde their peace upon so sodaine warning, thinke it their safest course, to talke of nothing but ecclesiastical matters, wherein they all agree, that your majestie hath pulled downe the churche more with your proceedings, then you have raised it with your writings.[3]

In your majesties owne tavernes, for one healthe that is begun to your selfe, there are ten drunke to the princes, your forraygn children. And, when the wine is in their heades, Lord have mercie on their tonges! Even in the very gaming ordinaries, where men have scarce leisure to say grace, yet they take a time to censure your majesties

[1] James's fruitless negociations in behalf of his son-in-law, whom nothing but an English army could have assisted, were become the ridicule of all Europe. Of which Howel gives us a ludicrous instance. "Here is news that Mansfeldt hath received a foil lately in Germany, and that the Duke of Brunswick, *alias* bishop of Halverstadt, hath lost one of his arms; this makes them vapour here extremely; and the last week, I heard of a play the Jesuits of Antwerp made, in derogation, or rather derision, of the proceedings of the prince Palsgrave, where, among divers other passages, they feigned a post to come puffing upon the stage; and being asked what news, he answered, how the Palsgrave was like to have shortly a huge formidable army, for the king of Denmark was to send him 100,000, the Hollanders 100,000, and the king of Great Britain 100,000; but being asked thousands of what? he replied, The first would send 100,000 red herrings, the second 100,000 cheeses, and the last 100,000 ambassadors, alluding to Sir Richard Weston, and Sir Edward Conway, my Lord Carlisle, Sir Arthur Chichester, and lastly, the Lord Digby, who had been all employed in quality of ambassadors in less than two years, since the beginning of these German broils."—Howel's *Familiar Letters*, p. 105.

[2] The middle walk in St Paul's cathedral was at this time the rendezvous of all the idlers and news-mongers of the city. Osborne mentions it as the mart where he gleaned his traditional intelligence. "It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these (wherein not only the mother, but her daughters are ruined) for the principal gentry, lords, and courtiers, and men of all professions, not merely mechanic, to meet in St Paul's church by eleven, and walk in the middle aisle to twelve, and after dinner, from five to six; during which time, some discoursed of business, others of news. Now, in regard of the universal commerce, there happened little that did not first or last arrive here. And I being young, and wanting more advantageous employment, did, during my abode in London, which was about three-fourths of the year, associate myself at these hours with the choicest company I could pick out among such as I found most inquisitive after affairs of state, who, being then myself in a daily attendance, upon a hope (though a rotten one) of future preferment, being as ready to satisfy, according to my weak abilities, their curiosity, as they were mine; who, out of a candid nature, were not ordinarily found to name an author, easily lost in such a concourse, where his own report was not seldom within few minutes returned to him for news by another."—*Traditional Memorials*, p. 450.

The repairing of St Pauls here alluded to, was carried on by the court, in an unpopular manner; subscriptions being extorted from the wealthier citizens, who were summoned to council for that purpose.

[3] King James the First affected to shew himself a great opposer of the church of Rome, by turning controvertist, and writing against their doctrines, with his own royal pen.

actions, and that in their oulde schoole terms. They say, you have lost the fayrest game at maw that ever king had, for want of making the best advantage of the five finger, and playing other helpes in time. That your own cardholders play bootie, and give the signe out of your owne hand. That hee you played withall, hath ever been knowne for the greatest cheater in christendome. In fine, there is noe way to recover your losses, and vindicate your honour, but with fighting with him that hath cozened you. At which honest downe righte play, you will be hard inough for him with all his trickes. I cannot forget howe I have seene some, when they have lost all their money, fall a cursing and swearing at the loss of Prague, and the palatinate, as though all the rancour of their hartes lay there. And tell them of your majesties proclamation, they answer in a chafe: You must give loosers leave to speake.

The merchants and tradesmen, I nor no man else, can accuse of being sensible of any thing but what toucheth their owne profit. All I find in them is, they are extreame jealous, the court will shortly put down their exchange, and apprehend, because one of their occupation is made treasurer,[1] that therefore, hence forwarde, all things must be bought and soulde there.

The lawyers seeme not so much offended that your majestie hath removed the garland of their profession, by puttinge the great seale into the hands of a churchman,[2] as that you do not relieve your poore distressed children, according to the equity of their cause, who, they saye, have bin wrongefully outed; and that therefore you ought to grant them a writ of forcible re-entry, which, under correction, they conceive maye be better executed by the general of an army, then the sheriffe of a countie.

They that fly higher, and fixe their speculations upon the mysteries of the court, doe apparently perceive that the councell of Gondemar hath taught some of your active ministers to juggle, onely to make them passively capable of his owne conjuringe; and that, by the penetratinge faculty of a yelowe Indian demon hee hath at his command, and is master of your cabinet, without a key, and knowes your secrets before the greatest part, and most faithful of your councel;[3] and which is worse, they say your majestie knowes it; and therefore suspect that yourselfe is bribed against your selfe. Otherwise they thinke not the divell himselfe could so abuse the times we live in, as to make things passe in that fashion, as they doe, contrary to all sense and conscience, and reason of state.

Behold, sir, the second part of Vox Populi, by so much the more like itselfe then the first, by howe much it comes short of it in witt and discretion; for, thoughe the second cogitations are ever held the best, yet wee see the common people for the most part, when they give themselves to talkinge, proceed from bad to worse, and every time more foolishly then other; the reason is, because they never thinke before they speake, but

[1] This was Sir Lionel Cranfield, who at first was a merchant in London, afterwards a custom-house officer, and from thence introduced into the court as a projector; a name given to such as suggested to the ministers of state, means whereby they might fill the exchequer with money, when the king would rule without a parliament. He there married the sister of Mary Beaumont, Countess of Buckingham, which was sufficient to raise him to the place of treasurer, and to be created Earl of Middlesex. See Wilson, p. 727. and Weldon, p. 141. From an heiress of this family is descended the Duke of Dorset. See Dugdale's *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 446.

[2] Chancellor Bacon, who had been created Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St Alban's, though he was a very great genius, and one of the most learned men in Europe, being found guilty of bribery and corrupt practices in his high office, was declared by parliament, unworthy not only of the office of chancellor, but also of having a place, for the future, in the house of peers, fined forty thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; in whose place, on the twentieth of July, 1621, the king made John Williams, dean of Westminster, lord high chancellor. See Rushworth, tom. I. p. 29. Howes. Wilson, p. 735. Weldon. p. 133, and Hacket.

[3] Gondomar was liberal of his gifts among the courtier and court ladies. One lady finding the golden shower was long of descending upon her, affected always, when she came in the ambassador's way, to keep her mouth wide open, and explained as her meaning, that he should understand that she had a mouth to be stopped as well as others.

rashly vent whatsoever gets into their fancy, bee it true, false, or probable, good, bad, or indifferent; nevertheless, by these overflowinges of their mouths, your majestie maye doe well to guesse at the aboundance of their hearts. And my lords of your councell may make use of their follie, without disparaginge of their owne wisdome; which, if it be lawful for me to confesse, the truth is the principal ende I ayme at; for it would never sinke into my beleife, that your majesties meaninge was to publish these kind of proclamations,[1] to intrap your subjects, and bringe them to the blocke of punishment; but rather out of a politicke designe to sound their griefe, and make their complaints serve for so many directions to amendment. According to which persuasione, I have thought it sufficient to sett down the bare discourses, without troubling your majestie with the persons; for, if all that are infected with this king's evill, should be brought before you, I fear that both your majestie and your chirurgeon will want the vertue of curing all evils; which I wish you may doe with as much ease as your owne heart desires. And thoughe, perhaps, I cannot end better, than with saying amen, to so good a prayer; yet, now that I have begun to speak to the lord my kinge, let him not be offended with mee, if I presume a little further, and offer at least a few of my owne conceptions, by way of humble remonstrance; not that I can hope (however others[2] have sped) to come from an informer to be a councellour, but because, I believe, there are some thinges most worthy of your majesties consideration, that are fitter for an honest man to present than a greate.

The great spectatours of your majesties wisdome, whose dayly exercise is to multiply the object in the artificiall glasses of fraude and flattery, are so distracted with the infinite faces of the counterfayts, as they cannot discerne the blemishes of the true. But wee that knowe neither the use nor the benefitt of such court-perspectives, and have no other waye to understand your majestie, then by your workes, doe, to our great greife, perceive a number of defects that cover the glory of your raigne, as in a cloude, and much allay the reverence due to the other excellencies of your person; for mine owne part, I cannot see them, and thinke it not inough to murmure as many doe, but must shewe myselfe so affectionate to my prince and country, as to advise your majestie of them, which I promise to doe with as much humilitie as the matter will bear.

The generall torrent of discontent that rains with such a seditious noyse over your whole kingdome, though (thanks be to God) it hath made no open breach upon your people's obedience, yet certainely hath very much weakened their affections, which hath ever bin held dangerouse, and of so near neighbourhood as commonly there is no waye to prevent the one, without remedying the other.

The courses from whence that riseth are two:

[1] "After the recess of parliament, the king, by proclamation, declared his grace to his subjects in matters of public grievance; and taking notice that many great affairs debated in parliament, could not be brought to perfection in so short a time, and that the commons thought it convenient to continue the same session in course of adjournment; and withall observing, that divers of those particulars required a speedy determination and settlement for his people's good, and that they are of that condition and quality, as that he needeth not the assistance of parliament to reform the same, and would have reformed them before the parliament, if the true state of his subjects grievances had been made known unto him; he hath determined, and doth declare an immediate redress therein, by his own regal authority, as in the business of informers, of miscarriages of ministers in chancery, of the patents for gold and silver thread, for licensing pedlars and petty-chapmen, for the sole dressing of arms, for the exportation of lists and shreds, and for the sole making of tobacco-pipes, cards, and the like. And besides the redress of these grievances, he will enlarge his grace unto other kinds, for the subject's ease; and that both his own, and the ears of his privy-council, shall be open to his people's modest and just complaints.

"Moreover, a second proclamation was issued forth against excess of licentious speech, touching state affairs; for, notwithstanding the strictness of the king's former command, the people's inordinate liberty of unrevered speech increased daily. Wherefore the king threatened severity, as well against the concealers of such discourses, as against the boldness of audacious tongues and pens."—Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, 1659 I. 36.

King James was particularly fond of issuing proclamations, to which he in vain laboured to attach the sanctity of laws

[2] Alluding to Sir Lionel Cranfield, as mentioned above.

I. Discord at Home. And,
II. Dishonour Abroad.

For the first, I must confesse, that I am not so well read in the newe book of patents, as that I can make any longe discourse upon that subject, and therefore to the lower house of parliament I will leave it, which is the true christall fountaine that will not onelie present to your majesties vewe, as in a mirrour, all the foule spotts of the common-weale, but serve you at the same time with waters, if you please, to wash them out; but for the other, which toucheth more to the quicke, all generouse spirits, and so excells in matter of complaint; as it receives redresse, all other clamours ought to hold their peace; I dare pretend to know as much of it as another, and, perhaps, more than the share of a private gentleman. And having bin of late, by I knowe not what inclination of my genius, not onely the chosen fruit of my outward observations, but the very nourishment of my sadd and solitary thoughts; if, then, your majestie will give me leave to execute my melancholy office of tellinge truth, and freely to advertise you what this grand grievance is, that cries so loud for reparation in all voices, in all hearts; and it is a just resentment of the decayes of our countrey's honour, a trade wherein wee were wont to outbuy all our neighbours; and make the greate ingrosser [1] of your Weste Indyes himselfe bankrupt. But, since your majestie came to be our soveraigne, least we shoulde be too proude of so greate an addition, it seemes the hand of heaven hath thought fit to curbe our felicitie in this point, so that we have lived to see that brave stock of soveraigne reputation, which our greate queen, your predecessor, left us, quite banisht, and brought to nothing And for acquiring of new, that is a thing so long since grown out of use, as that may be very well reckoned, amongst those other inventions we have lost, through the injurie of time.

The old compasse of honour is quite forgott, and our pilotts, now adais, knowe no other route than that of their own fortunes; according to which they tack and untack all publicke affaires. No marvaille, then, if wee see your goodly vessels of this state misguided, and shamefully exposed to all manner of danger. Sometimes by being runn agrounde upon your sands of shallow and uncertaine policie; but most of all, by being kept at anchore, and full as it is of leaks, and rotten ribbes, in the deepe gulphe of security. Where that takes in more matter of ruine and corruption, in sixe monthes, then can be pumpt out again in seven yeares. Nor can our statesmen excuse their negligence hereafter, in saying, the wind did not serve. For never did heavens blow more favourably to our advantage, than that hath done of late, had wee the grace but to have fitted our sayles to the fairenes of our occasion. But there hath been I know not what remora, that hath hung a long time upon this unfortunate state; and still continues of that prodigious force, as, for ought I see, (unles God of his mercie putt his helping hand) it will rather sink us, then suffer us to go forward in any course that tends to our prosperitie.

In the mean time, our adverse parties have feardome inough, and all is fishe that comes to their netts, that it seemes they have forbidd us, under the paine of their highe displeasure, to deal any more in matters of worthe; and reserving to themselves the rich prizes and triumphes of the time, have thought that sufficient for us, to sheere our sheepe, and fetche home spices to make gingerbread. Not so much but the very pedlers, [2] whome wee our selves set upp for our owne use, are now become our masters in the Easte Indyes, and thinke themselves our fellowes in any ground of christendome.

These thinges are the more irkesome unto us, by reason we did least expect them at your majesties hands. For, who would have thought, that wee should have lost, but rather infinitely gained, by changing the weaker sexe, [3] for your more noble, to be our

[1] The king of Spain. [2] The Dutch. [3] Queen Elisabeth.

commanders? And having withall to boote, the onely nation of the earth,[1] that could compare with us in valour, to be our fellowe-souldiers? But the event showes, we are in nothing more miserable, then in that we had so much reason to think our selves happy, for now that wee see how contrary to our hopes all thinges have succeeded, and how vilely wee have suffered our brave possibilities to passe away one after another; as in a dreame, our greatest comfortes are changed into equall despaire, and our most reputed blessings into moste apparent curses.

Of all the benefits that descend from heaven to earth, there is none to be received with more prayse, and thankefulnes, then that of peace. But a man may have too much of his fathers blessing. And I feare we have too much cause to complaine of your majesties unlimited peace. The excesse whereof hath long since turned vertue into vice, and health into sicknes. As long as other princes kept themselves within their bounds and followed your great example, it was a thing rather to be gloryed in, than any way reproached, that your majestie was known throughout christendome, by the name of the King of Peace. But now, that both our sworne enymies, and forsworne friends, have taken up armes with one consent, that defyed your majesties goodnes, by enterprisinge upon your neerest and dearest interest in all forraign parts. Now, that there is question of God's glory, as well as your owne. And that the cause of both your children lyes equally a bleeding: now, I say, to continue still the faute, as still unmoved, as if you were no king of this world, but stood already possessed of the kingedome of heaven by vertue of *beati pacifici;* this certainely is such a strange peace of supererrogation, as will serve to astonish the present age, and that to come, but deserve well of neither. It will rather revoke in doubt your former merit, and make us suspect that your peaceble disposition all this while hath not proceeded so much out of christian piety, and love of justice, as out of meere impotency, and desire of ease. Pardon me, O king, if I speak to you in a language you are not accustomed to heare.

It is a part of supremacye not to have your darling sinne layd open; as my lords and bishops do very well observe; but it is now no time to bauke and palliate that which all the world sees. For, though I feare it lies still in your boosom, yet the blasing starr was not more spectable in our horizon, nor gave people more occasion of talke, heaven grant it may not be the cause of more mischiefe in christendome than the other was a signe of. It is in your majesties power to take away our feare and danger both at once, if you will at length but know your owne strength, and take a resolution worthy of yourselfe.

There are two faire occasions, that come, as it were, a woinge to your majestie at this time, the least of which highly deserves the honour and good fortune of your mayden armes: so just, and so religious, in all humane and divine respects, as, I dare say, that, if the noble army of martyrs were sent downe upon earth to make their fortunes a new, they would choose noe other quarrel to dye in, nor hope for a surer way to recover againe the crown of glory.

The one is, to reestablish your owne children in Germany:
The other, to preserve God's children in France.

Both of them so universally desired, and so conformable to christian faith, and good manners, that I doubt not, but that they have long since passed the presse of their conscience, though I know, by what indirect means, they are not suffered to come forth in publike view. I shall not need to rip up these questions of state from the beginninge, and vex your majestie, with provinge particularly that which is best knowne to your selfe; yet, because I see nothing done, I must needes say somewhat. And first, for the un-

[1] Scotland, united by King James the First's accession to the crown of England.

fortunate princes your children; though they may perhaps have committed a fault, which your majesty, in your singular wisdome, thought good to make them drinke of, to purge them either of ill counsell, or happily to quench in them betimes their dangerous thirst of ambition, which, not content with Rhine and Danuby, might afterwards attempt the ocean; yet to let them drinke still, and so deep in the cup of afflictions, as not to be able to stand upon their legges, but reele up and downe, without hope of recovery, is the scorne and opprobry of the nations of the earth.

Hac ratione potes justus fortasse videri:
At non crudelis non potes esse pater.

But some will say, your majestie hath often advised them to returne to themselves; and which is more, that you sent one of late of purpose to lead them home: but, alas! in theire case, how vaine is all comfort without handes? and how ill hath this the promisinge endeavour sped the guide you sent (as expert as he made himselfe in the enymies wayes) is come short of his undertakinge; and, instead of givinge end to the princes misery, hath only lighted upon a handsome trick to cover his own shame; had fortune so miraculously blest his confidence, as that he had performed this Hercules labour without a lions skin, he would have stayned all wise men for ever, who, before he went, gave him for another last embassadour; it could never appeare to them in the least forme of likelyhood, and having the credit dew to gentlemens complement, that the Spanish counsell of warr would be at the charge of getting a country by force of armes, that they meant afterwards to restore at the kissinge of a hand: they are knowne to be a people so circumspect, and advised in all that they doe, as they never resolved upon the present, without consultinge the future, but make the reasons of both their equal warrant; and, therefore, if they had made keeping of words, in matters of this nature, they should questionlesse have judged it more convenient to have taken your majesties for Bohemia, then have taken theirs for the palatinate; which, before they would surrender, they were first obliged to conquer, and consequently to undertake a new warrant to no purpose. But, seing they would not trust your majestie in so apparant a congruity, it is not to be wondered at that they have deceived you, but that they had the means to doe so; for not only Baal, but every Baalam's asse, might easily forsee that your majesties credulity was in the high way to perdition; and could not but bring you where the Spaniard would have you; who, how hee useth all that are at his mercy, I am sorry your majestie is now to learne from so curst a schoolmaster as himself; who will make no new scruple to whipp you as your children, with your owne rods of iron, though he fainedly promised to use them only against the Turke; and then it will be too late to wish you had beleved Cassandra, the voyce of your loving parliament, who, hearing it, made a start out of their owne businesse, and could not be quiet, til they had intreated your majestie to consider what a dangerous gift it was, and how fit to be revoked.[1] But your answere was, that you had passed your royall word to the Spanish embassadour, and could not break it, as if you were the only unfortunate prince of the world that were tyed to be faithfull to your owne prejudice. Had your minister in the court of Spaine subrepetitiously obtained a graunt from that king of like importance, his catholicke majestie would have been glad of so good an occasion to render it of no effect; and, without standing on such gentle points of honour, or framing to himselfe, I know not what, chimeras of jealousy betweene his owne absolute power, and his peoples humble desire, would have bin so farre from expecting his parliaments opposition, as he would rather have given them charge under hand to have made it, and by

[1] The impolitic permission granted to the Spaniards to export ordnance and military stores from England, is the subject of complaint in the text.

that meanes, have recalled his benefitt, and preserved his thankes. But, if your majestie had made use of this expedient, there might perhapps some inconvenience ensued, for then, it is to be feared, the Spanish embassadour would have been discouraged from ever asking such unreasonable thinges againe. The onely hope whereof makes him flatter the state, and tell your majesty many a pleasant tale. Wee are not yet willing to be undeceived; for, if wee were, wee should not stay till wee sawe the mountains that are promised us out of Spaine, vanish into smoake. The poore palatinate shews us sufficiently what wee are to look for from the Spaniard; who, if hee were resolved to give us shortly so much of his owne as is imagined, would never keepe so gripingly from us that which is ours. But I crie the Spaniards mercy: it is not hee, good man, but the revengefull emperour, that doth us this wrong; as if the emperour, without him, could wrong a mouse, or doth shew himselfe refrectary to the least tittle of his knowne will: wee may as well suppose the sea turbulent without winde, or the lower spheres to move without the *primum mobile*. I graunt that wee see the Spanish forces and the signes turne another way, but so as they involve, with a powerfull and secret touch, the rapture of the palatinate, and all the shirs about it; without the which the emperour would be as quiet a lumpe of majestie as wee could wish him. And his commissary, the duke of Bavaria, did nothing but what became him. It is the catholicke usurper that setts them both a worke, and plaies least in sight himselfe. Betweene them they holde faste your childrens patrimony, and play with your majestie, as men do with little children, at handy-dandy, which hand will you have? when they are disposed to keepe any thing from them. Or as two,[1] that having joined together in a theft, hee that tooke saies, hee has it not; and hee that hath it, saies hee tooke it not; which is a mockery more insufferable than the maine injurie, and ought to provoke your majestie to the highest straine of indignation; for, if you persist in your obdurate patience, and take still for payment all the artifices that their false dealing can coine, wee shall be shrewdly tempted to beleeve for once what the author of all lyes, to justifie the king of Spaine, and the other princes of their[2] religion, doe constantly give out: that your majestie is sure of the palatinate by treatie; and that you pretend the contrary, to draw money from the parliament. Out of which opinion, if it be once suffered to take roote, may grow a great deale of poyson, and fall upon your majestie as a juste judgment of God: who, because you would wilfully trust your enymie to your hurte, may now see yourselfe so unhappy, as not to be beleeved by your owne subjects for your good. But, I hope, God of his mercy will avert so great a disaster, and give your majesty the grace to discover, and destroy at the same instant, this malitious invention, which may easily be done, if, without any more delay, or reservations, you will now really, and royally, ingage your selfe in this righteous way. Nor let the scarcitie of means and ways discourage you. For your majestie knowes not what a secret treasure lies hidde in your peoples hearts; which, in so good an occasion as this, will be brought forth, and laied at your feete, in greater heapes than the world imagines. Your faithful parliament hath already made you a liberall offer of our lives and fortunes, and every good Englishman hath long since confirmed it in his particular devotion. It wholy depends upon your majesties wisdome, to make the right use of so great a gift, for therein consists all the danger, all the difficulty. The foundamentall engines of warre, as every man knows, are men and money; and would to God your majesties dominions were as well stored with the one as they are with the other, then should we not prostitute, as wee doe, to the great whore-master of Babylon,[3] and for a fewe clods of earth give up the honour of our countrey, and violate the love which we owe to religion. But his knowledge of our wants makes him presume on our easiness, and allure us to this base and impious adultery. Though I verily believe, in this present occason, hee and his bawds will be much

[1] In the fable. [2] Popish. [3] The pope and his adherents.

deceived; for if your majesty, and your estates now assembled together, will tie the holy knot of union, and make a firm covenant together, wee shall not need to goe so neere hell for gold, as Spanish mines, or if we doe, wee will take a course to have it without being beholding to the divell; wee shall be able to supply well enough for the businesse in hand out of that wherwith God Almighty hath blest us. Onely, I must advertise your majesty, that wee expect to see an army raised, as well as subsidies.[1] For, if wee be at the charge of maintaining a war, it is reason we should partake of the honour and benefitt of it; especially considering how hardly we can spare money, and how easily men.

There are many thousands of your majesties subjects, able and proper fellowes, that lie languishing ready to rebell for want of imployment; and, I hope, that none will denie but Englishmen can earne their wages at this worke as well as any other nation. Sure I am, that it is to be found in very good historie, that foreigne princes have thought it none of theire worst stratagems to clad a great part of their owne people in English cassocks,[2] to make themselves more terrible to the enymie. Count Mansfield[3] is a gallant man, and deserves not only to be well paid, but highly rewarded, for the good service he hath done your majestie in that country; where, had he not arrived when he did, those fewe, all worthie countrymen of ours, that would not goe away before they saw the last danger borne, had bin miserably sacrificed to the Spaniards butcherie, which would have made a great many of us worne blacke[4] in England for a while. But nothing would have lasted blacke so long as the story of it, which, when posterity came to read, they would certainely have blurd that part of your majesties raigne with teares. But as he came thither by an accident, so (for ought I know) hee may goe away by another; and therefore it were fit to provide more certaine souldiers for so certain a warre: for (as my Lord Digbey did very well show towards the end of his narration) Count Mansfield's armye doth not consist of such as have their wives and children and friends dwelling in the Palatinate; but of such, to whome all places are alike, so they may set a worke; and upon whome there can be no other tye then precise pay. How much better then were it for your majestie to satisfie the generall desire, and send over an army of good English, who, you may be sure, will neither change party nor spoile the country, but stedfastly adhere, as much out of affection as obligation to the cause and persons of your children? Besides, if your majestie will take things aright, wee doe not contribute to this warre so much to regaine the palatinate as to redeeme the credit of our nation, which all the money in the kingdom is not able to doe without action. There are, as I have heard, two reasons made to oppose this resolution; the one, the odds of the charge; the other, the difficulty of getting thither.

To the first I answere briefly, that, in matter of warre, the best is ever cheapest, and the shortest the best; I meane, not the shortest beginning, but the shortest ending:

[1] King James, in his answer to the address of parliament, in 1621, hinted to them plainly, that it was their business to find supplies, but not to deliberate concerning the mode of expending them. The commons had voted a very hearty resolution, counselling, on the one hand, the defence of the palatinate, and on the other, that the prince should be matched with some protestant princess. To this the king replies:

"You were invited to advise forthwith upon a supply, for keeping the forces in the palatinate from disbanding, and to foresee the means for the raising and maintenance of the body of an army for that war, against the spring. Now, what inference can be made upon this, that therefore we must presently make war against the king of Spain, break our dearest son's match, and match him to one of our religion, let the world judge. The difference is no greater than if we should tell a merchant, that we had great need to borrow money from him for raising an army; that thereupon it would follow, that we were bound to follow his advice in the direction of the war, and all things depending thereupon."—*Parliamentary History of England*, V. p. 499.

[2] Cloaths or red coats.

[3] The celebrated Mansfeldt, who long commanded the armies of the Elector Palatine, and "in spite of spite, alone upheld the day"

[4] Or gone in mourning.

and for the other, it is to be presumed, that, where your majestie shall make this warre royall, by taking it upon your selfe, you will not, for your owne greatnes sake, be seene to send any forces but such as shall be able to make theire way; if not, at least they may have their commission to take up lodgings by the way, for those shall come after, and so, though they come short of their journeys end, they may happily make an end of that they go for the sooner. In plaine termes, sir, the palatinate is very ill seated for us to warre in; it being both remote from the sea, and surrounded on all sides with our enymies, whome the pope hath tyed together, like Sampsons foxes tailes, to set these our parts of christendome on fire; for which purpose, they call themselves the Catholicke League, and have the catholicke king[1] for their head, who sticks close unto them in all adventures. Whereas your majestie, I know not for what crime, hath long since beheaded the poore protestant union, and left it as a body without a soule; yet it is not so dead and buried, but that there is hope it will rise againe at the first sound of your majesties trumpets, and joyfully receive a second and more durable life, from your better resolutions. Of all the parts belonging to it, the easiest to be resuscitated, and most usefull for the present business are the united provinces of the Low Countryes, as being the strongest and neerest to the head, during this time of dissolution

They have binn faine to do the office of a breast to give your children suck, but are indeed the armes, and would, ere this, have carried them into theire owne countrey, had they not had their handes full of the common enymie[2] at home: if then your majestie desires to remove the Spaniards foote out of the palatinate, the speediest course will be, to give the Hollanders your helping hand in Flanders; or, if your strict alliance with Spaine will not beare such an immediate act of hostility from your selfe, you may, for love, or monie sake, lend the prince, your son-in-law,[3] an army to dispose of, as he shall see cause, provided alwaies that you counsaile him underhand to his best advantage; so that the Spaniard be paid in his owne coine, and our princes restored to their owne possessions: whereas, if you confine the action to the bare palatinate, and content your selfe with the doves innocency, now that you see the enymie as wise as a thousand serpents, it will never have an end; but draw it selfe into such a continuall circle of trouble, as wee may looke to see a dozen yeares hence two such armies keeping one another at bay in the palatinate, as doe now in the Low Countries. I will not show so little respect to your majesties judgment as to talke any longer in so cleare a case, but will here conclude my reasons with my praiers, humbly beseeching your majestie to doe your selfe, and christendome, right in this great affaire. And let it be no longer heard, that the Spaniard hath more witt than the English eyesight, or the King of Spaines cozen-germanes removed are neerer a kinne to him, then your majesties owne children are to you.

It remains now, that I speake a word or two in the behalfe of our brethren, Gods children in France, against the firebrands of hell, which have kindled a persecution without all earthly matter, it being the heavenly cause of religion, and no other, for which they are made to suffer; wherin your majestie and state have as much interest as is possible for a man to have when his neighbours house is on fire; indeed so much as would ill become a private man to put you in mind of at any time, but this when, it seemes, a dead sleep possesses all the land, and that we had rather perish then be disturbed.

The vigilant parliament[4] hath laien *sentinell perdu*, and discovered the enemies approaches, but cannot be heard. The watched men of the ballances that stand in high places, though they cannot but see the danger, yet dare they not give the alarme, for feare of disquieting your majestie. Lastly, and worst of all, the church-men, who are the seers of Israell, and ought to discry from the holy place the troopes of the Philistins,

[1] Of Spain. [2] The Spaniards. [3] The King of Bohemia, and Elector Palatine. [4] That was summoned 20. January, 1621.

and theire plots, are they that doe most of all connive at the stupidity of the time; all of them already, for the excuse of theire weaknes, urge the stronge opinions that they have of your majesties ablenes; for (say they) it is in vain either to advertise or advise your majestie of any thing touching government, because, they are assured, you know as much of it as naturall man can comprehend; and, for mine owne parte, I thinke a great deale more, otherwise it could not be that your proceedings should so varye as they doe from the whole current of human discretion.

I graunt, all wise princes have ever reserved to themselves certain cases of state, which the politicians call *arcana imperii;* and we should be too injurious to your majesties wisdom and power, if we should grudge you the like privilege. But, alas, Sir, wee that have reasonable soules, and cannot but use them in so important a matter, doe find a great deal of difference betweene your majestie and other princes in this point: for though they have locked up, in the closset of their breasts, their incommunicable purposes, and so worke upon divers occasions, as that the effects have bin seene to come abroad, before the cause could be knowne; yet at last it coms to be evident, that these theire secret designes ever tended to the publick good, and the instrumentall meane, were only such hetoroclytes as did transcend and not overthrow common reason. Wheras your majesties courses are not onely inscrutable, but diametrically opposite to poore mans understanding: and so far from giving us any hope from good effects hereafter, as they doe already fulfil the utmost of our feares, insomuch that we have no way left to put ourselves out of astonishment, and preserve your majesties wisedome blameles, but by strainingly beleeving, that whereas all other princes have liberty to governe themselves according to the rules of worldly policie, your majesties hands are tied from using such means and advantages by the corrective power of some secret revelation: and as David, who was a king after Gods owne heart, might not for all that build God a temple, because he had his hands in blood; so happily your majestie may not be suffered to do any thing for the church of God, because you have likewise your hands defiled with blood; for how can they be otherwise, being clasped so streightly (as they are) with them, that are red with the blood of the saints? one that knowes the sweetnes of your majesties nature, and hath seen with what clemency and mercy you have swayed the scepter, would thinke it little less than blasphemy to accuse you of any thing that is bloody. But God judges not like man. And who can hinder the Eternall from calling your majestie to account for all the ravage hath bin done in his church of late, since you are his lieutenant of greatest truste, and have received of his heavenly grace both sufficient power and right to oppose such violent innovations? O the good and divine providence of God, that hath given your majestie, above all the princes of the earth, such tittles and royall attributes as doe necessarily infer, and transfer a right and protection upon these his poore persecuted servants; for, whatsoever your majestie thinks of it, I doe as verily beleeve, as if there were a text for it in the Apocalips, that the great God of the world, in his omniscence and omnipotent prescience, hath so disposed of states to the benefit of the church, as to continew upon your majestie the tittle of France, to the end that little flocke, which he hath thought good to plant there amongst so many wolfes, might have by a just pretence the Defender of the Faith, for theirs; if your majestie will not owne this poore people, neither as yow are King of France, nor Defender of the Faith, yet ought you to preserve them for your owne Englands sake; and doe that for reasons of state which religion cannot obtain; for should the Protestants of France be utterly extirpt, and that puissant kingdome rendred as catholicke as Spaine, I hope our statesmen would not think England the same it was; nor your majestie behold your monarchie without greeving at so terrible an alteration. For mine owne parte, I should then beginne to beleeve that the time were come Comines the Frenchman spoke of; who, being in discourse with an Englishman about the warres we had had so often, and with so good success, made in France, discreetly said, " That

God Almighty had brought the English into France, to punish them for theire sins; and when the sins of England should become greater than of France, he would likewise send the French thither to scourge them." And how willingly that nation would imbrace such an imployment, may be easily judged, whether we consider the old or the new cause of their hatred; the virtue of our ancestors sticks still in their stomacks, and the true profession of the gospell enrages their consciences. They who beleeve they do God good service in cutting their owne countreymens and kinsmens throats, because they are not Papists, should doubtlesse thinke themselves damned, if they should not doe much more to strangers and their ancient enymies upon the same occasion; nor shall they want powerfull incitements to so holy an enterprise: his holiness himselfe will be tempter, though (thanks be to God) he is nothing yet so cunning as the divell; for I know not by what pontificall furie he hath precipitated his instigations, and suffred his malice to outrunne the season. Would any (but antichrist, out of his wits) have so abused his most christian child the King of France, as to put him upon the conquest of England, before he was master of Rochell?[1] I must confesse, when I first saw his apostolicke letters, I had an opinion that some crafty Hugoenot had devised them, to give your majestie a more sensible interest in their cause: but, having since beene made certaine they came from Rome, and that I find them inserted in a catholicke writer, *avec privilege du roy*, I know not what to wonder at most, whether at them that say the pope cannot erre at all; or at him, that he should erre so much. I assure my selfe, this famous epistle hath long since beene presented your majestie in its owne language. Neverthelesse, I will crave leave to make you see how vilely it shews in English.

To our dearest Sonne in Christ Jesus, Lewis, the most Christian King.

Pope GREGORIE.

Most deare sonne in Christ, health, and our apostolicke benediction. The high exploits of your royal valour, which have drawn upon them all the eyes of christendome, being a great deal of comfort to our fatherly care, as well in regard to the glory of your armes as the hope of your triumphs; for, considering (as wee doe) with much griefe, the impieties of the hereticks,[2] living in some places, without feare or danger, we now thanke the Lord of Hosts that hath in so fit an opportunity made your majestie to take up armes to maintaine the dignity of the catholicke[3] religion: O faire apprentiship of royall warfare, and worthy of a most Christian King! What an admirable thing it is, that the age, which others, out of a kind of softnes and idlenes, use to pass away in sports and delights, your majestie should imploy so generously, so fortunately, in appeasing differences, conducting armies, and besieging the places of hereticks, and all not without the speciall councell of God, by whom kings reigne? It is almost incredible, that the very first steps of your thoughts should carry you in so high and troublesome an enterprise; and that the dangers and difficulties, which have stopt others in theire course, should onely serve for a spurr to the greatnes of your courage; injoy, dear sonne, the renowne your name hath gott, and follow the God that fights for you, to the end that, as you are now held in every man's opinion the thunderbolt of war, and buckler of war, so you may hereafter be esteemed the praise of Israel and the glory of the world, from the highest of our apostolicke dignity, whereto it hath pleased God of his goodnes to raise us, unworthy of so great a grace; we assist your armes with heart and affection, and, by our frequent praiers, prepare the divine remedies; and, though

[1] "The chief and strongest town belonging to the Protestants in France."
[2] "This is the general name given by the Papists to all Protestants."
[3] "Or Popish; for Catholick is only a term or name usurped by the Papists."

we doubt not but your owne virtue will make you constant in this worke you have begun, neverthelesse we have thought good to adde our exhortationes, that the world may see the care we have of the advancement of the true religion; and how willing wee are to give way to your glory. You have bin hitherto infinitely bound to God for his bounty towards you; and, as we both hope and wish, shall hereafter a great deale more: for you, having your mind indued with celestial doctrine, and not with the bare precepts of humane wisedome, doe well know that kingdomes have their foundation upon the truth of orthodox faith, and indeede, unlesse God keep the city, what principality can subsist with any assurance? It may easily be judged with what fidelity they[1] are likely to defend your royall throne, that have cast the very saints[2] themselves out of their temples, and don as much as in them lay, to put them[3] out of the number of the blessed, yea out of paradise it selfe: that with impious temerity condemne the institutions of our forefathers, the customes of kings, the decrees of popes, and the ceremonies of the church; these are the disturbers of the christian commonweale, and the reproaches of France, whom the great God hath reserved to be exterminated in the first year of youre reigne. Know then, that all Europe (which the event of your armes holds now in suspence) hopes shortly to hoise sail upon the ocean under your conduct, to the end that place,[4] which serves now for sanctuary and protection to the hereticks and rebelles, may one day serve for a marke of your victories; wee are confidently persuaded that neither fear nor inconstancy shall ever be able to divert you from the pursuite of your enterprise; onely wee would have you remember, that the saints of heaven assist that prince who takes upon him the defence of religion, and fight on his side like fellow souldiers. The same God that hardned the waters like dry land, and turned the waters of the sea into wals, to give safe passage to his childrens army, will certainely be as favourable unto you; and then we shall have good cause to hope, that, after you have established your owne kingdom, and crusht the impiety that is there, you may one day, by the progresse of your victorious armes, join the orient to the occident, imitating the glory of your ancestors, who have ever borne as much respect to the exhortations of popes as to the commandements of God. Saint Lewis, whose name you beare, and whose steps you follow, invites you to it; so doe the first of your race, who, in defending the apostolicke authority, and propagating christian religion, laid the best and surest foundation of your royall house. Follow, dear sonne, which are the ornaments of the world, the commandements of heaven; powre out your wrath and indignation upon those people that have not knowne God: to the end, the divine treasure of heaven may belong unto you by just acquisition. In the meane wee send you most affectionately our apostolicke benedition.

Given at Rome, in Great St Maryes, under the seale of the fisher, September 4, 1620, being the 10th yeare of our pontificate.

Behold the nett St Peter's successors hope to catch England with, wherein your majestie hath more to loose than any man I know. Bee not therefore offended with your loving subjects, if theire hearts tremble, though not for feare, yet for griefe, to see your majestie neglect both your selfe and them, in so pregnant and considerable an occasion: the Pope needed not to have bin so foolishe as to advertise us; we should easily have bin so wise of our selves, to understand how neerly the Protestants of France concerne England.

They are indeed so many hostages which God Almighty hath put into your majesties hands to secure you, and your majesties dominions, from all danger of that countrey;

[1] "Protestant subjects." [2] "Images, pictures, reliques of popish invention."
[3] "That have no further proof of their saintship than only their canonization by the pope." [4] "England."

and to loose them were no other (in my opinion) then wilfully to tempt God to deliver us into the hands of our enymies. As long as God hath any children in France, we shall be sure to have brethren there. But, they once gone, your brother of France will quickly shew whose child he is, and how incompatible the obedience he owes him, [1] is with any good will he can bear your majestie; since then, the tye you have upon that princes friendshipp is of so loose a knot, what can your majestie doe better for your selfe, and yours, than to keep his enmity still clogged, by cherishing and maintaining so good a party in his countrey, as those of the religion, who, you may be sure, will be so far at your devotion, as to continew their publike praiers for your prosperity.

Nor have the holy motions of Gods spirit been altogether wanting to your majesties heart in this point, (at least, if wee may beleeve what is unlawful to doubt) the protestation of your tongue. For it is most true, that the first time the deputies of Rochell presented themselves before your majestie, you received their lamentable remonstrances with all the showes of compassion, and sent them away astonished with your good words. Did you not tell them, that "Although your conscience would not suffer you to assist your owne children in the warre of Bohemia, because you were not well satisfyed of the justice of theire quarrel; yet for them, they might assure themselves, you would employ the utmost of your forces in theire defence; that you had strictly examined all that had passed betweene their king and them, and could not find wherein they had any way offended; that you were more engaged in theire behalfe, then perhaps they know of: For when you renewed your alliance with this king, after the death of his father, you caused an expresse article to bee inserted, that those of the reformed religion, as long as they comported themselves as good subjects, should be maintained, and enjoy the benefitts of the edict, in as ample manner, as they had done in his fathers life time; which being so rashly and wilfully infringed, you held your selfe both in conscience and honour, to take their cause in hand, and see them righted, as you vowed to God you would?" Considering this your resolution, to the imprecations of so high a nature, although I doubt not but they proceeded of zeale, yet I dare not, for the respect I owe unto your majestie, but remember them in this place, and that nothing might be wanting to make innocency and religion credulous.

My Lord of Buckinghame himselfe fell upon his knees and besought your majestie to take them into your protection; insomuch, that the poore men were almost ravished with joy at theire good succes, and came away praising God for the favour they had found in your majesties eyes; but, by the time they returned into theire own countrey, which was after some eight or nine moneths sollicityng, they hung downe their heads, and said, they would, as long as they lived, call England the Land of Promise, for, notwithstanding the great promises that your majestie made them, they mett with no man but could tell them, they would be deceived in theire expectation, which they would not beleeve, till they sawe at last nothing done, because your majesty had told them, (as became a great prince) that they were not a people with whom you had any reason to flatter or dissemble; for, if you had not liked theire cause, you would have told them so at first; but, alas! what are they the better for your majesties liking of their cause? That only shews the goodness of your owne judgment, but doth no way lessen the bitterness of theire calamitie.

True it is, such was their humility and discretion, as they desired your majestie would first be pleased to try all peaceable means in their favour, not out of any hope they had that would produce any good effect, but because they knew it was a course most suitable to your majesties inclination. Hereupon your majestie thought good to send my Lord of Doncaster into France, to mediate theire peace; in the choice of

[1] "The Pope."

whose person they held themselves as muche gratified as in the embassage it selfe; for, though they were strangers and but newly arrived in the courte, yet had they learned (as indeede who could not tell them, what a spotles and openhearted affection, that lord bare to the true service of God and his majestie) but in this employment his well wishes were his owne, and his instructions your majesties; and, how farre soever the one went before, he was now bound to follow the other. All he could doe voluntarily was, to use his best diligence in matter of time, (as I assure my selfe he did) though it was his misfortune to meete with many heavy rubbs. For, being arrived at the French kings campe, the canon made such a noyse at Montabaes, as hee could not of a long time be heard; and, when with much adoe hee had procured that favour, the answere hee received was so unsavoury, as both his businesse and himselfe fell sick uppon it.[1]

By occasion whereof more time was spent in this one voyage, then our ancestours were wont to employ in conquering halfe France; and, after all, he came home pitifully complaining of the ill satisfaction he had received. Neverthelesse, your majestie would not take his faithfull accounte for finall payment; but thought it worth the labour to send him once againe, furnissed (as the world conceived) with stronger charmes then the first; but the effect shewed all was one, for he found the young king as obstinate as ever in the pursuite of his armes, and not to be perswaded to lay them downe upon bare entreaties. And (to speak truth) it was not to be expected at his handes. For he had no reason to encrease the obligation his Protestant subjects have to his majestie, by showing them any favour at your instance, since it is well knowne, a greate part of the enmity he bears them, proceeds meerly out of a jealousy he hath, that they have already too much dependence upon you. Had your majestie used your owne perswasions for them, as Edward the Fourth did to Lewis the Second, to make him let the Duke of Brittaine alone, I doubt not but his councells, as fierce a warriour as he is, would have advised him for the best; but this was a point of rhetoricke beyond his lordshipps commission; and all that was lawfull for him to urge, was easily avoyded either by flatt refusall or by vaine excusall; so, as he was forced the second time to returne out of France, without leaving behind him any signe that he had been there; that appeared here at home by my lord treasurer's accompts, there having been issued as much money out of the exchequer, for the defraying this fruitlesse embassage, as would have satisfied a great part of the [2] churches necessities; as your majestie came after to consider, though too late, when you told the deputies, [3] you could have wished, you had given them the monie my Lord of Doncaster had, and would cost you in this treaty. And, without doubt, the one would have done them a great deal more good then the other. For they were so farre from receiving any benefitt by your majesties intercession, as it did rather infinitely disadvantage them; it no ways slackened or appeased the fury of theire prince, who continewed his assaults uppon them every day more cruellie then other.

And it was of that force with them, as not to aggravate matters, and so render his majesties pious indeavours more difficulte; they imposed measure and modestie upon their armes, and, in diverse occasions, chose rather to suffer, then employ the extremity of warre in theire defence: besides, many of theire party, seeing your majestie so

[1] "Notwithstanding our king's solicitations by Sir Edward Herbert, since Baron of Cherbury, his resident ambassadour there, who (after his conflict with Luynes, the youthful constable of France, and favourite to that king) being sent for home, the Viscount Doncaster was sent again into France, upon one of his mediating employments, who also followed that king from camp to city, and from city to camp, with as little success, this being no journey of bravery, for it almost cost him his life there, by a tedious sickness.

"Rochel and Montaban were beseiged at one time, this very year; Rochel by the Count of Soissons and the Duke of Guise, and Montaban by the king, a great distance one from another; but Doncaster could prevail for neither, yet the French king did not do his work."...WILSON *apud Kennest*, II. 740.

[2] "Protestant." [3] "Of the Rochellers."

farre engaged in a treatise of peace, thought it no point of wisdome to declare themselves, before they knew the issue of it, which could not be but a great weaknesse to them; so as the very prejudice they have received by your majesties occasion (were there no other motive) obligeth you, in point of justice, to do something for them; and, in the name of God, what should hinder you, after so many vowes and promises, from perfourming so easy and meritorious a work? Perhaps, some false-hearted Achitophell[1] hath buzd into your apprehension, that, if you should relieve the Protestants of France, the French king might likewise be drawne to assist the Papists in England against your majestie; but (thanks be to God) wee are not there yet.

For, though our Papists have had more scope given them of late, then all that love theire country have wished, yet they are not growne to such a formidable light, that this illusion should be thought of any consequence.[2]

The Protestants of France have laws[3] made in their favour, and townes given them for their security; but the Papists of England can expect nothing from the lawes of theire country but penalty; nor challenge any other assurance, then what proceedes from meere connivencie. Besides, the tenetts of the one[4] are known to be so conformable to civill government as they are, and of right ought to be permitted to assemble themselves both in provincionall or nationall synods; whereas the other[5] are justly denied this libertie, because both their positions and dispositions are altogether repugnant to the peace and safety of the state. Well may they conspire in secret, two and two; but, to rebell openly, the constable[6] will not suffer them; if they were in case to show themselves in right colours, wee should quickly have newes of theire freinds beyond the seas. There being a great prince[7] in the world, that openly professes the English Catholickes are as deare unto him as his owne proper Castilians; it is not your majesties example, but your wisdome, that must caution you from this danger. To hinder them from having any forraigne assistance, there is no way but one, to keep them in such order as they may be incapable of it: the Church of Rome, as it for the most part is grounded upon worldly policy, so it doth, above all, excell in this, that it holds the parts firmely linked together, and possesses, by I know not what fascination, with such a spiritt of confederacy, as they partake alike in both fortunes, and passionably espouse one anothers interests: whereas, if wee pray once a-weeke, more out of custome than any devotion for the good estate of Christs church,[8] wee thinke we have perfourmed the utmost of Christian duty; hence it is, that the Catholicke cause makes such a noyse in the world, and carries all before it in these troublesome times; for, amongst them, it is not inough to professe religion, without contributing to it, whereas we think God sufficiently honoured, if we beleeve his truth, let him defend it as hee will; or, if at any time wee be urged to fight for our religion, wee use only the spirituall sword, whilest our adversaries they are victorious, and confound more in a day with the one, then St Peter or St Paul could ever convert with the other. The princes that have given theire power to the beast, send armes; and your majestie (that should fight the battles of the Lord) embassadours. In a word, whilest your majestie amusethe your selfe to convince an errour or two of theirs, they find meanes to conquer a whole province of ours. Certainly, these children of darknes are wiser in theire generation then the children of light; and shall rise up against us at the last day, for bearing more affection to the Alcaron of Rome, then wee do to the Gospel of Christ.

That I may yet give your majesty a more lively touch of these thinges, let it be law-

[1] "Counsellor."

[2] The intercession of Gondomar, and the king's disposition towards the Spanish match, had procured some relaxation in the practical exercise of the penal laws against Catholics.

[3] "See the edict of Nantes, and of Montpellier, made 19th October 1662." [4] "Viz. Protestants."

[5] "Viz. Papists." [6] "Or peace-officer." [7] "The king of Spain."

[8] "This alludes to the prayer for the church militant, which, being part of the communion-office, is seldom said oftner than once a-week."

full for mee to change the present state of religion throughout christendome, and see what will necessarily ensue. Suppose your majesty and the body of your estate were Papists, and the recusants Protestants; the French king, and his major part of that kingdome, Protestants, and the Hughonotts, Papists; the king of Spain, the emperour, and all the tribe of Austria, of the confession of Augsburgh; your children, and other princes of Germany, their confederats, Roman Catholickes. Suppose, I say, the differences were in all parts the same, the sides only turned, doth your majestie thinke you could have shewed your selfe deafe at such crying occasions, without seeing your whole kingdom in commotion? Or, that they would have suffered you to take your pleasure a hunting, whilest your children and brethren were made a prey to the common enymie?

No, assuredly; you would have found another manner of busines of it; and seene your selfe forced to prefer your safty before your ease; *Dieu et mon droict*, before *Beati pacifici;* you should have seen the differences between a puritane parliament and a popishe. And wondred at your selfe for being so unequall as to feare the one, and despise the other.

The Popes bulls, and his feircer beasts, the Jesuits, would have beene continually uppon your back, and never left you neither safe nor quiet till they thrust you into action; and, for one preacher of ours that chances to let a word fall from him to this purpose, you should have all theirs treat of nothing else No prevention could have been used, to make them either silent, or sparing, in a cause that so highly concerned theire mother, the church. What then, shall the true religion, because it teacheth no doctrine but what agrees with the simplicity and purenes of the gospel, be therefore neglected? God forbid. They that maintaine the excommunication, deposition, and assassination of princes, would desire no better a ground, then such an advantage for theire opinion. And, if it could not but anger the very saints themselves to see theire enymies triumph over them, with such unlawfull weapons, your majestie may say what you heare of puritanes, and by the authority of your knowne disfavour, make that good word to be taken in an ill sence.

But, if my observation have not erred, in some parts of christendome where I have lived, there is no religion like theirs, for a soveraigne that desires to make himselfe absolute and dissolute. Insomuch, that I wonder that such princes, as professe religion onely for policies sake, will suffer any other in their dominions. For, let a protestant king, I meane one that rules over a people of that profession, be never so notoriously wicked in his person, nor so enormous in his government; let him stampe vice with his example, and make it currant by being his; let him remove the ancient boundworks of soveraigntie, and make every day new yokes, and new scourges for his poore people; let him take rewards and punishments out of the hands of justice, and so distribute them without regard to right or wrong, as may make his followers doubt whether there be a heaven and hell, which desperate point of unbeliefe is a great helpe, and preparative to our preferment: in short, let him so excell in mischeife, ruine, and oppression, as Nero, compared with him, may be held a very father of the people. When hee hath donne all that can be imagined, to procure hate and contempt, hee shall not, for all that, have any occasion to feare, but may bouldly goe in and out to his sports without a publique guard, or a privy coate.[*] And, though every day of his raigne bring forth a new prodigie to greive all that are honest, and astonish all that are wise, yet shall he not neede to take either the lesse drink when he goes to bedd, or the

[*] This, and the following bitter allusions to James's private life, may be illustrated from the accounts we have gleaned below. "He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and easy; the doublets quilted for stiletto proof; his breeches in great plaits, and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the great reason of his quilted doublets."—DALZELL's *Fragments*, p. 84.

more thought when he riseth.[1] Hee may solace himself as securely in his bed-chamber, as the Grand Signor in his seraglio; have lords spirituall for his mates, lords temporall for his eunuchs, and whom he will for his *incubus*.[2] There may he kisse his minions without shame,[3] and make his grooms his companions, without danger: who, because they are acquainted with his secret sins, assume to themselves as much power and respect as catholick princes use to give their confessors.[4] A pack of ravenous

[1] "He was very temperate in his exercises and in his diet, and not intemperate in his drinking. However, in his old age, Buckingham's jovial suppers, when he had any turn to do with him, made him sometimes overtaken, which he would the very next day remember, and repent with tears. It is true, he drank very often, which was rather out of a custom, than any delight. And his drinks were of that kind, for strength, as Frontiniac, Canary, High Country wine, Tent, and strong ale, that, had he not had a very strong brain, he might have been daily overtaken, although he seldom drank at any one time above four spoonfulls, many times not above one or two."—*Ibid.*

Yet Roger Coke gives a less favourable account of James's temperance. "This year, 1614, as it was the meridian of the king's reign in England, so was it of his pleasures. The king was excessively addicted to hunting and drinking, not ordinary French and Spanish wines, but strong Greek wines; and though he would divide his hunting from drinking these wines, yet he would compound his hunting with these wines; and, to that purpose, he was attended with a special officer, who was, as much as he could be, always at hand to fill the king's cup in his hunting, when he called for it. I have heard my father say, that, being hunting with the king, after the king had drank of the wine, he also drank of it; and, though he was young, and of an healthful disposition, it so disordered his head, that it spoiled his pleasure, and disordered him for three days after. Whether it were drinking these wines, or from some other cause, the king became so lazy and unweildy, that he was treist on horseback, and as he was set, so would he ride, without posing himselfe on his saddle; nay, when his hat was set on his head, he would not take the pains to alter it, but it sate as it was put on.

"And, as he thus gave himself up to pleasure, so he did to favourites and flatterers, and scarce heard any thing without the prelude of Sacred, Peaceful, Wise, Most Learned, &c. These made him careless both of his domestick and foreign affairs, the thoughts of which disturbed his pleasures; and, if at any time he was thoughtful or pensive, his favourites made it their business to mimick or ridicule those things, especially the puritans, whom the king hated."—*Detection of the Court and State of England during the four last Reigns.* By Roger Coke, Esq. Lond. 1697, p. 70.

[2] The gross adulation of the churchmen in this reign, was only equalled by the scandalous effeminacy of the temporal favourites. Osborne says, that Somerset and Buckingham laboured to resemble women in the effeminacy of their dress, and exceeded even the worst in the grossness of their gestures.

[3] James was wont to use the most fulsome familiarities with Somerset, Buckingham, and other favourites.—"I have heard," says Osborne, "that Sir Henry Rich, since Earl of Holland, and some others, refused his majesty's favour upon those conditions they subscribed to who filled that place in his affection; Rich losing that opportunity his curious face and complexion afforded him, by turning aside and spitting, after the king had slabbered his mouth."

[4] The satirist seems to allude to the pardon which the Earl of Somerset (though fallen from favour, and condemned to die for Overbury's murder) contrived to extort from James. The mysterious letter which the favourite addressed to his master, plainly argues him to be the depositary of a secret deeply affecting the king's honour or peace. Among other singular expressions, the following are remarkable: "I will say no further neither in that which your majesty doubted my aptness to fall into; for my cause or confidence is not in that distress *as for to use that means of intercession*, or any besides, but to remember your majesty that I am the workmanship of your hands, and bear your stamp deeply imprinted in all the characters of favour; that I was the first plant engrafted by your majesty's hand in this place, therefore not to be unrooted by the same hand, lest it should taint all the same kind with some touch of the same fatalness." The following account of the king's behaviour during Somerset's trial, is extracted from Weldon. The fatal secret is by some supposed to refer to the death of Prince Henry; but a cause, yet more flagitious, will occur to those who have remarked certain passages in the letters between the king and Buckingham, published by the late Lord Hailes.

"And now, for the last act, enters Somerset himself on the stage, who (being told, as the manner is, by the lieutenant that he must provide to go next day to his tryal) did absolutely refuse it, and said, they should carry him in his bed; that the king had assured him, he should not come to any tryal, neither durst the king to bring him to tryal; this was in an high strain, and in a language not well understood by George Moore, (lieutenant in Elwais his room) that made Moore quiver and shake, and however he was accounted a wise man, yet was he neer at his wit's end.

"Yet away goes Moore to Greenwich, as late as it was, (being 12 at night) bounseth at the back stairs as if mad, to whom came Jo. Loveston, one of the grooms, out of his bed, enquires the reason of that distemper at so late a season; Moore tells him he must speak with the king; Loveston replyes, he is quiet, (which, in the Scottish dialect, is fast asleep.) Moore says, you must awake him; Moore was called in, (the chamber left to the king and Moore) he tells the king those passages, and desired to be directed by the king, for he was gone beyond his own reason, to hear such bold and undutiful expressions from a faulty subject, against a just sove-

currs, that know no difference betweene the commonwealth and one of their masters forrests, but think all other subjects beasts, and only made for them to prey upon, that lick theire masters soares not whole, but smooth, and bark at every man that dares be found circled with these sweete beagles. Wee may revell and laugh, when all the kingdome mournes: And upon every foote of ground his prerogative get, and cry with Tiberius, O people, prepared for servitude! his poore Protestant subjects will only think hee is given them of God for the punishment of theire sinnes; and that hee ought to be obeyed, not because he is good, but because hee is theire king; not because he rules according to justice and equitie, but because his power is the ordenance of God. Yea, the preachers of greatest note and creditt will hould themselves bound in duty to praise him against their consciences, and, laying aside divinitie, make the pulpitt a stage of flattery; where you shall have them indue him after a most poeticall manner, with more then all the virtues, and paint him so excellently good, as would make all that heare them happy, if they could believe the thinges of princes, as well as those of God, in spite of their sences.

Nor doe their fatherhoods thus out of simplicity or ignorance, for they are too well read in the black booke of the court, but, out of a politique and officious purpose, to sweeten the peoples minds, and keepe them from rebellion. [*]

These are the fruits and prosperities of the reformed religion, which, teaching divine providence, according to divine truth, tyes the subject to such wonderful patience and obedience, as doth almost verify that bould speech of Machiavell, when hee sayd, "Christianity made men cowards." And, if it be so advantageous to a bad prince, how much more to a good? For, though dutys are, and must be paid to both, yet there is a great deale of difference in the manner and proportion, no more nor les than was to be betweene the workes of bare charity, and mutuall friendshippe; the one receives the peoples service and obedience, as a meere almes, given for the Lords sake; the other as a free benevolence, wherein men extend themselves with the more alacrity, because

raign. The king fell into a passion of tears; 'On my soul, Moore, I wot not what to do, thou art a wise man, help me in this great straight, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful master,' with other sad expressions; Moore leaves the king in that passion, but assures him he will prove the utmost of his wit to serve his majesty, and was really rewarded with a suit worth to him 1500l., (although Annandale, his great friend, did cheat him of one half) so was there falshood in friendship.

"Sir George Moore returns to Somerset about three next morning of that day he was to come to trial, enters Somerset's chamber, tells him he had been with the king, found him a most affectionate master unto him, and full of grace in his intentions towards him, but, (said he) to satisfie justice, you must appear, although return instantly again, without any farther proceeding, only you shall know your enemies and their malice, though they shall have no power over you. With this trick of wit he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the morning, to the hall, yet feared his former bold language might revert again; and being brought by this tricke into the toile, might have more inraged him to fly out into some strange discovery, that he had two servants placed on each side of him, with a cloake on their arms, giving them a peremptory order, if that Somerset did any way fly out on the king, they should instantly hoodwink him with their cloak, take him violently from the bar, and carry him away; for which he would secure them from any danger, and they should not want also a bountiful reward. But the earl, finding himself over-reached, recollected a better temper, and went on calmly in his tryal, where he held the company till seven at night. But who had seen the king's restless motion all that day, sending to every boat he see landing at the bridge, cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged all was not right, and there had been some grounds for Somerset's boldness; but at last bringing him word he was condemned, and the passages, all was quiet. This is the very relation from Moore's own mouth, and this told to two gentlemen (of which the author was one) that had no assurance of their honesty; but though he failed in his wisdom, or rather doted at this instant, yet they failed not in that worth inherent in every noble spirit, never speaking of it till the king's death; both the gentlemen being now alive, and had this *verbatim* from Moore, in Wanstead Park."---Sir ANTHONY WELDON'S *Court and Character of King James*, p. 115, *et seq.*

[*] "May I not," said King James, to two of his prelates, "take my subject's money when I need it, without the formality of a parliament?" "God forbid but you should," answered Neal, Bishop of Durham, "you are the breath of our nostrils." But the same query being pressed on Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, he only answered, "It was lawful for his majesty to take the money of his brother of Durham, for he offered it."—*Life of Waller.*

they beleeve it is rather due to his merit then to his power. The experience your majestie hath had in your longe and prosperous raigne, will better declare this truth, then any discourse of myne; I will therefore digresse no farther in this pointe, but, by way of inference, return to the marke I ayme at, which I doubt not but your majesties quicke apprehension will sooner hitt, then I can show; for can your majestie but finde it more then reasonable to favour or assist a religion, that you see deserves so well of princes, and all humane society? That teacheth tumultuous hearts a harmony of heaven, and makes men obey kings, as the angels of God; that charitably beareth with bad, and abundantly requites the good. In shorte, a religion that hates the Jesuites with a perfect hatred, because they are our kings enemys. How ill advised then is that young prince,[1] that seekes with fire and sword, to drive this holy, and only true opinion out of his kingdome? What can be pretended by this his credulity, besides the pleasure of making martyrs? Would hee have all his subjects agree that it is lawfull to kill kings, and none else to write against consecrated knifes?[2] Would hee have all his great ones to be pensions of his ambitious neighbours, to winke at every publicke prejudice that may serve to augment their state, and lessen his; and none left to oppose the designes of his envious superiours in the Romane hierarchie, who have a long while thought the crowne of France too goodly a thing for him or any Frenchman to possesse? Conformable to which, there is a famous worke composed by a Spanish author, where, for the better managing of christendome, his wisedom thinks it fitt, there should be two monarchies, a spirituall and a temporall; the pope to have the one, and his majestie[3] the other; but, suppose little Lewis the Just, by reason of his strict alliance with Spain, and his devoute observance to Rome, may promise himselfe more assurance of his life and empire, then Henry the Great, his more worthy father; neverthelesse, if he were old inough to be wise, hee would never teach his people so dangerous a lesson, once to knowe theire own strength, nor move them to take up armes in any occasion, by compelling them to defend themselves in a just cause. How fatall this indiscretion hath proceeded to as great princes as himselfe, both ancient and modern examples doe sufficiently instruct; but I cease to wonder at him, that hearkens to lying prophets, and suffers himselfe to be led away by the spirit of illusion; that which most disquiets my understanding is, that your majestie should so much forget the part you have in this good people, neuter betwixt his madnesse and their innocency. It is nothing so grievous and scandalous in him, to murther and scatter Christs flocke, as it is in your majestie to looke on, who is as well his deputie shepheard as his viceroy; indeede you are nothinge, nor can bee considered in any capacitie, function, or dignity, which doth not highly oblige you to take the cause of these poore men to heart, and employ your most potent meanes for theire preservation; hitherto you have put God Almighty to doe miracles for them, who will not suffer them to perish for his owne names sake; but it is now expected both of God and man, that you should put to the helping hand, and commaund that reason with the sword, which you have so often in vaine desired with your pen.

Your majestie shall no sooner exceede words, and shew your selfe reall in this resolution, but the foote-ball will presently be on your side; and then it will be your turne to receive embassadours as fast as you have sent them for the mediation of peace; that which is now held too much to graunt your majestie, may then thinke too little, and have more, for the profit cannot but answere the honour, when you shall see it in your power, to sell the warre to your subjects, and the peace to your enymie, at what rate you please; a traffick far better becoming a great prince, then that of titles, offices, and such like petty commodities of courte.

[1] "The king of France." [2] "Alluding to the form of blessing knives, &c. by the Jesuits, who hired or persuaded Parry, Babington, &c. to murder Queen Elisabeth, &c." [3] "Of Spain."

I would here willingly make an end, but that there is one motive more, offers itself to my conceyt, which I thinke fitt to preferr to your majesties consideration. And that is this:

Your majestie hath ever expressed a desire worthy your selfe, to unite the people as well as the countryes of England and Scotland. And whosoever doth not contribute his best indeavours to so good a worke, is unworthy of either; only it is to be wished that your majestie would thinke upon some better meanes, then hitherto have been used, such as may give universall satisfaction, the true and most natural mother of union: It is not to be done by choosing the minion alternately out of each nation;[1] not by making Scots men lords of England, and English-men lords of Scotland; nor yet by mixture of marriage, which, though it makes two persons one, cannot make two people one; no, nor by the most subtle way, that is now practised, of making England as poore as Scotland.[2] These are too weake and counterfeite ingredients to compound a love-potion for them that were wont to thirst after one anothers blood; it must bee something of more vertue, that must charm the dissonant humors of these two nations, and make them forget whose fortune it was to be envied, and whose to be contemned in times past; and, if any thing on earth do it, it will be theire friendshippe at armes in some fortunate warre, wher honour and danger may be equally divided, and no jealousie or contention rise, but of well-doing: one victory obtayned by the joynt valour of English and Scots, will more indelibly christen your majesties empire, Great Brittaine, then any act of Parliament, or artifice of state.

If then, your majestie will proceed in good earnest, to the accomplishment of the fatherly desire, and relinquishe the unwholesome, and unnecessary policy of keeping the two nations in continual faction and counterpoise, for the strengthening of your authoritie, what remaines then but to bring forth your royall standard, and make the conjunction of your armes the happy instrument of the peoples union? They shall no sooner see the common ensigne of honour, wherein they have both equal interest, but all other notes of diversity will be thought unworthy theire remembraunce; and then your enymie shall quickly find to his cost, that the two mighty and populous kingdomes of England and Scotland have but one head, and one hearte. Now, albeit your majestie have at this time as good choice of occasions as the world can afford, yet that of Fraunce seemes most proper for this purpose; for, as that countrey was the cause of our ancient enmity, so would it be made to feele the first effects of our reconcilement, were it for nothing else, but to cancell the strict aliance that was wont to be so suspected and prejudiciall to England; had not the Scots of old beene our backe friends, and showed themselves in all occasions more affectionate to the French then us, your majestie might happily at this day, have seene your selfe king of Fraunce.

And yet, had not wee preferd Scotland before Fraunce, your majestie had never come to be King of England: this will seeme no riddle to them, that are never so little acquainted with the historie of those times,[3] and, if England were able to make her

[1] Buckingham, an Englishman, succeeded Somerset in the king's good graces, probably, as is here insinuated, that his country might render his preferment less unpopular. Sir Anthony Weldon says, that the English lords "coveted an English favourite, and to that end, the countess of Suffolk did look out choice young men, whom she daily curled, and perfumed their breaths." The same author describes the anxiety of the courtiers to further the rise of Buckingham: "One gave him his place of cup-bearer, that he might be in the king's eye; another sent to his mercer and tailor to put good clothes on him; a third to his sempster for curious linen, and all as incomes to obtain offices upon his future rise; then others took upon them to be his bravoes, to undertake his quarrels, upon affronts put upon him by Somerset's faction; so all hands helped to the pieceing up of this new favourite."—*Court of King James*, p. 91.

[2] The Scottish courtiers, are said to have complained to James, that they underwent the bye-word of Beggarly Scots: "Have patience," answered the monarch, "I will soon make the English as poor as you."

[3] Queen Elizabeth would probably have married the duke of Anjou, but for the strong repugnance of her subjects. This the text describes, perhaps justly, as their preference of Scotland to France.

party good, both against Scotland and Fraunce, when theire league offensive was at the strongest, what might not England and Scotland doe now in Fraunce, where there is another manner of party, then that of Burgundie, to receive us? Surely we might drive all the Rojolists into the sheepfold of Berris, and make another king of Burges. But I will not labour in vaine to make your majesties courage exceede your conscience; God Almighty I know, hath filled your heart with dominion, and so sealed it up from seditious thoughts, as that you esteeme conquests no better then splendid robberies, as you are pleased to expresse your selfe in one of your late workes of divinity; nor doe I pretend to incite your majestie to any thing but what may stand as well with your goodnesse as your greatnesse. Cursed be they that tell the king, hee may doe all he can: for my part, I shall thinke my selfe blest of heaven, if I may but obtaine my humble desire, which goes no further then to what you ought; it is not spoile, nor the bellowes of warre, that I thinke worthy to move your majestie to forego the long contentment of peace. Nothing should make me so hardy for to wish it, were there any other hope, but in your armes, to right the wronged world, and acquite your selfe of the duty to God and nature.

Behold (Sir) as much as I am able to present, and perhaps more then I shall have thankes for, but that is the least part of my intention. The love to truth, and your majesties service, deserve this and a great deal more of an honest man, and hee that seekes reward of well-doing, knowes not the true value of a good conscience.

I shall bee content to remaine unknowne, so I make your majestie know what false and wicked men keepe from you, the misfortunes of government, and the just complainte of your subjects.

If I have offended your patience, your majestie may be pleased to consider how long yours [1] hath offended all the world, and forgive mee.

Let it not seem strange or evil in your majesties eyes, that I have used a few harty words in a cause my soul loves above all that is mortall. And, for the advancement whereof, I dare suffer as much as they deserve that disswade you from it.

A Relation of the Carriage of the Marriages that should have been made between the Prince of England, and the Infanta Major, and also after with the younger Infanta of Spain. Written by Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Lord Digby.

John Digby, created lord Digby of Sherborne in 1617 and earl of Bristol in 1622, was one of the ablest negotiators employed and entrusted by James I. In 1621, he was sent embassador to the Emperor and to the Duke of Bavaria, in the vain expectation that his address in diplomacy would prevail on them to restore the Palatinate, which they well knew James would never attempt to recover by force of arms. Although he failed in that hopeless undertaking, James seems to have believed that his experience in continental affairs, qualified him to manage the important transaction of the match between the Prince of Wales and one of the daughters of Spain, of which he proposed as a condition, the restoration of the Palatinate to his son-in-law. Accordingly, lord Digby was dispatched to Spain as embassador extraordinary, where, as appears from the Tract which immediately follows this "Relation," his reception was rather of a frigid nature. Sir Charles Cornwallis having been many years embassador at the Spanish court, seems to have furnished

[1] "With the enemies of our church and state."

lord Digby with this view of the preliminary negotiations, that he might arrive at Madrid completely master of the subject of his journey.

SIR,

The charge I hold having so necessary relation and dependency on that place, to which your wisdom and deserts have moved his majesty to call you; I have thought it fit, in a matter of no less consequence, than a treaty of marriage for the prince's highness, with a daughter of the King of Spain, (because I know you shall receive the carriage thereof severally and differently related from many princes, his majesty's allies, and from his majesty's public ministers residing abroad) to set down, truly and exactly, the original, course, and issue of the business, to the end that you, who under his majesty, are like hereafter to direct, may be fully acquainted with what formerly passed: And for that it is likely, that the manner of this treaty shall not only be given out, but censured according to the diversity of men's affections, and unto you (as to the center where all advertisements meet) these contrarities will come.

I therefore desired to arm you with this truth, which, as I affirm unto yourself, so I am ready to justify it to the world, if you shall have occasion, or that your wisdom shall think it fit to make more public use of this discourse, which containeth in it so much truth, that I care not what eyes sees it, for that I know no man can contradict it.

I shall therefore refer it to your honour, to make such use thereof, as shall best please you, either to inform others of these proceedings, or for your own private satisfaction, to which I chiefly intend it.

To set down unto your honour perfectly, as well the introduction, beginning of this business, as the course and issue to which it is brought, I must crave leave to take it to a little higher than my own time; yet dare affirm what I shall say therein, to contain as exactly the truth, as that which hath passed by myself, for that I have received it from his majesty's own mouth, and often from my lord Treasurer, and have found it acknowledged by the principal ministers here.

Not long after the concluding of the peace betwixt his majesty and the king of Spain, there fell out many causes of expostulation betwixt them, for divers wrongs offered to his majesty's subjects, contrary to the articles of treaty, as also for the readiness which was perceived in the King of Spain, to receive and favour persons ill affected to his majesty and the state; and, thereupon his majesty was content that it should be plainly told unto the king's ambassador residing in England, that he observed so strange a proceeding upon the new amity, as he had cause to suspect that the former alienation was rather disguised, for the contriving some future ends, than so extinguished, as he might be able to build upon such a friendship: Whereupon many arguments being used by divers of the king's ministers, in excuse of what had passed, imputing some to the slow stile of their proceedings in Spain, and some others to the concurrence in matter of conscience, with those persons which made their retreat into this king's dominion.

And for the better expressing and intimating of this king's clear and sincere affections towards his majesty, both the Conde de Villa Mediana in his time, and Don Pedro de Zuniga since, declared and protested to know so much of the king their master's good intents unto his majesty, as if he would be pleased, according to nature and custom, by both which the man is to speak first, to begin a motion for a marriage betwixt the Prince of Wales and the Infanta, the same should be so well heard, as it should appear, that their king desired not only to continue in amity, but to unite himself by nearest alliance to his majesty. To all which though his majesty could not but return kind and thankful answers in general; yet, for many respects, it pleased his majesty to

pass over all these occasions given him by these invitements, without making any particular answer, until the time of Don Alonzo de Velasco, yet lieger there, who renewing these former overtures, his majesty could no longer have remained in silence, but he must have given just occasion to retort that opinion of coldness upon himself, for which he had formerly challenged the king of Spain. And here I can enter to speak of the business upon my own knowledge.

In March 1611, the Duke of Savoy sent an ambassage unto his majesty, in which he gave commission to his ambassador to make offer of the prince of Piedmont, for the lady Elizabeth's grace, with insinuation likewise, how glad the Duke of Savoy would be, if the Prince of Wales would dispose himself to like of his eldest daughter.

To the first, his majesty made answer, that he would not refuse to treat thereof upon the duke's own motion, if it were propounded singly, as it had formerly been moved by the ambassador of Spain; but if it came accompanied with the condition of reciprocal marriage for the prince, his majesty could herein give no answer, as not being yet resolved about the bestowing of him. At the same time that the Spanish ambassador made the first overture for the prince of Piedmont (for the motion thereof came from him as so directed by the King of Spain, as he affirmed and shewed in writing) he said, that in case his majesty should be pleased to make the like overture to the king his master, for the prince of Wales to match with the infanta, he did assure himself, that his majesty should receive a kind and honourable answer; intimating, indeed, that the intent of this match with Savoy was to be as a forerunner of the match desired, betwixt the prince and the infanta, by which all difficulties in matters of religion might be facilitated, that the other might find the less stays and hinderances, when it should come to be negociated.

Myself, at the same time, being appointed to come as his majesty's leiger ambassador in Spain, to supply the place which had been two years vacant, with charge to procure some better satisfaction in the merchants businesses, than they had received; and being so near my departure, that I had my instructions ready drawn and perfected, and had also taken my leave of his majesty, thinking within very few days, to have begun my journey.

My lord Treasurer, upon this new invitation of the ambassador, sent me down to Royston unto his majesty, to make him acquainted therewith, whereupon his majesty was pleased to give me order how to behave myself in the business, and caused particular directions to be added and adjoined to my former instructions; wherein before there was no kind of mention for any such motion; an evident argument, that the overtures of the ambassador, and the assurance he gave his majesty, that the proposition should have all kind acceptance, were the only motives which caused his majesty to propound this match; this being the very true form in which this business was by the ambassador revived, and by which his majesty and this king have proceeded.

At my arrival here in Spain, having procured audience of the king, after I had presented unto him his majesty's kind and affectionate salutations, with all princely offers of love and friendship, I gave particular notice unto him of the overture made by Don Alonzo, his ambassador, and, in his majesty's name, gave him thanks for yielding so clear and apparent a testimony of his affection. And then I declared the extraordinary value and estimation his majesty made of the person and fortune of the infanta in every respect, and that to shew his willingness to maintain the amity, and increase the alliance betwixt them, he was willing to lay hold of that which the ambassador had intimated unto him, and therefore had given me instructions to propound a marriage unto him, for the Prince of Wales, his majesty's son and heir, with the infanta, his eldest daughter.

The king hereunto made answer, That these testimonies of his majesty's love were

very acceptable unto him, and told me, concerning this business, the Duke of Lerma should have orders to treat with me.

Within two or three days the Duke of Lerma came home unto me, to my house, to whom, when I had signified how grateful it was to his majesty to understand of his good inclination towards him, and his estate; I declared as much unto him as before I had done unto the king; and told him, that herein the king had referred me to negotiate and treat with himself. The duke then begun, with a great deal of protestation, to declare how much he desired as great a strictness and nearness of amity and alliance as might be betwixt the crowns of England and Spain; and that, by his means, this proposition had been divers times handled, both by the Conde de Villa Mediana, and since by Don Pedro de Zuniga, as also by Don Alonzo, now resident in England; and that he well knew of how great consequence it was, both for the good of Spain and England, to be so nearly and firmly united. One thing there was, which he apprehended as the greatest and only difficulty, which was, the disparity of religion; for the accommodating whereof, he would make no precise judgment, being a thing depending on the pope, and in which, neither the king, nor the state here, could make any certain determination.

I then made him answer, that the king, my master, would herein have to do with no others but the king and his ministers; and that I supposed, that if the pope's inclination had not already been tried herein, and that there might be a probability of his giving way unto the match; I should have thought, there would not have been given commission to Don Alonzo de Velasco, to give such encouragement to the king my master, for the propounding of it; and that if I was not much mistaken, I had heard Don Alonzo say, That the match with Savoy had been already propounded to the pope, and that he should seem not to be much averse thereunto, which match, I conceived, had been a preparation and a way-maker to this other.

To this the duke replied, That the king dependeth upon none but the pope, and that depending he could not, nor must not deny; neither could he proceed therein without the pope's approbation. And as for the matter of Savoy, though the pope should give way unto it, yet there would be great difference in their cases, in regard that there might be great hopes of the lady Elizabeth's conversion, being matched to a catholic prince, and being come to live in a catholic country: Whereas, contrariwise, there might be great danger of the infanta's perversion, she being to be matched, and so to be governed by a prince that was not catholic, the which if the king should suppose, he could not, or would not do, though it were for the saving of his kingdom.

I, seeing the duke stand upon so strict terms, desired him not to mistake my manner of proposition, which was with these conditions and restrictions, that if this motion should not be received with full as much forwardness of disposition from the King of Spain, as by the king my master, in his desires to have it effected, this business would quickly be at an end; for that I had no commission to treat, until I should be assured, both that the proposition in general was very welcome unto them, and that they would undertake the clearing of such difficulties as on their side might arise.

So that, unless this by them might be undergone, the issue of this business, I conceived, was like to be no other, but that the king, my master, had expressed a willingness to lay hold of any intimation, that this king should make of working a greater nearness and strictness between them.

The duke then seemed to be a little altered with this my directness, and began to qualify his manner of speech; telling me, He well knew the good and great happiness that might arise, not only to these crowns, but to the christian world in general, if this match might take effect; and that what he now had said, was not by way of answer, but by way of proposition of the only difficulties he foresaw; but that the king had herein given him order, that shortly I should receive answer, the care whereof he would

undertake; willing me to assure myself, that it should be such as should be agreeable, both to the king my master's honour, and full satisfaction: Upon these terms we parted.

I then suffered them to take the leisure of a month or six weeks, without using any new instance, until their stay was such, as I held it expedient to press them for their answer, and to make means for a new access unto the king, on whom I was commanded to wait at the Escurial. My audience with him was very short, being again referred by him to the Duke of Lerma, whom I then found very sick in bed of a fever, and so offered to have attended him some day or hour of his better disposition.

But he intreated me to sit down by him, and told me he would briefly signify unto me the substance of the king's answer, which should be more at large declared unto me by Don John des Idiaques, who was there present.

He then willed me to signify to the king my master, that this proposition, which he had made, was very welcome and grateful unto this king, taking it as an assured testimony of his affection and good-will unto him; and as he had found from the king a worthy and direct proceeding in the propounding of it, so would he use much sincerity and directness in the answer: For that the truth was, that before this overture made by me in the king's name, for the Prince of Wales, with the infanta, the Lady Anna, the king was elsewhere engaged; and that the reason, why my answer had been so long delayed, was to see how other treaties (which were already on foot) proceeded, to the end that, if the king should have found himself free of such engagements and promises, as he had formerly made, he might have given that acceptance which he desired to his proposition; the which he could not now do, on the behalf of the eldest daughter, the Lady Anna, because the promises and engagements, which he formerly had made, were proceeded in with great likelihood of taking effect.

But such was his particular desire of giving satisfaction to the king, that having other daughters, born of the same father and mother, and of equal dearness and esteem unto him; that if for either of them it should please the king to make a motion, for the Prince of Wales (if that the king did think the matter of religion might be accommodated, and without danger of his king's daughter to be altered and perverted from her religion) the king here would be very willing unto it, and would, upon his majesties answer herein (which he wished me to procure) give order for the negotiating herein, to the king's full content.

He then told me, what he then said should be more amply delivered unto me by Don John des Idiaques, to whom I might likewise say any thing I had to speak; for that his indisposition was such, that with much pain he had forced himself to say thus much, and so I was accompanied to my chamber by Don John des Idiaques, and Don Roderigo Calderon; from Don John, I received the same answer, in effect, that I had done from the Duke of Lerma, though somewhat more enlarged; with whom, though I held it to little purpose to argue or expostulate; yet when they urged the king's former engagement to be long before the justifying of what had passed from him; and had likewise commanded me, to understand from this king the reason of these proceedings, which he found both unsuitable to his expectation, and no way to answer the promises of the ambassador; for that he had not only, in former times, assured the king my master, that if he should be pleased to propound a match for the Prince of Wales with the Infanta, the king's eldest daughter, he should receive a kind and an honourable answer; but also a very few days before my departure, he confirmed his former speeches in his king's name, acknowledging, that by a late direction from hence, he was newly instructed, that, in case the alliance of the Prince of Wales were spoken of in England, that he should not only not refuse it, but embrace it as a thing that should be most agreeable to his majesty, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Now the king, my master, seeing these encouragements, given by the ambassador, so contrary to what he found here; for having, but two months before, received assu-

rance, that if he should propound the match, for the prince with the infanta major, it should find kind acceptance, that he should now receive answer, that she was already disposed of! His majesty could not but judge, that either this king's proceedings were not with that clearness, that he expected; or that the ambassador, whom the king, my master, had cause in all things to believe (he having the public faith and credence of his king) had herein much exceeded. Wherein his majesty desired first to receive satisfaction; for that he was advertised from myself, that some of the king's principal ministers here absolutely denied to me, that any such direction or commission was given to the said ambassador.

His Majesty, therefore, thought it fit, to have this point cleared, whether he had any warrant from his king to speak what he had said, or not? For that whensoever it should appear, that any public minister should so much forget himself, as to deliver that, in the person of his master, which is but his own, or, having spoken the truth, should afterward be disavowed by those that employed him; one of these two things must follow, that he is either become unworthy of the place he holdeth, by his own act, or made unworthy by his master.

Having delivered this, both to the king, and to the Duke of Lerma; from the duke, in the king's name, I received this answer: That it was true, that his majesty had great reason to take exceptions, and to be displeased with this manner of proceeding, if their ambassador had, in this sort, dealt with his majesty; but that he herein must absolutely clear the king, whose proceedings were, and ever should be found with much love and sincerity unto his majesty, and that the blame and fault hereof must light upon the ambassador, who had received no such commission nor directions from hence: Telling me, that it was justice, first, to hear their ambassador, before they should proceed against him; but in case he should not clear himself, but that he had proceeded in the manner, which I had set down: the course, which his king would take with his ambassador, should both fully give his majesty satisfaction, and sufficiently witness, that the king had given him no such commission. He then desired to know the particulars, which, I alledged, the ambassador had said to his majesty, which I repeated unto him, in this manner:

First, That upon the motion of the match with Savoy, he told his majesty, that in case he would be pleased to make the like overture to the king his master, for the prince's highness with the infanta, his king's daughter, he did assure himself, that his majesty should receive a kind and honourable answer.

Secondly, In April, 1611, he confirmed his former speeches, in the king his master's name, acknowledging to be newly instructed from Spain: that in case the alliance for the prince's highness were spoken of in England, he should not refuse it, but embrace it, as a thing that should be most agreeable to his king, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Thirdly and lastly, He confirmed in a conference, with the lords of his majesty's privy council, that he was warranted and authorised to hear and embrace any overture, for the prince's highness, concerning the infanta major, and that upon just and reasonable conditions, so that means might be made for the accommodating of matter of religion. All which conjunction, without allowing some and disallowing the rest, the Duke of Lerma, in his king's name, absolutely disavowed, denying, that any such commission had been given unto him.

The duke then seemed much to labour to express his king's affection, and good intents to his majesty, alledging, that indeed it was true, there had been formerly some speech of the conveniency of this match, but, seeing it in no kind proceeded in, the king had taken this resolution, which was now likely to take effect, for the bestowing his eldest daughter upon the King of France; but that all other means of entering into alliance with his majesty, by bestowing any other of his daughters upon the prince,

his king had willingly offered, and was ready to perform, if matter of religion could be accommodated, asking me, whether I had no answer concerning this offer, which his king had made unto him? I told him, I had therein, as yet, received no direction at all; and thus, for this time, we concluded and parted: This being in the middle of September, 1611.

In the beginning of February next following, I having occasion, for many businesses of the merchants, to repair unto the duke; after long discourse therein, he expressing an extraordinary desire, that all things might be carried with much love and kindness betwixt their majesties, and that a greater nearness might be wrought betwixt them, if it were possible, asked me whether I had yet no directions concerning his king's last proffer? I told him, Not: then falling into many discourses of having England and Spain united; he telling me, there were very few king's daughters now left in Christendom, and that, in the matches of great princes, there were commonly greater inconveniencies, than the disproportion of some few years, and urging me to speak what I conceived thereof. I told him, that out of the confidence I had in him, and for the expressing of my own good inclination, of doing all good offices betwixt their majesties, whom I conceived were both well inclined to unite themselves more nearly, if fit means could be found for them, I would tell him, both what I thought in this particular, and what should be the most probable means of working such an effect.

I then said, that the king, my master, having only two sons, I supposed he would regard no one thing so much in the match of the prince, as the hope of a speedy and a plentiful issue, and the prince being already at man's estate, and his king's youngest daughter not past six years of age, he should be forced to the attendance of many years, and the prime of his youth be spent, before there could be hope of any issue by him: which consideration, I apprehended, was the cause which made his majesty take so much deliberation, in giving answer unto the proffer. But that, if he would give me leave, merely as a private gentleman, as having no other commission, but the warrant dormant, (which all lieger ambassadors have,) to propound, and discourse of all things, which they think may tend to the increasing of amity and good correspondence betwixt the princes, where they are employed, I should be glad to express my good intentions and desires in this kind, by declaring unto him all the most likely and probable ways, which I could forsee, for the producing of such an effect: and so, among other things, told him, I supposed, that a daughter of Savoy, being so suitable in years, and so near in blood to his king, might, by being taken into his care, and being as it were adopted a daughter of his, and made fit by him, in regard of her fortune, as she was in all things else, to be a wife unto the prince, she might very well prove a fitting subject to set the mutual desires at work, which I conceived were in both their majesties, of uniting themselves.

The duke thanked me very much, both for the free proceeding with him, and for the good inclination which I expressed of working a greater nearness betwixt their majesties, telling me, he would consider of what I had said, seeming much to approve it, and shortly would again send for me, that we might confer further thereof.

I earnestly intreated him, because this was a meer project and proposition of my own, without any kind of authority, or direction, that it might pass with much stillness and secrecy: and that, if it should appear upon better consideration not convenient to be further proceeded in, that it might die betwixt us two, lest otherwise my good intentions might perhaps turn to my prejudice; the which he was pleased not only to promise, but very solemnly to swear unto me

Within a few days the duke sent to call me unto him, and then signified unto me, how well my good intents and desires of doing all good offices were accepted; and particularly, my last discourse that I had with him, and that he would requite my kind proceeding, with a real freeness: for that, though the business of Savoy, whereof I had

spoken, might have, in his opinion, any probability of taking effect; yet as the case now stood, he thought the present no fit time to deal in it. For in regard his king had made an offer of his own daughter, to which his majesty had yet given no answer; he held it convenient, that this or any other proposition of this nature might be respited, and suspended, until the business of his king's own daughter were fully cleared; in which he conceived his majesty had now taken much leisure, and therefore desired me, herein to require his majesty's resolution.

Thereupon I wrote unto his majesty, that in a late conference betwixt the duke and myself, in which many discourses passed betwixt us, and I uttering my private thoughts of such things as I held probable to produce a greater amity and nearness betwixt their majesties: the duke declared unto me, that the king his master was in expectation to receive from his majesty a direct and certain answer, concerning the overture for a match betwixt the Prince of Wales and this king's second daughter. I write unto you this passage, though it were a thing merely of my own, without any kind of instruction from his majesty, for these two regards: first, For that I am so desirous herein to set down the truth, that I would not conceal so essential a circumstance, though I were certain to incur great blame by it. Secondly, For that this occasion drew from his majesty his answer to this king's offer of his younger daughter; whereby the business, being again revived, hath been brought to that final issue, where, I conceive, it is like to stay.

His majesty, upon this instance of mine for his answer, first directed me to alledge the reasons, which had hitherto detained him from making any reply, and then to answer in this manner:

That in the offer made by this king of his younger daughters, both as it was delivered unto myself, and likewise as it was confirmed by this king's ambassador there, his majesty still found this clause and condition inserted, that this king would be most willing to entertain a motion for a match betwixt the Prince of Wales and any of his younger daughters, if matter of religion might be accommodated. And therefore to the end that all proceedings betwixt them might be with much clearness, he commanded me to move this king, that he would be pleased to declare the intent of this clause, and what was meant and excepted, in the accommodating of matter of religion, and why that difficulty was so often represented.

Thus much I delivered unto the king, and to the Duke of Lerma, from whom, after the deliberation of two months, I received this reply: That the king his master, out of the desire he had to make alliance with his majesty, had consulted with the pope, and other grave persons, requisite for so weighty a business: and if that, for the accommodating of matter of religion, the prince would become a Roman Catholic, he would willingly embrace and esteem him as his own dear son.

I told him, that in such treaties and negociations betwixt princes, there was a great difference betwixt what might be wished and desired, and what was resolutely demanded; and that I conceived, the king rather expressed herein what he would be glad might be, than what he expected should be: but that my directions were to intreat this king, that he would be pleased to declare, not what he could wish, but what he would demand.

The duke then answered, that without the prince's being a Roman Catholic, it was not possible, but that the perversion of the king's daughter must needs be hazarded, which, for the world, he would neither be the direct nor indirect cause of.

Hereupon I signified to the duke, that the king, my master, had given me directions and instructions how to behave myself, according to the answer which I should receive; and therefore I intreated him, for a day or two, to give me leave to confer this answer with my directions; and that he would give me access, and procure me audience

with the king, for the further proceeding in this business, as the king my master had commanded me.

Within two or three days after, I was appointed to return again unto the duke, to whom at first I made repetition of the answer, which the last day I had received from him, the which he likewise then confirmed again.

I then desired him to consider some few grounds, which I should lay before him, the which being presupposed, I conceived he could not but think that the reply, which the king, my master, had directed me to make, was grounded upon much equity and honour.

The first thing, I desired this king should consider, was, That when his majesty dealt with him, and his ministers, he presumed so much, of the equity of this king's judgment, and promised himself so much of his affections and respect unto him, as he should never hear from him any demand unworthy of him, or which this king would not judge fitting to be propounded to himself, were the king my master's case his own.

The second thing, which I desired that this king should know and believe, was, That there was no prince whatsoever more confident and certain in the truth of his religion, than the king my master was in his, in which he was not only resolved to live and die, but for the protection and defence thereof, had by several means declared himself as far, and would ever be ready to adventure as much for the maintenance thereof, as any prince living should do.

Thirdly, I desired it might be remembered, That though it be true, that the king my master caused the proposition, for the prince with the infanta major to be made, yet he was first moved and invited thereunto, by the assurance which this king's ambassador gave unto him, how welcome this motion would be to his master.

And for that which hath now passed in this of the second daughter, it hath been likewise only stirred and moved from hence, by the offer of her made by this king; and to this offer, thus accompanied with these demands and conditions, I was out of these grounds, by the direction of the king my master, to make this answer:

That whereas it is demanded that, to match with this king's second daughter, the prince should become a Roman Catholic, the king my master desires to refer it to this king's own judgment, what censure that king should deserve, both from the hands of God, and the world, that, having so many ways expressed his constancy and love to the faith and religion, which he professeth, should shew himself so full of impiety and dishonour, to persuade his son to make a change of his soul for a wife, or any earthly fortune whatsoever.

And if this king would not for a world, as he professed, be either the direct or indirect cause of the hazard of his daughter's perversion: the king may be pleased to consider, that if he be therein so exact, as befitteth a king, in point of religion and honour, the king my master is likewise so, in no degree less: and therefore hath commanded me, plainly to declare, that though he could not but make a kind and princely construction of the offer, which this king made of his daughter, as judging her most worthy of any prince whatsoever, yet, for this demand of the prince's becoming a Roman Catholic, the king my master holdeth it unworthy of him, and would absolutely refuse to bestow the prince, his son, upon these conditions, were the person offered the sole heir of the monarchy of the whole world.

Hereunto the duke made a little answer, not expecting, as I conceive, so direct and conclusive a proceeding; only said, that his king did suppose, that God might have been pleased to have made this the means for the reducing of the prince, and England, to the catholic religion.

And so from the duke I went unto the king, with whom I was appointed at that time to have an audience; unto whom I made an ample and full relation of the whole

course of the business, and particularly signified unto him the answers, which, in his name, I had received from the Duke of Lerma, and likewise, his majesty's reply.

He told me the Duke of Lerma had in all things proceeded as he directed him, and therefore he would only confirm those answers, which I had already received from him.

Thus having made unto you a true and exact relation, how this business hath hitherto been carried, I will refer the judgment thereof to your own wisdom; only these passages I shall recommend unto you as most remarkable.

First, That his majesty's proposition, for the King of Spain's eldest daughter, was from the several invitations of the Spanish ambassador's, neither can the dishonour of their indirect proceedings be removed, but that another will necessarily fall upon them. For if princes shall not give credit and belief to the ambassadors, and public ministers, one of another, all means of negotiating betwixt them will be taken away.

Herein they pretend, that, for the giving his majesty satisfaction, they have rejected their ambassador, and, likewise, sent Don Pedro de Zuniga, in the interim, until the coming of Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, whom they have nominated for that employment.

Secondly, In this business concerning the second daughter, it never was, in any kind, any motion of his majesty's, but merely an offer of the King of Spain, which God, I conceive, appointed as a fitting and worthy means for his majesty to make declaration, both to them here, and to the world, of his constancy and resolution, in the professing and protesting of his religion.

So that I must conclude, that if any thing had passed herein, less honourable, or less sincere, than benefited the greatness of two such mighty princes, there cannot so much as any reflection of it light upon his majesty, whose proceedings clear throughout have been with all directness. Whereas they, if they do not justly incur the censure of some falsehood, yet it cannot but be a great unluckiness to them, in a matter of so great consequence, to be forced to renounce their ambassador. Neither have they any advantage in point of honour, that a daughter, whose sex giveth ever the privilege to be sought, being offered, hath not been accepted.

The Lord Digby's Entertainment in Spain. MS.

James appears to have had no measure more at heart than the union of Prince Charles his son with the Infanta of Spain; a match to which the difference of religion, and the disturbances in Germany, gave constant interruption. In 1622, John Lord Digby, afterwards created Earl of Bristol, was sent ambassador extraordinary unto Spain. "To discover the whole of his entertainment," says Wilson the historian, "would only serve to shew the coarse grain of Spanish civility, and the unpopularity of our ambassador at that time." He has made liberal use of the letter in giving an account of the treaty. James Howell attended this embassy as agent for soliciting the recovery of certain English merchandize confiscated in Sardinia; but he could not be author of this letter, as he sailed three weeks after Lord Digby. The disasters of King James's representative are detailed with considerable sarcastic humour. It must have been acceptable to those old-fashioned Englishmen, who, like widow Pliant, in the Alchemist, never could abide the Spaniards since the year 1588.

SIR,

Such is my present charity, as that I would be contented to forgive the wiles of Spain with as good a will as you parted from them, and suffer the blind policy of the times to take its course in calling black white, and pride gravity, till ambition itself fall into the ditch; yet, because of my promise to you my friend, in whose expectation my honesty is always present, I will no longer contain myself within the bounds of flattery, but, laying aside all court respects, freely and faithfully set down those passages that may serve to satisfy yourself, and such others of your friends as are desirous to know the certain manner of Mr Vice-Chamberlain's reception and entertainment at the court of Spain, at his being last there his majesty's extraordinary ambassador. Myself, you know, was none of his lordship's train, and therefore you must not look for at my hands an exact journal of the progress: let it suffice, that though my relation be but pieces of the truth, yet it shall be whole and entire in every one of them.

To begin with his lordship's landing at St Andera, it was, as I call to mind, about the last of August; the place is a desolate port town, crept in (I know not by what mischance) betwixt the mountains and the Biscayan Bay; yet it being land, it was not to be despised of those that came sick from sea; and though, at first sight, no honest Englishman could take the bare-legged people for any other than savages (so hideous and uncouth was their garb and fashion), yet, as God would have it, all were not barbarous, for some they found so civil as wore black cloaths, and durst venture upon so much good manners, as to bid his lordship and his company welcome *a la Spaniola;* but it seemed his lordship looked for some ceremony *a la Englese*, and that some Sir Lewis Lewknor or other should be sent from court to congratulate his safe arrival, otherwise I see not to what end he should stay about a fortnight in that rude place, where he knew that nothing but the Spanish nastiness and poverty could present themselves to our English observations. Whatsoever his lordship's purpose or expectation was, the court of Spain was far enough from doing him any such honour, though, I must confess, it was a thing not altogether undue to so extraordinary an ambassage. You must know, that the king and his whole court were about this season to remove from Madrid, and were to come four days journey as directly towards his lordship, as if they had come on purpose to meet him. The occasion was, that the grand favourite the Duke of Lerma had invited his majesty to his town of Lerma, there to recreate him with divers shews and sports prepared for that purpose. His Lordship therefore, from St Andera, sent away his secretary S. Digby with letters to Mr Cottington (his majesty's agent then residing at Madrid) to advise him of his coming, and to have him with all diligence go to the duke, and supplicate, that, since his majesty would be so happily at Lerma, it would please his excellence to do him so much honour as to let him have his first audience there. Mr Cottington, according to his lordship's desire, moved the duke in that, whose answer was, that he would be glad to have it so, but could not order it, only to shew how much he favoured Don Juan, he would be a humble suitor to the king for his assent, and therefore willed him to repair to him again two or three days after, and then he should know the royal pleasure. The agent went away very well satisfied with the duke's discretion, and doubted not but at his second access to receive full contentment; but when he came again, the duke gave him a shrug for a leg, and told him, his majestie would by no means admit of his desire. The reason was, because he knew my lord ambassador came upon business, and he went to Lerma only upon pleasure. This was the answer the secretary returned with to his lordship, who could by no means rest satisfied with that, but presently wrote back to Mr Cottington, that he should renew the suit with all instance; whereupon he went again to court, and did so urge the matter to the duke, as he got him to make a reply unto the king,

who, because he would not be seen to deny his minion[1] any thing twice (more, I believe, than for any other respect) did in the end grant it; but why will you ask, did my lord ambassador so vehemently desire to be received at Lerma, since he could not but know there was no treating of any thing there but kissing of hands? For my own part, I neither saw then, nor have been able to comprehend since, any reason of state why the King of England's ambassador should petition the proud Spaniard twice for a thing that did so little import the service of his master; nor in my conscience did any thing move him to it but a meer vain-glorious affection to the things of Spain; for, knowing it would be then a festival time at Lerma, he did perhaps desire that the English gentlemen should be present at the jollities, and behold the bravery of the Dons. Moreover he foresaw, that, if he went thither, they could not chuse but feast him (which being more extraordinary in that country than an extraordinary ambassador) he thought would redound to his glory and honour. Well, the suit obtained, Mr Cottington thought good to carry the glad tidings of it himself to Burgos.

But before I remove his lordship from St Andero, I must not omit to tell you how Mr Hole, his secretary, died there, and, for want of christian burial, was fain to be put into a coffin and thrown into the sea; but whether it was that they had not weight enough to keep it under water, or that the fishermen took it up on purpose (fearing they should catch no fish as long as the corps of an heretic lay in their waters), certain it is, that after his lordship was parted thence, we had news that the coffin was broken up, and the corps of our countryman and brother was thrown above ground, to be devoured by the fowls of the air. Tell me now, ye ill-advised favourers of the Spanish party, if these be fit love-tricks to prepare the way of marriage, or if it be reasonable to court their alliance, whose inhumanity we have so much reason to abhor? Their church, you will say, commands it, so doth it forbid them to have any commerce with us. But as for their profit, they have gotten themselves dispensed with in the one, so, methinks, they should do the like in the other; if not, I shall think it no sin for me, nor all Englishmen, to pray, that those whom the church so severed, the state may never join together.

As long as we live with them they deny us nothing; their nuns shall be our mistresses, their friars our bawds, which perhaps they do out of a malicious intent to damn our souls; but let us chance to die, they will by no means suffer us to be buried, because forsooth we are heretics.[2] Was there ever a Saracen like this? or can it be imagined there should be either true divinity or philosophy, where such barbarous folly is in use? I remember not ever to have read of any thing that doth approach it, unless it were in a certain French book, that makes description of the provinces and towns of France, where the author reports (how truely I know not), that in the country Bigore, upon the edge of Gascoign, there are a race of people that come out of their mother's

[1] The Duke of Lerma was then accounted the greatest favourite that had been in Spain since the celebrated Alvarez de Luna. Howell mentions having seen a rhodomontade picture of him in the character of a giant, supporting on his shoulders the monarchies of France and Spain, and the popedom, with this motto:

Sobre les ombres d'este Atlante
Tazen en aquestas dias
Estas tres monarquias.

FAMILIAR LETTERS, book I. sect. 3.

[2] Howell mentions a similar circumstance:—"Mr Washington, the prince's page, is lately dead of a calenture, and I was at his burial, under a fig-tree, behind my Lord of Bristol's house. A little before his death, one Battard, an English priest, went to tamper with him; and Sir Edmund Varney meeting him coming down the stairs out of Washington's chamber, they fell from words to blows, but they were parted. The business was like to gather very ill blood, and to come to a great height, had not the Count Gondomar quasht it, which, I believe, he could not have done, unless the times had been favourable; for such is the reverence they bear to the church here, and so holy a conceit they have of all ecclesiastics, that the greatest don in Spain will tremble to offer the meanest of them any outrage or affront."—HOWEL's *Letters*, p. 138.

wombs with stinking mouths, who, as long as they remain in the world, are admitted as fellow-citizens to all kind of commerce and society; but when they come to die, are excommunicated out of the common church-yards, and buried apart by themselves, because their breaths stunk when they were alive. This seems so ridiculous as it is almost incredible; but the Spanish custom is a thousand times more uncharitable, and that most certain, for they of Bigore have in the end their stench buried; but we, if we die in Spain, must be left stinking above ground, to the end the dogs may be sure to find us. Had it been thought upon when they made their peace with us, I make no question but the Spaniards, as catholick as they are, would have granted us any burial we would have desired, either christian or moral; but since that time they have so picked up their crumbs of pride and severity, as it hath not been in the power of our merchants of Seville, with all their supplications, to obtain for their money never so little a piece of ground to bury their dead in: but I would fain know what reason their church allows them for it. Must their malice towards us be everlasting, both in this world and the world to come? or do they fear, that, if we should rise amongst them at the last day, we might some of us get to heaven by stealth, as the door is opened for them? or rather, is it not out of provident care not to have us by when they are to receive their sentence, for fear we should see their shame and confusion?[1]

This vile and malignant accident hath made me run out of my patience and purpose both at once: but let us return to our lord ambassador, and see him safe from St Andera, in his way towards Burgos, where our English mirmidons began to see what it was to travel in Spain; for not to hit them in the teeth with their bugs and vermin, which, though they were plagues in Egypt, yet custom hath made them free denizons in Spain, I will only remember, that I heard both knights and squires complain, at their coming to Burgos, how they were fain by the way to sup without chimneys, and sleep without beds, the least of which two, in any part of England, would go nigh to be held couzin-german to the plague: but, thanks be to God, notwithstanding this change of air and fare, they made a shift to come all well to Burgos, which is the chief town of all Castile, and where the antient kings were wont for the most part to keep their courts, as may appear by many fair and goodly houses which were built by the grandees and privadoes of those times, and do to this day retain their names. My lord ambassador was lodged in none of those, but stood beholden to the officers of the town for a house (mean enough), and such as would hold none but his lordship, and some few of his most necessary servants, wherewith the gentlemen were no whit displeased; for though in the

[1] Among other affronts put upon Lord Digby when in Spain, the following odd anecdote is told by Sir Anthony Weldon. The King of Spain was, it seems, at the expence of defraying the table of the ambassador. But "in their abode there, although they gave them rost meat, yet they beat them with the spits, by reporting, that the English did steal all the plate, when in truth it was themselves, who thought to make hay while the sun shined, not thinking evermore to come to such a feast, to fill their purses as well as their bellies (for food and coyn are equally alike scarce with that nation.) This report passed for current, to the infinite dishonour of our nation, there being at that time the prime gallantry of our nation.

"Sir Robert Mansel, who was a man born to vindicate the honour of his nation as his own, being vice-admiral, and a man on whom the old admiral wholly relyed, having dispatched the ships to be gone the next morning, came in very late to supper; Sir Richard Levison sitting at the upper end of the table amongst the grandees, the admiral himself not supping that night, being upon the dispatch of letters, the table, upon Sir Robert Mansel's entrance, offered to rise, to give him place, but he sat down instantly at the lower end, and would not let any man stir; and falling to his meat, did espy a Spaniard, as the dishes emptied, ever putting some in his bosom, some in his breeches, that they both strutted. Sir Robert Mansel sent a message to the upper end of the table to Sir Richard Levison, to be delivered in his eare, that whatsoever he saw him do, he should desire the gentlemen and grandees to sit quiet, for there should be no cause of disquiet; on the sudden, Sir Robert Mansel steps up, takes the Spaniard in his armes, at which the table began to rise; Sir Richard Levison quiets them, brings him up to the end amongst the grandees, then puls out the plate from his bosome, breeches, and every part about him, which did so amaze the Spaniard, and vindicate that aspersion cast on our nation, that never after was there any such sillable heard, but all honour done to the nation, and all thanks to him in particular."—*The Court and Character of K. James*, 1689, p. 43.

day-time it was subject to no annoyance, yet it provided very ill scent for the night, by reason it was haunted with a stinking spirit, which we met continually upon the stairs as we went down after supper, it being indeed of such a condition as might well be ashamed to shew itself by day. In this sweet place, Mr Cottington, and those that accompanied him from Madrid (whereof I had the honour to be one) came and kissed his lordship's hands, and brought news that we had left the king within a day and a half's journey of Lerma. The lord ambassador and the agent having conferred together, it was wonderful to see what a matter his lordship made of his being suffered to go to Lerma, wherein he did so please himself, as he stuck not one day to say openly at the table, by way of endearing, that he did not think the King of Spain would have done that particular favour to any prince's ambassador but to the King of England's, nor to any the King of England could have sent, but himself; and I think he said partly true; for it is to be hoped, that none would have begged it as he did. But, howsoever, this was to triumph before the victory, and gave his company just reason to murmur at him, when they saw themselves afterwards disappointed, which happened to them unexpected, troubled them for the present, and taught them for the future, that it was equally dangerous to follow a partial leader and a reconciled foe; yet, had they not shut their eyes, and swallowed with obedient credulity all that his lordship was pleased to say, it was not possible they should have committed so great an error as to presume upon the Spanish courtesy, seeing so many and so inexcusable omissions of respect to presage the contrary; for, to conclude all in one, his lordship was known to be a whole month in the country without receiving one message or salutation from the court, which had been enough to put any extraordinary ambassador out of countenance but himself.

But well fare his lordship's temper, who all this while did take no notice of any hurt done; for that it was expected, that when the king and the duke should be come to Lerma, they would bethink themselves of so much graciousness as to send his lordship a visit. But we thought one thing, and the Spaniard another; for though Lerma was but seven leagues from Burgos, and that the court had been there a fortnight, yet his lordship had no more news from thence than if he had been still at Andera, which gave some of our English travellers occasion to conceive, that the King of England was slighted in his minister; but others excused the matter, and said the Spaniard did not neglect the lord ambassador as representing the king's person, but only because they would use no complement with one they knew so much their friend. In conclusion, his lordship fearing that, if he should leave them alone, they would forget him indeed, thought it the best course to send Mr Cottington on Saturday to Lerma, to see if he could know what their pleasure was to do with him, who, at his return, brought word, that one of the duke's secretaries would not fail him the next day, to advise him of the order that should be taken.

Accordingly, upon Sunday in the evening, there came a poor fellow with a letter from the said secretary, addressed to Mr Cottington, the contents whereof was, that the next day, being Monday, there should be a couple of coaches sent to bring his lordship upon Thursday following to Villa Manza, a certain town that lay one mile short of Lerma, which was assigned for his lordship's lodgings, and where, it was assured, the king's harbingers should be present to do their diligence, and prepare all things with as much commodity as the poorness of the place would permit. Upon this, warning was given to all the company to provide, and the coaches came very honestly at the time appointed, so as upon Thursday morning about nine of the o'clock we set forth of Burgos, and arrived about three in the afternoon at Villa Manza, which we well perceived to be a pitiful ragged village, and such as in England would hardly be judged capable of an alehouse; yet seeing we were there, we could do no less than enquire for my lord ambassador's house. The house! people told us we were surely deceived

and mistaken, for there were none dwelt there but poor labradors. It being demanded whether none of the king's harbingers had been there to take up lodgings for the English ambassador, they were all so void of intelligence, as they knew not what it meant, so as it was hard to say, which of us were most amazed, they to hear us ask such strange questions, or we to find things so unanswerable to our expectations. For our more trusty advice, divers of our company that had been scouting abroad, had reported they could hear no news, nor discover any house fit for his lordship to go into, who, being unwilling to break the peace, would not take the town by force, but very quietly kept his coach, and sent Mr Gresley[*] in all haste to Lerma, to fetch somebody that might have authority to assist him in this his trouble. Mr Gresley made as much haste as he could, to bring back word, that at Lerma they were all busy of seeing a play, so as he could not come to speak with any man that understood the business, which growing thus from bad to worse, did so distract his lordship's thoughts, as he began now to doubt whether Villa Manza was the place he was appointed to go to, and, in examination thereof, made Mr Cottington empty his pockets to produce the secretary's letter, where they found Villa Manza as legibly written as they could desire; so as now all colour of evasion being taken away, his lordship could no longer dissemble like a Spanish ambassador, but did his country so much right as to shew himself a very Englishman, and supplying with impatience what they wanted in authority, commanded the coachmen (in a very hasty manner) to drive back to Burgos, which they most punctually refused to do; whereupon his lordship leapt out of the coach,and in a great chafe got upon his horse, crying unto his company, away. The coachmen seeing he was resolute to go, and fearing they should lose their reward, if they parted upon those terms, came presently, and told his lordship they would venture to do whatsoever his seignioria would have them. With that his seignioria alighted from his horse, and went up again into the coach; but before the wheels were turned about, his lordship's mind was changed, and upon some caveat or other, that Mr Cottington seemed to whisper in his ear, he made the boots to be opened again, and declared he was determined to stay there all night; which appeared to some of the spectators such an interlude, as they did nothing envy those that were seeing the comedy at Lerma. Well, his lordship, when he had sat four hours, in the end quitted it, and made a worse choice, by entering into a rotten, bare-walled house, such as I may boldly say, had been fitter for Sir John Fenwick's dogs than his lordship's company. It was for no goodness it wanted a tenant; for if any body dwelt in it, they were people of such condition as had no use of household stuff, for unless it were one naked table, I do not remember I saw any thing.

Yet an owner it had, who came and welcomed his lordship with as much formality as if his house had been a castle, and himself a Don Quixote; but his lordship took little pleasure to see one so full of words that had so empty rooms: true it is, that the best chamber found itself so full, when we came into it, as a great part of the floor fell down, which some of the curious interpreted for ominous for those that trusted the Spanish footing: for all that, his lordship caused his bed to be set up there, and no reason to repent his providence for bringing it with them.

The jest of all jests was, we had not been housed above half-an-hour, but up came the good old knight, Sir E. R. puffing and blowing to bring his lordship news, that a harbinger was come, who said there was a house and all things ready provided. His lordship not knowing but that it might be so indeed, if not in Villa Manza, yet perhaps in Lerma, or some other adjoining place, composed his countenance as well as he could upon so sudden warning, and commanded the harbinger to be brought into his presence, who, excusing himself for not coming time enough to attend his lordship, said, yet he was glad to see his lordship had lighted on the right house. My lord asked him how he

[*] Mr Walsingham Gresley, often mentioned in Howel's Letters, as a bearer of dispatches between England and Spain.

knew that to be the right house, he answered, that himself and one of his fellows had been there the day before to bespeak it.

The master of the house being questioned about it, answered, there was no such matter; which put his lordship into such a fit of anger, as he threatened the harbinger to throw him out of the window: but the poor fellow chose rather to go out of the door, and, without any more ado, left his lordship to his shifts. And, thanks be to God, so good shift was made, as we supped that night, tho' not like ambassadors, yet well enough for travellers. After supper his lordship walked about the room very pensively, and gave us a guess at his thoughts, by uttering once or twice these words, "Well, they have troubled us to-day, we shall trouble them to-morrow;" thinking, belike, he should be sent for to court, where he meant to expostulate the matter with them; but the Spaniard thought it a point of wisdom to give him longer time to allay his choler, before they would see him. Mr Cottington went the same evening to Lerma, and came back again after supper; but what his errand was, I know not: we left my lord and him together, and betook ourselves every man to his lodging, which you must imagine to be neither better nor worse, than such as day-labourers could afford to unexpected guests

The next day betimes, Mr Cottington made another voyage to Lerma, where he got to speak with the duke, and represented unto him the disorder that had been at Villa Manza, whereat he seemed to be so highly offended, as to chide his secretary, who excused himself with the multitude of businesses which lay that time upon his hands, and transferred his fault upon other inferiors.

As this past, who should come in, but the very same harbinger that had been the night before at Villa Manza, who up and told the duke, before Mr Cottington's face, that the English ambassador looked that two or three grandees should have been sent to receive him, and that, when he went to do him service, he threatened to throw him out of the window. The duke being perhaps glad of such an advantage, gave good ear to the fellow's words; and, putting on his gravest countenance, told Mr Cottington, that he did not think so grave a minister as Don Juan, would have suffered himself to be so miscarried with passion, to menace and affront the king's officer in that manner, adding, by way of aggravation, that he himself durst hardly do it. So that he held Mr Cottington's business quite perverted; for, whereas he came to complain of the wrong his lordship had received, he was drawn to excuse the error he had committed, which I know not if he did in so just a measure, as to leave him in that reputation with the duke, as it seemed he was in, when he wished that the King of Spain had given his weight in gold for such another servant as Don Juan; a thing I should have been loath to report, but that I heard it from his lordship's own mouth. By that time Mr Cottington was returned, it was full court in his lordship's cottage, every man attending with impatient ears what would be the news from Lerma; but all in vain, for nothing was thought fit to be published at that time, but only that a mule was come laden with provision, which, though our necessities could not but well accept, yet some of us judged the provender fitter to satisfy our hunger than our honour.

They that sent it was persuaded themselves it would do both with Englishmen; nor were they much deceived, for it did so qualify the matter, as I very well remember his lordship thereupon, did most sententiously pronounce, "That the Spaniard was better at a remedy, than a prevention."

After dinner, my lord and some of his company went to cards, whilst others (that desired to make better use of their time abroad) walked forth into the fields, to observe the clearness of the sky; there, likewise, did Lerma House present itself to their view, which we thought they regarded in the very same manner, for all the world, as the refuse people do use to do the outside of the banquetting-house on a mask night, when they cannot be suffered to go in.

Towards the evening, a letter came from the duke, which was to be of his own handwriting; happy were they who could catch a sight of the superscription. But that which gave us most reason to rejoice, was to hear that his lordship should now at length have his desire, it being advertized, that the Conde de Salazer, one of the king's major domo's, should be sent the next morning, to fetch his lordship and his company to Lerma; the morning came, and the gallants drest, his lordship had provided a sharp conceit to persuade us instead of breaking our fast, for quoth he, I would not for any thing have him find us within doors, because I mean to tell the Conde, that tho' the house be thought good enough for the King of England's ambassadour, yet I hold it much unworthy to receive one of the King of Spain's major domo's. The wit whereof pleased me so well, as that I applauded the words, and meant to make a narrow observation of the Spaniard's apprehension. [1]

But when I saw the Conde come, and thrust his lordship into the coach as it were with authority, rather than courtesy, and that not one word proceeded from his lordship's mouth in performance of his lordship's apothegm, I began then to despair of ever having occasion to change my opinion, (which was from the beginning) "That his lordship had more wit to his countrymen, than to displease the Spaniard." [2]

Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne, translated according to the Spanish coppie, which may serve to forewarn both England and the United Provinces how farre to trust to Spanish pretences. Imprinted in the yeare 1620.

The dexterity of Gondomar had gained the affection of King James, and his profuse liberality, the favour of all those who had influence at court. But he was nearly as odious to the people at large, as he was acceptable to the monarch and courtiers. The Protestant clergy, and more especially the puritans, hated him as the promoter of the Spanish match, an union which recalled the days of Philip and Mary, and the fires of Smithfield. The soldiery desired a Spanish war for the prospect of rich booty; the sailors, from the hope of plundering the South American settlements; the whole nation, from desire of military glory, and from recollection of the golden days of Queen Elizabeth.

When Gondomar therefore left England, to close, as was supposed, the treaty which he had set on foot, various Tracts appeared against the proposed match. That which follows, was written by —— Scot, a preacher, related to the Earl of Strafford, and displays considerable address. The personal vanity of the king is spared, and his foibles soothed, while their consequences are pointed out in a plain and manly manner. The treatise was, however, suppressed by the royal authority, as we learn from the Introduction to *Vox Cœli*, a subsequent Tract on the same subject. It was, however, reprinted in 1659, under the title of "A Choice Narrative of Count Gondomar's Transactions during his Embassy in England," by that renowned antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, Knight and Baronet. This edition has a head of Gondomar prefixed, and is inscribed to Sir William Paston, Knight and Baronet, by William Rowland, who ingenuously declares, "That he knows not whether it was penned by Cotton himself or not." Both editions seem to have become very scarce; for Richard Dugdale, (the Evidence on the Popish Plot) who reprinted it in 1679, under the title of "A Narrative of the Wicked Plots carried on by Seignior Gondomar, for advancing the Popish Religion and Spanish Faction," seems, in the Introduction, to insinuate, that his edition was published from a manuscript. The original edition of 1620, has been used for this collection.

---

[1] *i. e.* The manner in which he should receive the gibe.

[2] Lord Digby, under his advanced title of Earl of Bristol, remained at the Spanish court until he had very nearly arranged matters for the long desired alliance. But his schemes were deranged, as is well known; first, by the abrupt arrival of Prince Charles himself, and afterwards by his departure.

His Catholique majestie had given commandement, that presently upon the return of Seigneur Gondomor,[1] his leiger embassador from England, (1618) a speciall meeting of all the principall states of Spaine, (who were of his counsel) togither with the presidents of the counsel of Castile, of Arragon, of Italy, of Portugall, of the Indies, of the Treasure, of warre, and especially of the holy Inquisition, should be held at Mouson in Arragon, the Duke of Lerma being appointed president. Who should make declaration of his majesties pleasure, take account of the embassadors service, and consult touching the state and religion respectively, to give satisfaction to his holynes nuntio, who was desired to make one in this assembly, concerning certaine overtures of peace and amitie with the English, and other Catholike projects, which might ingender suspition and jealousie betwixt the pope and his majestie, if the mistry were not unfolded, and the ground of those counsels discovered aforehand.

This made all men expect the embassadours returne with a kinde of longing, that they might behold the yssue of this meeting, and see what good, for the Catholike cause, the embassadors imployment had effected in England, answerable to the generall opinion conceived of his wisdom, and what further project would be set on foote to become matter for publike discourse.

At length hee arrived, and had present notice given him from his majestie, that before he came to court, he should give up his account to this assemblie. Which command hee gladly received as an earnest of his acceptable service, and gave thanks that for his honour, he might publish himself in so judicious a presence.

He came first upon the day appointed to the council chamber, (exc. the secr.) not long after all the counsell of state and the presidents met: there wanted onely the Duke of Lerma, and the pope's nuntio, who were the head and feet of all the assemblie. These two stayed long away, for divers respects; the nuntio, that he might express the greatnes of his master, and loose the sea of Rome no respect by his oversight, but that the benches might be full to observe him at his approach.

The Duke of Lerma, to expresse the authoritie and dignitie of his owne person, and to shew how a servant put in place of his master, exacts more service of his fellow-servants then the master himselfe; these two stayed till all the rest were weary of wayting: but at length the nuntio (supposing all the counsel set) launched forth and came to roade in the counsel chamber, where (after mutuall discharge of duetie from the company and blessing upon it from him) he sate down in solemne silence, grieving at his oversight when he saw the Duke of Lerma absent, with whom he strove as a competitor for pompe and glorie.

The duke had sent before, and understood of the nuntios being there, and stayed something the longer, that his boldnes might be observed, wherein he had his desire, for the nuntio having a while patientlie driven away the time with severall complements to severall persons, had now almost run his courtship out of breath, but that the Duke Villa Hermosa (president of the counsel of Arragon) fed his humor by the discharge of his owne discontentment, upon occasion of the Duke of Lerma his absence, and beckned Seigneur Gondomor to him, using this speech in the hearing of the nuntio, after a sporting manner:

" How unhappie are the people where you have been, first for their soules, being he-

[1] Diego Sarmienta de Acugna, Conde de Gondomar, ambassador extraordinary at the court of Great Britain, was the most able diplomatic character of his time. John Rowland, the editor of the second edition of this Tract, says of him truly, " Gondomar is yet fresh in the memory of many men who knew him when he lay leiger here from the King of Spain; and I never heard of any ambassador that acted his part with more dexterity for his master's glory and advantage, than he did. For, however, he had a very wise prince to deal with, (as he says) yet, like another Mercury, he could soon, with his facetious words and gestures, pipe King James asleep, and did sometimes take hold of the helm himself, and was very near to have run the ship aground, or to have split her upon the rocks. The influence of his ill aspect, and eclipsing the sun-beams, is hardly over unto this day."

retiques, then for their estates! where the name of a favorite is so familiar, how happie is our state, where the keys of life and death are so easily come by, (poynting at the nuntio) hanging at every religious girdle, and where the dore of justice and mercie stand equally open to all men, without respect of persons!" The embassador knew this ironicall stroke to be intended as a by blow at the nuntio, but fully at the Duke of Lerma, (whose greatnes began now to wax heavy, towards declension) and therefore he returned this answer: "Your excellencie knoweth the state is happie where wise favorites govern kings, if the kings themselves be foolish, or wher wise kings are, who, having favorites, whether foolish or of the wiser sort, will not yet be governed by them. The state of England, (howsoever you hear of it in Spayne or Roome) is too happie in the last kinde. They need not much care what the favourite be (though for the most part he be such as prevents all suspition in that kinde, being rather chosen as a scholler to be taught and trayned up, then as tutor to teach,) of this they are sure, no prince exceeds theirs in personall abilities; so that nothing could be added to him in my wish but this one, that he were our vassayle, and a Catholique."

With that, the noyse without gave notice of the Duke of Lermas entrance, at whose first approach the whole house arose, though some later then other, as envie had hung plummets on them to keep them downe; the nuntio onely sate unmooved; the Duke cherished the observance of the rest with a familiar kind of carriage, too high for courtesie, as one not neglecting their demeanors, but expecting it. And after a filiall obeysance to the Pope his nuntio, sate down as president, under the cloath of state, but somewhat lower; then, after a space given for admiration, preparation, and attention, he begane to speake in this manner:

"The king, my master, (holding it more honourable to doe then to discourse, to take from you the expectation of oratorie used rather in schooles and pulpits, then in counsels) hath appointed me president in this holy, wise, learned, and noble assembly. A man naturally of a slow speach, and not desirous to quicken it by art or industrie, as holding action onely proper to a Spaniard, as I am by birth; to a souldier, as I am by profession; to a king, as I am by representation. Take this therefore briefly for declaration both of the cause of this meeting, and my master his further pleasure.

"There hath bene, in all times, from the worlds foundation, one chiefe commander or monarch upon the earth. This needs no further proofe then a backlooking into our own memories and histories of the world; neither now is there any question (except with infidels and heretiques) of that one chief commander in spiritualls, in the unity of whose person the members of the visible church are included; but there is some doubt of the chief commander in temporalls, who (as the moon to the sun) might govern by night, as this by day, and, by the sword of justice, compel to come in, or cut off, such as infringe the authoritie of the keyes. This hath been so well understood long since, by the infallible chaire, as that therby, upon declension of the Romane emperours, and the increase of Romes spirituall splendor, (who thought it unnatural that their sun should be sublunary) our nation was, by the Bishop of Rome, selected before other peoples, to conquer and rule the nations with a rod of iron; and our kings, to that end, adorned with the title of Catholike King, as a name above all names under the sun (which is) under Gods Vicar generall himself, the Catholike bishop of soules. To instance this point, by comparison, look first upon the grand Seigneur, the great Turk, who hath a large title, but not universall. For, besides that he is an infidel, his command is confined within his owne territories, and he stiled not emperour of the world, but of the Turks and their vassals onely.

"Among Christians, the Defender of the Faith was a glorious stile, whilst the king, to whom it was given by his holyness, continued worthy of it. But he stood not in the trueth, neither yet those that succeed him. And, beside, it was no great thing to be called what every Christian ought to be, defender of the faith, no more then to be stiled

with France, the most Christian King, wherein he hath the greatest part of his title common with most Christians. The Emperour of Russia, Rome, Germany, extend not their limits further than their stiles, which are locall, onely my master, the most Catholike king, is for dominion of bodies, as the universall bishop for dominion of soules, over all that part of the world which we call America, (except where the English intruders usurp) and the greatest part of Europe, with some part of Asia and Africa, by actual possession, and over all the rest, by real and indubitable right, yet acknowledgeth this right to be derived from the free and fatherly donation of his holynes, who, as the sun to this moon, lends lustre by reflection to this kingdome, to this king, to this king of kings, my master, what therefore he hath, howsoever gotten, he may keep and hold. What he can get from any other king or commander, by any stratageme of warre or pretence of peace, he may take, for it is theirs only by usurpation, except they hold of him from whom all civil power is derived, as ecclesiastical from his holines. What the ignorant call treason, if it be on his behalf, is truth; and what they call truth, if it be against him, is treason; and thus all our peace, our warre, our treatises, marriages, and whatsoever intendement els of ours, aimes at this principal end to get the whole possession of the world, and to reduce all to unitie under one temporal head, that our king may truely be what he is stiled, the Catholike and Universal King. As faith is therefore universal, and the church universal, yet so, as it is under one head, the pope, whose seat is, and must necessarily be at Rome, where St Peter sate; so must all men be subject to our and their Catholique king, whose particular seat is here in Spayne, his universall every where. This pointe of state, or rather of faith, wee see the Roman Catholike religion hath taught every where, and almost made natural; so that, by a key of gold, by intelligence, or by way of confession, my master is able to unlock the secrets of every prince, and to withdraw their subjects allegiance, as if they knewe themselves rather my master his subjects in truth, then theirs whom their births have taught to miscal soveraigns. We see this in France and in England, especially where at once they learn to obey the church of Rome as their mother, to acknowledge the Catholique king as their father, and to hate their owne king as an heretique and an usurper. So we see religion and the state are coupled togither, laugh and weep, flourish and fade, and participate of eithers fortune, as growing upon one stock of policy; I speak this the more boldly in this presence, because I speak here before none but natives, persons, who are partakers both in themselves and issues, of these triumphs above all those of ancient Rome, and therefore such (as besides their oathes) it concerns to be secret. Neyther need we restrain this freedome of speach from the nuntio his presence, because that besides that he is a Spaniard by birth, he is also a Jesuite by profession, an order raised by the providence of Gods vicar to accomplish this monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate thereunto, and as publike agents and privie counsellors to this end. Wherein the wisdome of this state is to be beheld with admiration; that, as in temporal warre, it imployes, or at least trusts, none but natives, in Castile, Portugall, or Arragon; so in spirituals, it imployes none but the Jesuites, and so imployes them, that they are gênerally reputed, how remote soever they be from us, how much soever obliged to others, still to be ours, and still to be of the Spanish faction, though they be Polonians, English, French, and residing in those countries and courts; the penitents therefore, and all with whom they deale and converse in their spirituall traffique, must needs be so too; and so our Catholique king must needs have an invisible kingdome, and an unknown number of subjects in all dominions, who will shew themselves and their faithes, by their works of disobedience, whensoever we shall have occasion to use that Jesuiticall vertue of theirs. This, therefore, being the principal ends of all our counsels, (according to those holy directions of our late pious King Philip II., to his sonne, now reviving) to advance the Catholique Romane religion, and the Catholike Spanish dominion together; we are now met, by his majesties command, to take account

of you (Seigneur Gondomor) who have been embassadour for England, to see what good you have effected there towards the advancement of this work, and what further project shalbe thought fit to be set on foot to this end. And this is briefly the occasion of our meeting."

Then the embassadour, (who attended bare headed all the tyme) with a low obeisance, began thus: "This most laudable custome of our kings, in bringing all officers to such an account, where a review and notice is taken of good or bad services upon the determination of their imployments, resembles those Romane triumphs appointed for the soldiers; and as in them it provoked to courage, so in us it stirrs up to diligence. Our mayster converseth by his agents with all the world, yet with none of more regard than the English, where matter of such diversitie is often presented, (through the severall humors of the state, and those of our religion and faction) that no instructions can be sufficient for such negotiations, but much must be left in trust, to the discretion, judgment, and diligence of the incumbent. I speake not this for my owne glory, I having been restrayned, and therefore deserved meanely; but to forewarne, on the behalf of others, that ther may be more scope allowed them to deal in, as occasion shall require. Briefly this rule delivered by his excellency, was the card and compas by which I sayled to make profit of all humors, and by all meanes to advance the state of the Romish faith, and the Spanish faction togither, upon all advantage eyther of oathes, or the breach of them; for this is an old observation, but a true, 'That for our pietie to Rome, his holynes did not onely give, but blesse us in the conquest of the new world.' And thus, in our pious perseverance, we hope still to be conquerors of the old. And to this end, whereas his excellencie, in his excellent discourse, seems to extend our outward forces and private aimes, onely against heretiques, and restrain them in true amity with these of the Romish religion: this I affirme, that since there can be no security but such princes, though now Romish Catholiques, may turne heretiques hereafter; my aimes have ever been to make profit of all, and to make my master, master of all, who is a faithful and constant son of his mother Rome. And to this end, I behold the endeavours of our kings of happy memory, how they have acchieved kingdomes and conquests by this policy, rather then by open hostility, and that without difference, as well from their allies and kinsfolks, men of the same religion and profession, such as were those of Naples, France, and Navar, though I doe not mention Portugall now united to us, nor Savoy, (that hardly slipt from us) as of an adverse and heretical faith. Neyther is this rule left off, as the present kingdome of France, the state of Venice, the Low Countries, Bohemia, (now all labouring for life under our plots) apparantly manifest. This way, therefore, I bent my engins in England, as your honours shal particularly heare. Neyther shal I need to repeat a catalogue of all the services I have there done, because this state hath been acquainted with many of them heretofore, by the intercourse of letters and messengers. Those onely I will speak of that are of later edition, done since the returne of the Lord Rosse from hence, and may seeme most directly to tend to those ends formerly propounded by his excellencie; that is, the advancement of the Spanish state and Romish religion togither. First, it is well observed, by the wisdome of our state, that the King of England, who otherwise is one of the most accomplisht princes that ever raign'd, extreamly hunts after peace, and so affects the true name of a peacemaker, as that for it he will doe or suffer any thing. And withall, they have beheld the generall bountie and munificence of his minde, and the necessity of the state so exhausted, as it is unable to supply his desires, who onely seeks to have that he might give to others. Upon these advantages, they have given out their directions and instructions both to me and others, and I have observed them so farre as I was able.

"And for this purpose, wheras there was a marriage propounded betwixt them and us, (howsoever, I suppose our state too devout to deale with heretiques in this kinde, in good earnest, yet) I made that a cover for much intelligence, and a meanes to obtaine what-

soever I desired, whilest the state of England longed after that marriage, hopeing thereby, (though vainely) to settle peace, and fill the excheaquer."

Here the Archbishop of Toledo, inquisitor general, stept up and interrupted Gondamor, saying, " That maryage was not to be thought upon; first, for religions sake, lest they should indanger the soule of the younge lady, and the rest of her company, who might become hereticks; secondly, for the state, lest, by giving so large a portion to heretiques, they should inrich and inable them for warres, and impoverish and weaken the Catholiques."

To the first objection, the Popes nuntio answered, " That his holynes for the Catholique cause would dispence with the marriage, though it were with a Turke or infidel. 1. That there was no valuable danger in hazarding one for the gayning of many, perhaps of all. 2. That it was no hazard, since women, (espetially yong ones) are too obstinate to be removed from their opinions, and abler to worke Solomon to their opinions, then Solomon to work them to his faith. 3. That it was a great advantage to match with such, from whom they might breake at pleasure, having the Catholique cause for a colour: and besides, if need were to be at liberty in all respects, since there was no faith to be kept with heretiques, And if his holynes may dispence with the murther of such, and dispose of their crownes, (as what good Catholique doubts but he may) much more may he, and will he in their marriages, to prevent the leprous seed of heresie, and to settle Catholique blood in the chaire of state."

To the second objection, the ambassadour himselfe answered, saying, " That though the English generally loathed the matche, and would, as he thought, buy it off with halfe of their estates, (hating the nation of Spaine, and their religion, as appeared by an uproare and assault, a day or two before his departure from London, by the apprentices, who seemed greedy of such an occasion to vent their owne spleenes, in doing him or any of his a mischiefe) yet two sorts of people unmeasurably desired the match might proceed.[1] First, the begging and beggarly courtyers, that they might have to furnish their wants. Secondly, the Romish Catholiques, who hoped hereby at least for a moderation of fynes, and lawes, perhaps a tolleration, and perhaps a total restauration of their religion in England. In which regard, (quoth he) I have knowne some zealous persons protest, that if all their friendes, and halfe their estates, could procure them the service of our lady, (if she came to be maried to their prince) they would freely use the meanes faithfully to fight under her colours, when they might doe it safely. And if it came to portion, they would underhand contribute largely of their estates to the Spanish collector, and make up halfe the portion out of themselves, perhaps more. So that by this marriage it might be so wrought, that the state should rather be robd and weakened, (which is our ayme) then strengthened, as the English vainely hope. Besides, in a small tyme, they should worke so far into the body of the state, by buying offices and the like, whether by sea or land, of justice, civil or ecclesiasticall, in church or state, (all being for money exposed to sale) that with the helpe of the Jesuites, they

[1] " But the treaties with the Emperor and the King of Spain were not much rellished; Gondomar had raised the people's fury, and was reviled and assaulted in London streets: whereupon, the day following, the privy council commanded the recorder of London to be careful in the strict examination of an insolent and barbarous affront offered to the Spanish ambassador and his people, for which the king would have exemplary justice done. And forasmuch as his majesty was informed, that there was a fellow already apprehended, though not for casting of stones, or threatening the ambassador's person, as some are said to have done; yet for using railing speeches against him, calling him *devil*, or words to that purpose; it was his majesty's pleasure, that that fellow, without any further delay, on the morrow in the forenoon, be publicly and sharply whipt through London, beginning at Aldgate, and so through the streets, along by the place where the affront was offered, towards Fleet [illegible] and so to Temple-Bar, without any manner of favour.

" The people were enraged at Gondomar, through a perswasion that he abused the king and state, to advance the designs of Spain."---RUSHWORTH *ut supra*, p. 34.

Howel says, that Gondomar was always ready to assist the English in Spain, " notwithstanding the base affronts he often received of the London boys, as he calls them."

would undermine them with meere wit, (without gunpowder) and leave the king but a fewe subjects, whose faithes hee might rely upon, whilst they were of a faith adverse to his. For what Catholique body that is sound at the hart, can abide a corrupt and heretical head?"

With that the Duke Medina del rio Secco, president of the councel of warr, and one of the councel of state, rose up, and sayd, "His predecessors had felt the force and wit of the English in 88. And he had cause to doubt the Catholiques themselves that were English, and not fully Jesuited, upon any forreigne invasion, would rather take part with their own king, (though a heretique) then with his Catholique majestie, a stranger."

The ambassadour desired him to be of an other minde, since first, for the persons generally, their bodies, by long disuse of armes, were disabled, and their mindes effeminated by peace and luxury, far from that they were in 88, when they were dayly flesht in our blood, and made hearty by customary conquests.[1] And for the affection of those whom they call recusants, (quoth hee) I know the bitternes of their inveterate malice, and have seen so farr into their natures as I dare say they will be for Spaine against all the world. Yea, (quoth hee) I assure your honours, I could not imagine so basely of their king and state, as I have heard them speake. Nay, their rage hath so perverted their judgements, that what I my self have seen and heard proceed from their king, beyond admiration, even to astonishment, they have slighted, misreported, scorned, and perverted to his disgrace, and my rejoycing, magnifying in the meane time our defects for graces.

Here the Duke Pastrana, president of the councell for Italy, steps up, and sayd, "He had lately read a booke of one Camdens, called his Annalles,[2] where, writing of a treaty of mariage long since, betwixt the English Elizabeth, and the French Duke of Andiou, he there observes, that the mariage was not seriously intended on eyther side, but politickly pretended by both states, counterchangeably, that each might effect their owne ends. There (quoth he) the English had the better, and I have some cause to doubt, since they can dissemble as well as wee, that they have their aymes underhand, as we have, and intend the match as little as we doe; and this, (quoth he) I beleeve the rather, because their king, as he is wise to consult and consider, so he is constant master of his word, and hath written and given strong reasons against matches made with persons of contrary religions; which reasons no other man can answere, and therefore doubtlesse he will not goe from, or councell his sonne to forsake those rules layd down so deliberately."

"Your excellency mistakes (quoth the ambassadour) the advantage was then on the side of the English, because the French sought the match; now it must be on ours, because the English seek it, who will grant any thing rather then breake off, and besides have no patience to temporize and dissemble in this or any other designe, as the French have long since well observed: for their necessities will give them neither time nor rest, nor hope, els where to be supplyed. As for their king, I cannot search into his heart, I must beleeve others that presume to know his minde, heare his words, and read his writings, and these relate what I have delivered: but for the rest of the people, as the number of those that are truely religious, are ever the least, and for the most part of least accompt, so is it there, where, if an equall opposition be made, betwixt their truly religious and ours, the remainder, which wilbe the greatest number, will stand indifferent, and fall to the stronger side, where there is most hope of gaine and glorie, for those two are the gods of the magnitude, and the multitude. Now, these see apparantly no certain supplyes for their wants but from us."

[1] Gondomar is said to have used this expression concerning the English musters, "That England had a great many people, but few men."

[2] See Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, at the year 1571.

"Yes, (quoth the duke) for even now you sayd, the general state, loathing this match, would redeeme the feare thereof, with half of their estates. It is therefore but calling a parliament, and the busines were soon effected."

"A parliament, (quoth the ambassadour) nay, therein lies one of the principall services I have done, in working such a dislike betwixt the king and the lower house, by the endevour of that honourable earle, and admirable engine, (a sure servant to us and the Catholike cause whilst he lived) as the king will never indure parliament againe, but rather suffer absolute want, then receive conditionall relief from his subjects. Besides, the matter was so cunningly carried the last parliament, that, as in the Powder Plot, the fact effected, should have been imputed to the puritans, (the greatest zealots of the Calvinian sect) so the propositions which damde up the proceedings of this parliament, howsoever they were invented by Romane Catholiques, and by them intended to disturbe that session, yet were propounded in favour of the puritans, as if they had been hammered in their forge. Which very name and shadow the king hates, it being a sufficient aspertion to disgrace any person, to say he is such, and a sufficient barre to stop any suite, and utterly to crosse it, to say it smels of, or inclines to that partie. Moreover, there are so many about him who blow this cole, fearing their owne stakes if a parliament should inquire into their actions, that they use all their art and industrie to withstand such a councell; perswading the king, he may rule by his absolute prerogative without a parliament, and thus furnish himself, by marying with us, and by other domestick projects, without subsidies; when levying of subsidies and taskes have been the onely use princes have made of such assemblies. And wheras some free mindes amongst them, resembling our nobilitie, who preserve the privilege of subjects against soveraign invasion, call for the course of the common lawe (a lawe proper to their nation) these other tyme servers cry the lawes down, and cry up the prerogative, wherby they prey upon the subject, by suites and exactions, milk the estate and keep it poore, procure themselves much suspition amongst the better, and more judicious sort, and hate amongst the oppressed commons; and yet, if there should be a parliament, such a course is taken, as they shal never choose their sheere knights and burgesses freely, who make the greater half of the body thereof; for these being to be elected by most voices of freeholders in the countrey where such elections are to be made, are caried which way the great persons who have lands in those countries please, who, by their letters, command their tenants, followers and friends, to nominate such as adhere to them, and for the most part, are of our faction, and respect their owne benefit or grace, rather then their countries good; yea, the countrey people themselves, will every one stand for the great man their lord, or neighbour, or master, without regard of his honesty, wisdome, or religion. That which they ayme at (as I am assured of by faithful intelligence) is to please their landlords, and so to renue their lease, in which regard they will betray their countrey, and religion too, and elect any man that may most profite their particular. Therefore, it is unlikely there should ever be a parliament, and impossible the kings debts should be payd, his wants sufficiently repaired, and himselfe left ful handed, by such a course, and indeed, (as it is generally thought) by any other course but by a mariage with us. For which cause, whatsoever project we list to attempt, enters safely at that dore, whilst their policie lies a sleepe and will not see the danger. I have made triall of these particulars, and found fewe exceptions in this generall rule.

"Thereby I and their owne wants togither, have kept them from furnishing their navye, which being the wall of their iland, and once the strongest in christendome, lyes now at roade, unarmed and fit for ruine. If ever we doubted their strength by sea, now we need not; there are but few ships or men able to looke abroade or to live in a storme, much lesse in a sea-fight. This I effected, by bearing them in hand the furnishing a navy bred suspition in my master, and so would avert his mind from this match, the

hope of which rather then they would loose, they would loose almost their hope of heaven.

" Secondly, all their voyages to the East Indies I permit, rather with a colourable resistance then a serious; because I see them not helpful but hurtfull to the state in generall, carying out gould and silver, bringing home spice, silks, feathers, and the like toyes, and insensible wasting the common stock of coyne and bullyon, whilst it fills the custome-house and some private purses, who thereby are inabled to keep this discommodity on foote by bribes; espetially so many great persons (even statesmen) being venturers and sharers in the gaine. Besides this wasteth their marriners, not one of ten returning, which I am glad to heare, for they are the men we stand in feare of.

" 3. As for their West Indian voyages, I withstand them in earnest, because they begin to inhabit there, and to fortifie themselves; and may in tyme there perhaps raise another England to withstand our new Spaine in America, as this old England opposeth our present state, and cloudes the glorious extent thereof in Europe. Besides, there they trade for commodities without wast of their treasure, and often return gould for knives, glasses, or the like trifles, and that without such losse of their mariners as in other places. Therefore I crost whatsoever intendements were projected for Virginea or the Bermudas; because I see they may be hereafter really helpefull unto them, as now they serve for draines to unload their populous state, which else would overflow its own banks by continuance of peace, and turne head upon it self, or make a body fit for any rebellion.

" And so farre I prevayled herein, as I caused most of the recusants, who were sharers, to withdraw their venters, and discourage the work, so that besides private persons, unable to effect much, nothing was done by the publique purse. And we know by experience, such voyages and plantations are not effected without great meanes to sustaine great difficulties, and with an unwearied resolution and power to meete all hazards and disasters with strong helpes and continuall supplyes, or else the undertaking proves idle.

" 4. Fourthly, by this meanes likewise I kept the voluntary forces from Venice, till it was almost too late to set out; and had a hope that work of seacrecy should have broken forth to action before these could have arrived to succour them.

" 5. Fiftly, I put hard for the cautionary townes (which our late King Philip, of happy memory, so aymed at, accounting them the keyes of the Low Countries) that they might be delivered to his Catholicke Majestie as to the proper owner; and had perhaps prevayled, but that the profest enemy to our state and church, who dyed shortly after, gave counsell to restore them to the rebellious states, as one that knew popular commonwealthes to be better neighbours, surer friends, and lesse dangerous enemyes, then monarchies; and so by his practise rescued them from my handes, and furnished the Excheaquer from thence for that tyme. Neyther was I much greeved at this, because the dependancy they had before of the English seemed now to be cut off, and the interest the English had in them and their cause to be taken away, which must be fully and finally effected before we can hope eyther to conquer them or England, who, holding togither, are too strong for the world at sea, and therefore must be disunited, before they can be overcome. This point of state is acknowledged by our most experienced pentioner and sure friend Monsieur Barnevelt, whose succeeding plots to this end shall beare witnes for the depth of his judgement.

" 6. But the last service I did for the state, was not the least, when I underwrought that admirable engine Raleigh, and so was the cause of his voyage (threatning much daunger and damage to us) was overthrowne, and himselfe returning in disgrace, I pursued almost to death; neither (I hope) need I say almost, if all things hit right, and all strings hold. But the determination of my commission, would not permit me longer to stay to follow him to execution, which I desired the rather, that by concession I might have wrung from the inconsiderate English, an acknowledgement of my masters right in

those places, punishing him for attempting there, though they might prescribe for the first foot: and this I did to stop their mouthes hereafter, and because I would quenche the heate and valour of that nation, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy as to looke out at sea, or breathe upon our coastes. And lastly, because I would bring to an ignominious death that old pyrat, who is one of the last now living, bred under that deceased English virago, and by her flesht in our blood and ruine.[1] To doe this I had many agents, first, divers courtiers who were hungrie and gaped wide for Spanish gould; secondly, some that bare him at the heart for inveterate quarrells; thirdly, some foreigners who having in vaine sought the elixer hitherto, hope to finde it in his head; fourthly, all men of the Romish faith who are of the Spanish faction, and would have been my bloodhounds, to hunt him or any such to death willingly, as persons hating the prosperity of their country, and the valour, worth, and wit of their owne nation, in respect of us and our catholike cause; lastly, I left behind me such an instrument, composed artificially of a secular understanding and a religious profession,[2] as he is every way adapted to scrue himself into the closet of the heart, and to worke upon feminine levity, who, in that country, have masculine spirits to command and pursue their plots unto death.[3] This, therefore, I accompt as done, and rejoyce in it, knowing it will be very profitable to us, grateful to our faction there; and for the rest, what though it be crosse to the people, or the clergy? we that onely negotiate for our owne gaine, and treate about this mariage for our owne ends, can con-

[1] Enough has been said of Raleigh in the foregoing tracts, expressly written upon the subject of his misfortunes, He was the last of Queen Elizabeth's captains, and had written many tracts against a peace with Spain, whose colonies in South America he considered as the natural prey of English sailors. A tract appeared in 1626, entitled, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost, or England's forwarner discovering a secret consultation, newly holden in the court of Spain, together with his tormenting of Count de Gondomar, and his strange affrightment and public recantation." It is republished in the Harleian Miscellany.

[2] "Don Caro Columbus, who was sent hither, was thought by many judicious men, to be the more prudent, and that Gondomar was but a buffoon compared with him: yet when he departed he was fain to leave this motto behind him, *Revertar*, emplying, That he had not accomplished what he came about: but Gondomar put a period to what he had designed; and perhaps it had been better for our nation if that politick Spaniard had never trod upon English ground. JOHN ROWLAND'S Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Robert Cotton's *Narrative of Gondomar's Embassy*. London, 1659.

[3] Wilson records of Gondomar while in England:

"That he cast out his baits not only for men; but if he found an Atalanta, whose tongue went nimbler than her feet, he would throw out his golden balls to catch them also. And, in these times, there were some ladies pretending to be wits, (as they called them,) or had fair nieces, or daughters, which drew great resort to their houses; and where company meet, the discourse is commonly of the times, for every man will vent his passion. These ladies he sweetned with presents, that they might allay such as were too sour in their expression, to stop them in the course, if they ran on too fast, and bring them to a gentler pace. He lived at Ely-house in Holborn, his passage to the court was ordinarily through Drury-lane, (the Covent-garden being then an inclosed field,) and that lane and the Strand were the places where most of the gentry lived; and the ladies, as he went, knowing his times, would not be wanting to appear in their balconies, or windows, to present him their civilities, and he would watch for it; and as he was carried in his litter, or bottomless chair, (the easiest seat for his fistula,) he would strain himself as much as an old man could to the humblest posture of respect. One day passing by lady Jacob's house in Drury-lane, she exposing herself for a salutation, he was not wanting to her; but she moved nothing but her mouth, gaping wide open upon him. He wondered at the lady's incivility, but thought it might be happily a yawning fit took her at that time; for trial whereof, the next day he finds her in the same place, and his courtesies were again accosted with no better expressions than an extended mouth. Whereupon he sent a gentleman to her, to let her know, That the ladies of England were more gracious to him, than to encounter his respects with such affronts. She answered, It was true, that he had purchased some of their favours at a dear rate, *and she had a mouth to be stopt as well as others.* Gondomar finding the cause of the emotion of her mouth, sent her a present, as an antidote, which cured her of that distemper."—WILSON, *apud Kennet.* ii. 726.

This old lady being "a widow, and of no good fame," was hereafter of considerable use to Gondomar in his intrigues, especially after she had entrapped and married a lawyer, a man of a subtle and pregnant wit; and many other damsels, of more beauty than fame, made their own intrigues subservient to those of the Spanish ambassador.

clude or breake off when we see our time, without respect of such as can neither profit us, nor hurt us; for I have certaine knowledge that the commons generally are so effeminate and cowardly, as that they are at their musters, (which are seldome and slight, onely for the benefit of their muster masters) of a thousand souldiers, scarce one hundred dare discharge a musket, and of that hundred, scarce one can use it like a souldier: and for their armes, they are so ill provided, that one corselet serveth many men, when such as shew their armes upon one day in one place, lend them to their friends in other places, to shew when they have use. And this, if it be spied, is onely punished by a mulct in the purse, which is the officers aime, who, for his advantage, winks at the rest, and is glad to finde and cherish, by connivence, profitable faultes which increase his revenue. Thus stands the state of that poore miserable country, which had never more people and fewer men. So that if my master should resolve upon an invasion, the time never fits as at this present, securitie of this mariage and the disuse of armes having cast them into a dead sleepe, a strong and wakening faction being ever amongst them ready to assist us, and they being unprovided of shipps and armes, or hearts to fight, a universal discontentment filling all men. This I have from their muster masters and captaines who are many of them of our religion, or of none, and so ours, ready to be bought and sould, and desirous to be my masters servants in fee.

"Thus much for the state particularly, wherein I have bent myselfe to weaken them and strengthen us, and in all these have advanced the catholick cause, but especially in procuring favours for all such as favour that side, and crossing the other by all meanes. And this I practise myselfe, and give out to be generally practised by others, that whatsoever successe I finde, I still boast of the victory, which I doe to dishearten the heretiques, to make them suspitious one of another, espetially of their prince and their best statesmen, and to keep our own in courage, who by this meanes increase, otherwise would be in danger to decay.

"Now for religion, and for such designes as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policy of that late bishop of theirs (Bancroft[1]) who stird up and mainteyned a dangerous schisme, betweene our secular priests and jesuites, by which he discovered much weakness to the dishonour of our clergie, and prejudice of our cause. This taught me (as it did Barnevelt in the low countries) to worke secretly and insensibly between their conformists and non-conformists, and to cast an eye as farre as the Orcades; knowing that busynes might be stirred up there, that might hinder proceedings in England, as the French ever used Scotland, to call home the forces of England and so to prevent their conquests. The effect you have partly seen in the Earle of Argile, who sometimes was captaine for the king and church against the great Marques Huntley, and now fightes under our banner at Bruxells, leaving the crosses of St George and St Andrewe for the staffe of St James.[2] Neyther doe our hopes end here, but we daily expect more

[1] Bancroft, who afterwards succeeded Whitgift in the see of Canterbury, interposed in the disputes between the secular priests and jesuits, furnishing the former, whom he accounted men of loyal principles, with materials to write against their adversaries.

[2] Archibald, the seventh Earl of Argyle, when a very young man, commanded against the Catholic Earls of Huntly and Errol at the battle of Glenlivat, 1594, in which he was defeated. But in 1619, he became himself a convert to Rome, went abroad, and engaged in the Spanish service, where he distinguished himself. The following punning invective against this nobleman's conduct, was found in a manuscript note on Spottiswood's History:

Now Earl of *Guile* and Lord for-*Lorn* thou goes,
Leaving thy native Prince to serve his foes;
No faith in plaids, no trewth in tartan trews,
Cameleon-like they change a thousand hues.

The Earl of Argyle, having made his peace at court, returned to England, and died in 1638.

revolters, at least such a disunion as will never admit solid reconcilement, but will send some to us, and some to Amsterdam. For the king, (a wise and vigillent prince,) labouring for a perfect union betwixt both the kingdomes, which he sees cannot be effected, where the least ceremony in religion is continued, divers sharp and bitter braules from thence arising, whilst some striving for honour more then for trueth, preferrs their owne way and will, before the generall peace of the church and the edification of soules, he, I say, seekes to worke both churches to uniformitie, and to this end made a journey into Scotland, but with no such success as he expected, for divers of ours attended the traine, who stirred up humors and factions, and cast in scruples and doubts, to hinder and crosse the proceedings; yea those that seeme most adverse to us, and averse from our opinions, by their disobedience and example helpe forward our plotts; and these are incouraged by a factious and heady multitude, by a faint and irresolute clergy, (many false brethren being amongst their bishops,) and by the prodigal nobilitie who mainteyne these stirrs in the church, that thereby they may safely keepe their church livings in their hands, which they have most sacreligiously seased upon in the time of the first deformation, and which they feare would be recovered by the clergy, if they could be brought to brotherly peace and agreement; for they have seene the king very bountifull in this kinde, having lately increased their pentions, and settled the clergy a competent maintenance; and besides, out of his own meanes which in that kingdom is none of the greatest, having brought in and restored whole bishopriks to the church which were before in lay-mens hands, a great part of the nobilities estates consisting of spirituall lands, which makes them cherish the puritanicall faction, who will be content to be trencher fed with scraps and crumms, and contributions and arbitrary benevolences from their lords, and lairds and ladies, and their adherents and followers."

"But, (quoth the inquisitor-generall) how if this act of the kinges, wherein he is most earnest and constant, should so farre thrive as it should effect a perfect union both in the church and common-wealth. I tell you it would in my conceite be a great blowe to us, if, by a generall meeting, a generall peace should be concluded, and all their forces bent against Rome, and we see their politick king aimes at this."

"True, (quoth Gondamore) but he takes his marke amisse. Howsoever he understands the people and their inclination better then any man, and better knowes how to temper their passions and affections, (for, besides that he is hindred there in Scotland underhand by some, for the reasons before recited, and by other great ones of ours, who are in great place and authoritie amongst them) he is likewise deluded in this point, even by his owne clergy at home in England, who pretend to be most forward in the cause. For they considring, if a general uniformity were wrought, what an inundation would follow, whilst all, or most of theirs, (as they feare) would flock thither for preferment, as men pressing towards the sunne for light and heate; and so their owne should be unprovided; these, therefore, (I say) howsoever they beare the king fayrly in hand, are underhand against it, and stand stiffe for all ceremonies to be obtruded, with a kind of absolute necessity upon them, when the other will not be almost drawne to receive any. When, if an abatement were made, doubtless they might be drawne to meet in the middest; but there is no hope of this with them, where neyther party deales seriously but onely for the present, to satisfy the king; and so there is no feare on our side that affections and opinions so divers, will ever be reconciled and made one: Their bishop of St. Andrewes[1] stands almost alone in the cause, and pulls upon himselfe the labour, the loss, and the envy of all, with little proficiency, whilst the adverse faction

[1] The no less wise than excellent John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Andrews, was King James's best instrument in labouring to bring about a conformity between the Churches of England and Scotland, which, says his biographer, the Bishop of Winchester, "had we on both sides been worthy of, might have proved a wall of brass to both nations."

have as sure friends, and as good intelligence about the king as he hath; and the same post, perhaps, that brings a packet from the king to him, brings an other from their abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and counsels, and preparing them aforehand for opposition: this I know for truth, and this I rejoyce in, as conduceing much to the catholick good."

"But, (quoth the nuntio) are there none of the hereticall preachers busy about this match? me thinks their fingers should itch to be writing, and their tongues burn to be prating of this busynes, especially the puritanicall sort, howsoever the most temperate and indifferent cary themselves."

"The truth is, my lord, (quoth the ambassadour) that privately what they can, and publikely what they dare, both in England and Scotland, all for the most part, (except such as are of our faith) oppose this match to their utmost, by prayers, counsels, speeches, wishes. but if any be found longer tongued then his fellowes, we have still meanes to charme their sawcynes, to silence them, and expell them the courte, to disgrace them and crosse their preferments, with the imputation of pragmatick puritanisme. For instance, I will relate this one particular; A doctor of theirs, and a chaplaine in ordinary to the king, gave many reasons in a letter against this marriage, and propounded a way how to supply the kings wantes otherwise, which I understanding, so wrought underhand, that the doctor was committed, and hardly escaped the danger of his presumptuous admonition, though the state knewe his intent was honest, and his reasons good.[1] Wherein we, on the other side, (both here and with the Archduke) have had books penned, and pictures printed, directly against their king and state,[2] for which their ambassadours have sought satisfaction of us in vayne, not being able to stay the print, or so much as to touch the hem of the authors garment. But we have an evasion which hereticks misse, our clergy being freed from the temporall sword, and so not included in our treaties and conditions of peace, but at libertie to give any hereticall prince the mate when they list; wheras theirs are liable to accompt and hazard, and are musled for barking, when ours may both bark and bite too. The councell table and the Starr-

[1] George Hakewill, a learned divine, Arch-deacon of Surrey, and Chaplain, not to the King, but to Charles when Prince of Wales, had written a treatise against the match with Spain, which he shewed to Mr Murray, the Prince's tutor, and to the Prince himself. Charles, either startled by the reasoning, or, with a view to punish Hakewill for his bold interference, communicated the treatise to the King, in consequence of which, not only the author himself, but Murray, and all who were supposed concerned in it, were, in August 1621, committed to prison. Hakewill was shortly after liberated, but dismissed from his attendance on the Prince.—Wood's *Ath. Oxon. I. col.* 124. Weldon, with his usual malice, adds some circumstances highly discreditable to Charles. Hakewill, according to that author, delivered the treatise to him with these words:

"Sir, I beseech you make use of this, by reading it yourself, but if you shew it to your father, I shall be undone for my good will." The Prince returned him many thanks, and assured him, it should never go farther than the cabinet of his own breast; but withall, he asked him to whom he had shewed it? Hakewill replyed, the Archbishop hath read it, who returning him it, said to him, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.' Besides him, he told the Prince, he had only shewed it to Mr Murray, the tutor, who belike being better acquainted with his master's perfidious disposition than the other, did then dissuade him from delivering it to the Prince, for, saith he, he will betray you. And it so fell out, for within lesse then two houres after his said engagement to the doctor, he presents it to his father; upon which he, or any through whose hands and cognizance it had passed before, were all under a disgrace, and banished the court."—*The Court and Character of King James. Whereunto is now added, The Court of King Charles.* London, 1651. p. 217.

Hakewill was elected Rector of Exeter College, but never resided there; for when the great rebellion broke out, he retired to the Rectory of Hanton in Devon, where he died in 1649.

[2] Nothing in the conduct of James irritated the English nation more than the derision of foreigners, expressed in a thousand caricatures and lampoons against his supine cowardice. In one print he was represented wearing a scabbard without a sword; in another, with a sword which several persons were in vain endeavouring to draw. At Brussels, he was pictured with empty pockets and an inverted purse; and at Antwerp, his daughter, the Queen of Bohemia, was represented like an Irish beggar, with her hair about her ears, and her child at her back, while James followed her, bearing the cradle. And these malicious inuendos were improved by suitable mottoes. So that the King of England, and in him the mighty kingdom which he represented, seemed to have become the derision of all Europe.—Wilson's *Life and Reign of James I. in Kennet's History of England*, Vol. I. p. 749.

Chamber doe soe terrifie them as they dare not riot, but run at the stirrop in excellent command, and come in at the least rebuke. They call their preaching in many places standing up, but they crouche, and dare not stand up nor quest, behave themselves like setters, silent and creeping on their bellyes, lick the dust which our priests shake from their bewtifull feete."

"Now, (quoth the Duke of Lerma,) satisfie me about our owne clergy how they fare. For there were here petitions made to the king in the name of the distressed, afflicted, persecuted and imprisoned priests, that his majestie would interceed for them, to free them from the intollerable burdens they groaned under, and to procure their liberties: and letters were directed from us to that end, that you should negotiate this demaund with all speede and diligence."

"Most excellent prince, (replyed Gondamore,) I did your command with a kinde of command my selfe: not thinking it fit to make it a suite in your name or my masters, I obteyned them liberty to walk freely up and downe, to face and outface their accusers, judges, magistrates, bishops; and to exercise their functions, almost as freely, altogi ther as safely, as at Rome."

Here the Nuntio objected, "That he did not well to his judgement in procuring their liberty, since they might doe more good in prison then abroad. Because in prison they seemed to be under persecution, and so were pittyed of others; and pitty of the person prepares the affection further. Besides then they were carefull over their owne lives to give no offence. But abroade they might be scandalous in their lives, as they use to be in Rome and Spayne, and other Catholick countryes; and so the opinion of their holynes, which upholds their credit and cause (against the maried clergy,) would soone decay."

But the ambassador replyed, "He considered those inconveniences, but besides a superior command, he sawe the profit of their liberty more then of their restraint. For now they might freely conferre and were ever practising, and would doubtlesse produce some worke of wonder. And besides, by reason of their authority and means to change places, did apply themselves to many persons: whereas in prison they onely could deale with such as came to bee caught or were their owne before. And this (quoth he) I adde as a secret, that as before they were mainteyned by private contributions to devout Catholiques even to excess: so much more now shall they be able to gather great summes, to weaken the state and furnish them for some high attempt, by the example of Cardinall Woolsey barrelling up gold for Rome. And this they may easily doe since all Catholiques rob the hereticall priests, and withhold tythes from them by fraude or force, to give to these of their owne to whom it is properly due. And if this be spied, it is an easy matter to lay all upon the Hollander, and say he carries the coyne out of the land (who are forward enough in deed in such practises), and so ours shall not onely be excused, but a flawe made betwixt them to weaken their amities and beget suspition betwixt them of each others love."

"But amongst all these priests (quoth the inquisitor generall) did you remember that old, reverend, father Baldwin, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalfe against the parliament house? such as he, deserving so highly, adventuring their lives so resolutely for the Catholique cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby to incourage others to the like holy undertakings."[1]

"Holy father (quoth Gondomor) my principal care was of him, whose life and liberty when I had with much difficulty obtayned of the king, I solemnly went in person, attended with all my traine, and divers other welwillers, to fetch him out of the

[1] "Many Jesuits," says Wilson, "fared the better for Gondomar's intercession, he relieving numbers, among the rest one Bauldwin an arch-priest, accused to have had a hand in the gun-powder treason, and who had been seven years in the Tower, a man of a dangerous and mischievous spirit, who was after his realease made Rector of the Jesuits college at St Omers."—Wilson's *Life and Reign, &c. apud Kennet*, Vol. II. p. 726.

Tower where he was in durance. Assoon as I came in his sight I behaved myself after so lowly and humble a manner, that our adversaries stood amazed to behold the reverence we give to our ghostly fathers. And this I did to confound them and their contemptuous clergy, and to beget an extraordinary opinion of holynes in the person, and pietie in us, and also to provoke the English Catholiques to the like devoute obedience, that therby at any time these Jesuites (whose authority was somewhat weakned since the schisme betwixt them and the seculars, and the succeeding powder plot) may worke them to our ends, as masters their servants, tutors their schollers, fathers their children, kings their subjects. And that they may doe this the more boldly and securely, I have somewhat dasht the authoritie of their high commission; upon which wheras there are diverse pursevants (men of the worst kinde and condition, resembling our flies and familiars, attending upon the inquisition) whose office and employment it is to disturbe the Catholiques, search their houses for priests, holy vestments, bookes, beads, crucifixes, and the like religious appurtenances, I have caused the execution of their office to be slackened, that so an open way may be given to our spirituall instruments for the free exercise of their faculties. And yet when these pursevants had greatest authority, a small bribe in the countrey would blinde their eyes, or a little greater at court or in the Exchequer frustrate and crosse all their actions, so that their malice went of like squibs, made a great crack to fright children and new borne babes, but hurt no old men of Catholique spirits. And this is the effect of all other their courses of proceeding in this kinde, in all their judiciall courts, whether knowne Catholiques (convicted as they stile them) are often summond and cited, threatned and bound over, but the danger is past assoon as the officer hath his fee payd to him, then the execution goeth no further. Nay upon my conscience they are glad when there are offenders in that kinde, because they are bountifull: and the officers doe their best to favour them, that they may increase, and so their revenue and gaine come in freely.

"And if they should be sent to prison, even that place (for the most part) is made as a sanctuary to them: as the old Romans were wont to shut up such by way of restraint as they meant to preserve from the peoples fury; so they live safe in prison till we have time to worke there libertie and assure their lives. And in the mean time, there place of restraint is as a study unto them, where they have opportunity to confer togither as in a colledge, and to arme themselves in unity against the single adversary abroad."

"But (quoth the inquisitor generall) how doe they for bookes, when they have occasion eyther to write or dispute?"

"My lord, (replies Gondamor) all the libraries belonging to the Roman Catholiques through the land are at their command, from whence they have all such collections as they can require gathered to their hand, as well from thence as from all the libraries of both Univerities, and even the bookes themselves, if that be requisite. Besides, I have made it a principall part of my imployment, to buy all the manuscripts and other ancient and rare authours out of the hands of the heretiques, so that there is no great scholler dyes in the land but my agents are dealing with his books. In so much, as even there learned Isaack Causabons [1] library was in election without question to be ours; had not their vigilant king (who foresees all dangers, and hath his eye busy in every place) prevented my plot. For after the death of that great scholler, I sent to request a view and cataloge of his bookes with their price, intending not to be outvyed by any man, if mony would fetch them; because (besides the domage that side should

[1] Isaac Casaubon, on the 1st July 1614, finished an unsettled and wandering life, and was buried in Westminster Abbey His polemical fame had secured him a warm reception from James, who gave him two prebendaries, and a pension of £. 300 Casaubon, under the eye of the royal pedant himself, was chiefly engaged in writing against the Papists, particularly in attacking the Annals of Cardinal Baronius. But as his work entitled *De Rebus sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes* xvi, comes no lower than the year 34, he was said only to have destroyed the pinnacles of the castle of Baronius.

have received by their losse prosecuting the same story against Cardinall Baronius) we might have made good advantage of his notes, collections, castigations, censures, and criticismes, for our owne party, and framed and put out others under his name at our pleasure. But this was foreseene by their Prometheus, who sent that torturer of ours (the bishop of Winchester) to search and sort the papers, and to seal up the study: giving a large and princely allowance for them to the relickt of Causabon, togither with a bountifull pention and provision for her and hers. But this plot fayling at that tyme, hath not ever done so. Nor had the Universitie of Oxford so triumphed in their many manuscripts given by that famous knight sir Thomas Bodly, if eyther I had been then imployed, or this course of mine then thought upon; for I would labour what I might this way or any other way to disarme them, and either to translate their best authours hither, or at least to leave none in the hands of any but Roman Catholiques who are assuredly ours. And to this end, an especiall eye would be had upon the library of one sir Robert Cotton (an ingrosser of antiquities) that whensoever it come to be broken up (eyther before his death or after) the most choice and singular pieces might be gleaned and gathered up by a Catholique hand. Neyther let any man think, that descending thus lowe to petty particulars is unworthy an ambassadour, or of small avayle for the ends we ayme at; since we see every mountayne consists of severall sands, and there is no more profitable conversing for statesmen then amongst schollers and their books, especially where the king for whom we watch is the king of schollers, and loves to live almost altogither in their element. Besides, if at any meanes we can continue differences in their church, or make them wider, or beget distast betwixt their clergy and common lawyers (who are men of greatest power in the land) the benefit will be ours, the consequence great, opening a way for us to come in betweene, for personall quarrels produce reall questions."

As he was further prosecuting this discourse, one of the secretaries (who wayted without the chamber) desired entrance; and being admitted, delivered letters which he had newly received from a post, directed to the president and the rest of the councell, from his Catholique master, the contents whereof were to this effect.

"Right trusty and well beloved cousens and counsellors, we greete you well. Wheras we had a hope by our agents in England and Germany, to effect that great work of the western empire; and likewise, on the other side, to surprize Venice, and so incircling Europe at one instant, and infolding it in our armes, make the easier roade upon the Turke in Asia, and at length reduce all the world to our Catholique commaund. And whereas, to these holy ends we had secret and sure plots and projects on foot in all those places, and good intelligence in all courts:

"Know now, that we have received late and sad newes of the apprehension of our most trusty and able pensioner Barnevelt, [a] and of the discovery of other our intendements; so that our hopes are for the present adjourned till some other more convenient and auspicious time. We therefore will you presently, upon sight hereof, to breake off your consultation, and repaire straight to our presence, there to take further directions, and proceed as the necessity of time and cause should require."

With that his excellencie and the whole house, strook with amazement, crost their foreheads, rose up in sad silence, and brake off this treaty abruptly, and without tarriance, tooke horse and posted to courte. From whence expect newes the next fayre winde.

In the mean time, Let not those be secure, whom it concernes to be rowsed up,

[a] The celebrated Barnevelt was at the head of the Arminian party, as it was called in Holland, by means of which faction he hoped to have deprived the Prince of Orange of the office of Stadtholder. But Maurice of Orange proved too strong for Barnevelt, whom he brought to the block in 1620. The English puritans, who chiefly adhered to the doctrine of Calvin, considered the Arminians as friends to the Spanish interest.

knowing that this aspiring Nebuchadnezzar will not loose the glorie of his greatnes (who continueth still to magifie himselfe in his great Babel), untill it be spoken, thy kingdome is departed from thee. Dan. iv.

A true Relation and Journall of the Manner of the Arrivall, and magnificent Entertainment given to the high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Great Britaine, by the King of Spaine, in his Court at Madrid.

London: printed by John Haviland for William Barret. M.DC.XXIII. 4to. 35 pages.

The romantic expedition of Charles and Buckingham to Spain evinced, on the one part, no less rash impolicy, than the Spaniards, on the other, displayed generosity, good faith, honour, and disinterest. Every thing relating to so singular a passage of history ought to be preserved; the Editor has, therefore, added to the present collection the following Tract, giving an account of the reception of these unexpected visitants at the Spanish court. It may be compared with that of Howel, in the following letter from Madrid to Sir Thomas Savage:—"The great business of the match was tending to a period, the articles reflecting both upon church and state being capitulated, and interchangeably accorded on both sides, and there wanted nothing to consummate all things, when, to the wonderment of the world, the prince and the Marquis of Buckingham arrived at this court on Friday last, upon the close of the evening: they alighted at my Lord of Bristol's house, and the Marquis (Mr Thomas Smith) came in first, with a portmanteau under his arm; then (Mr John Smith) the prince was sent for, who staid a while on t'other side of the street in the dark. My Lord of Bristol, in a kind of astonishment, brought him up to his bedchamber, where he presently called for pen and ink, and dispatched a post that night to England, to acquaint his majesty how, in less than sixteen days, he was come safely to the court of Spain: that post went lightly laden, for he carried but three letters. The next day came Sir Francis Cottington and Mr Porter, and dark rumours ran in every corner, how some great man was come from England; and some would not stick to say, among the vulgar, it was the king; but towards the evening on Saturday, the marquis went in a close coach to court, where he had private audience of this king, who sent Olivares to accompany him back to the prince, where he kneeled and kissed his hands, and hugged his thighs, and delivered how unmeasurably glad his Catholic Majesty was of his coming, with other high compliments, which Mr Porter did interpret.—About ten o'clock that night the king himself came in a close coach, with intent to visit the prince, who, hearing of it, met him half way; and after salutations, and divers embraces, which past in the first interview, they parted late. I forgot to tell you, that Count Gondomar, being sworn counsellor of state that morning, having been before but one of the council of war, he came in great haste to visit the prince, saying he had strange news to tell him, which was, that an Englishman was sworn privy counsellor of Spain, meaning himself, who, he said, was an Englishman in his heart. On Sunday following, the king, in the afternoon, came abroad to take the air, with the queen, his two brothers, and the infanta, who were all in one coach; but the infanta sat in the boot, with a blue ribbon about her arm, of purpose that the prince might distinguish her: there were above twenty coaches besides of grandees, noblemen, and ladies, that attended them. And now it was publickly known among the vulgar that it was the Prince of Wales who was come; and the confluence of people before my Lord of Bristol's house was so great and greedy to see the prince, that, to clear the way, Sir Lewis Dives went out and took coach, and all the crowd of people went after him: so the prince himself a little after took coach, wherein there were the Earl of Bristol, Sir Walter Ashton, and Count Gondomar; and so went to the Prado, a place hard by, of purpose to take the air, where they staid till the king passed by. As soon as the infanta saw the prince, her colour rose very high, which we hold to be an impression of love and affection; for the face is oftentimes a true index of the heart. Upon Monday morning after, the king sent some of his prime nobles, and other gentlemen, to attend the prince in quality of officers, as one to be his major-domo (his steward), another to be master of the horse, and so to inferior offices; so that there is a compleat court now at my Lord of Bristol's house: but upon Sunday next the prince is to remove to the king's palace, where there is one of the chief quar-

ters of the house providing for him. By the next opportunity you shall hear more. In the interim I take my leave, and rest
Your most humble and ready servitor,
Madrid, 27. *Mar.* 1623 J. H."

On Friday, being the seventh of March, *stilo veteri*, about eight of the clocke in the evening, the Prince and the Lord Marquesse of Buckingham being all alone with the postillion (as they had rid post together three daies before) arrived at Madrid, and conveighed themselves with such secrecie into the house of the Earl of Bristoll, his majesties ambassador extraordinary to the King of Spaine, that for that night they were hardly knowne by any; but they could not be long concealed, for early upon the next day, being Saturday, there grew a whispering amongst many, as if the marquesse were come, but not a word of the prince. The same morning the Conde de Gondomar was advertised privatly of the arrivall, not onely of the lord marquesse, but of the prince also, and so hee went instantly to the Earle of Bristowes house. After hee had done reverence to his highnesse, and had passed an houre in his presence, and in discourse with his highnesse and those lords, it was desired that hee would give the king his master notice of the arrivall of the marquesse; but that he should say nothing of the prince at that time: at least, not in any such sort as that they might take knowledge of his being there. The Conde de Gondomar undertook it, and carried the newes thereof to the Conde de Olivares, who is that kings great favorite; and indeed a person who, for his noble condition and chose parts, doth well deserve the large portion which the king his master affordeth him of his estimation and affection. Hee conveighed what he knew to his majesty, and then withall sent to the marquesse, desiring earnestly that hee would give him leave to goe instantly and visit him; but the marquesse excused himselfe, and did expressly refuse it, through his desire of concealing the prince; and so they resolved upon another meeting place for the afternoone, which fell out to be the parke. The Conde therefore sent a coach to the lord marquesse, and his lordship tooke with him the Count de Gondomar, the Earle of Bristoll, and Sir Walter Aston, his majesties ordinary ambassador in that court. The Conde de Olivares was already expecting the lord marquesse, and at length they met, and spent more then an houre together, in great expressions of contentment and joy. After this, the Conde conducted the lord marquesse, and all that company, into the court, and so up to the king by a private way. At which time, the lord marquesse delivered the king our soveraignes letters to the King of Spaine, and so much passed betweene them as served to disclose that the prince was come, and at the Earle of Bristowes house, wherewith the king was extremely taken, and much transported with joy. His majesty sent a hearty salutation to the prince by the lord marquesse, wherewith his lordship returned to his highnesse, being extraordinarily satisfied, both with that kings princely courtesie, and his many noble parts otherwise. The Conde de Olivares conducted the lord marquesse home, and pressing even beyond his commission (for he was not yet to take knowledge of the princes arrivall) to kisse his highnesse hand, hee saw him, and spake with him. The prince received him nobly, and like the prince he is, and was very earnest with him to put on his hat, but the Conde would by no meanes do it, although hee bee a graunde of Spaine, and may therefore bee covered before his owne king.

During this visit, the marquesse desired the Conde, that he would oblige the prince by getting him a speedy sight of the infanta his mistresse; wherein he promised to doe his best endeavor, though it were in Lent, which hee said was a time of extraordinary recollection and reservation, and so they parted for the present, being all in great contentment one with another.

In conformity to the princes desire, his majesty (being that night acquainted with it

by the Conde) laid aside the consideration of the time, and instantly resolved to give his highnesse all satisfaction; and so he went abroad the next day at the houre appointed, which was about three o'clock in the afternoone, and to the Prado, being the certaine place agreed upon betweene them, his majesty conducting him with his queene, his sister the infanta, the infantes Don Carlos, and the Cardinall Don Fernando, his brethren; the Conde de Olivares, and the Conde de Gondomar, following him, with much of the nobility of that court, both of ladies and lords. The prince, on the other side, went disguised in the Duke of Cea's coach, and was attended in the same coach by the lord marquesse, the Earle of Bristoll, the Conde de Gondomar, and Sir Walter Aston; and so both the king and the prince made divers turnes and returnes in their severall coaches, and in severall parts of the towne and Prado (which is a place of recreation), where the nobility is often wont to take the aire; and every one of them saw each other in a cleare light, not being able to abstaine from saluting mutually with the hat as they passed by, though they had agreed to take no kind of notice of one another; and this was all they did for that time. The king and all that royall company returned by night by a world of torch-light, which made a most glorious shew.

Immediately after this, his majesty not being content with those single sights of the prince, sent the Conde de Olivares to pray him that they might meet, and embrace, and speake together, before they slept. The prince accepted of the occasion, but there rose a difference betweene about the manner; for the king did much presse the prince that he would accept of a visit from himselfe in the Earle of Bristolls house, and really his highnes had much adoe to refuse it, but yet he would by no meanes admit thereof. On the other side, the prince did offer to goe visit his majesty in his palace; but the king considering that that must needs be to the princes disadvantage, because he had no equipage, his majesty refused expressely, and it grew to be agreed betweene them, that it should be in the aforesaid Prado, and in the evening of the same Sunday, when it might be darke. Whereupon the Conde de Olivares said pleasantly, That he would by no meanes consent that his master should meet him, and especially by night, but upon even termes; that the prince was a great man at armes, and that even in the civill way, hee was strong in ambassadors and secretaries, whereas the king was in effect alone; that therefore he desired that the prince would lend him the marquesse, and that he might carry him to the court, and so he might come to that meeting with the king and him as a Spaniard, and not the princes servant for that time. The prince gave leave, with much content, that he should goe, and so he went, and the king brought him and the Conde de Olivares to the Prado. Now the king being first arrived, sent a private message to the prince, to let him know that he expected his highnesse: thereupon the prince made much haste, being attended by the Conde de Gondomar, the Earle of Bristoll, Sir Walter Aston, and Sir Francis Cottington, his highnesse secretary.

When they were upon the point of meeting, they all alighted out of their coaches, and the king embraced the prince, and made incomparable professions of his love and affection, and of the streight obligation which the king our soveraigne and his highnesse had cast upon him, by that maine act of confidence and favour.

Then his majestie tooke the prince into his coach, and made him perforce goe in first, and sit upon his right hand, and so they continued some good time in great sweetnesse of conversation, the Earle of Bristoll interpreting betweene them. At the parting, the king lighted out of his coach with the prince, and used much endeavour to have conducted the prince to his coach, but the prince would by meanes suffer it, and so they parted in the mid-way.

On Munday the tenth of March, his highnesse was made acquainted, by the Conde de Olivares and the Conde de Gondomar, whom the king had sent to visit him, that the king was that morning going in devotion to a monastery called the Merced, and that he would passe the streets on horsebacke. When his highnesse shewed some

willingnesse to be a spectator thereof, the Conde de Olivares carried him to a convenient place, where he had a full view of all. That evening his highnesse went into the fields, by the river side, to take the aire; and the Conde de Olivares and the Conde de Monterey went againe to visit him from the king, and they two waited on him in discourse above an houre.

On Tuesday his majesty sent againe to see how his highnesse did, and withall to let him know, that he could not but acknowledge the good service, which the conde de Gondomar had done him, in printing such a character of his sincere affection, in the heart of the King of Great Britaine, and of his highnesse; as that they should thinke fit to put such a pretious treasure into his hands, as his highnesse was. And that therefore he could not suffer any subject of his to be unadvanced, whom he found so well accepted by the King of Great Britaine, and his highnesse. For which cause he was resolved to make him of his counsell of state, though hee accounted him indeed as an English man. Nay, rather, that for that respect he would admit him, to the end, that both the King of Great Britaine, and his highnesse, might be more confident of his proceedings, and made privy to the most inward passages. But the king withall, sent his highnesse word, that he desired him to give the first notice of it to the conde, and receive his thankes. The prince sent him the newes thereof, by Master Secretary Cottington; the conde came to cast himselfe at the princes feet, for so high an honour and favour, and so being addressed by his highnesse to the court, was instantly sworne.

In the afternoone of that day, the prince having intimated a desire to see the king, was conducted and attended by the Conde de Olivares, towards the palace, through a backe way. But before he could arrive there, hee was prevented by the king; who, being attended by the Marquesse of Carpio alone, went downe in private manner, thorow a garden to meet his highnesse. Where, after they had saluted one another with a manner of curtesie, which indeed was princely, the king, by the force of his favour, put him still first into his coach, and seated him on the right hand, and then entred himselfe, and sate by him; the Lord Marquesse, and the Conde de Olivares, sitting at the other end of the coach, and the Earle of Bristow in one of the sides, and the Marquesse of Carpio in the other. Thus they went towards a house of pleasure, belonging to the king, neere Madrid, called the Caso del Campo. Where, after they had spent about an houre, the king making extraordinary great professions of his affection to the king our soveraign, and the prince: it was found before they were aware, that his majesty had brought his highnesse a mile and a halfe on his way homewards; and indeed almost to the Earle of Bristoll's house. The prince would faine have attended the king backe towards the palace, but he would not suffer him.

His highnesse did then make a little turne another way, and before hee could get to the Earle of Bristoll's, the Conde de Olivares (having already left the king) was ready there to attend his highnesse. Shortly after, the duke of Infantado, mayordomo mayor to the king, did, by speciall commandment from his majestie (for without order from the king, none as yet did visit the prince) repaire unto his highnesse, to kisse his hands, and offered him his uttermost service, with great reverence, in whatsoever hee should be pleased to command.

On the two next daies, being Wednesday and Thursday, there was not much done, of particular and externall note. The mornings were spent by his highnesse in giving order for his owne private affaires; and the afternoones, for the most part, in recreating himselfe abroad in the fields; the Earle of Bristoll waiting on him with his hawkes

Onely, upon the Thursday night after supper, there were sent to his highnesse, to entertaine the time, choice persons both of men and women, selected out of foure companies of comedians, who danced several kindes of dances before him, and spent about two houres therein, the Condes of Monterey and Gondomar being present.

On Friday, being the fourteenth, his highnesse stirred not abroad all the morning;

but first sent Master Secretary Cottington, and afterward the Earle of Bristoll, to the Conde de Olivares: and it should seeme to have beene not onely about matter of complement, but for some particular businesse. After dinner, the Condes de Monterey and Gondomar went to his highnesse, and conducted him againe to the Caso del Campo, where hee found the king, and with his majesty the infantes Don Carlos, and Don Fernando the cardinall. his brothers, whom his highnesse had not seene before that time. They saluted, embraced, and strived mutually to kisse the hands of each other; after which, they all tooke horse together, and entertained themselves a good while, in beholding sundry men which were disposed there on foot, of purpose to shoot at such kinds of game, as they found in the place. And so there were hares started, patridges sprung, and other fowle put up to wing: they killed of all sorts as they went, either running or flying by them. Upon the end of which pastime, the king (notwithstanding all the resistance which was in the princes power to make) brought him againe on his way homeward, to the same place whither hee had accompanied him on the Tuesday night before; the Condes de Monterey, and Gondomar, attending his highnesse to the Earle of Bristoll's house.

Upon this Friday, (for a further expression of the great joy which that king had conceived at the arrival of his highnesse, and for his presence in that place) his majesty commanded, that a generall pardon of all offences should instantly be proclaimed and published, and that all the prisoners who were restrained within the whole kingdome or continent of Spaine, should be released; reserving onely the rights and interests of third persons, as in the case of debts and appeales for murder and the like. By vertue of which pardon and proclamation, some hundreds of prisoners in Madrid were then freed, and all the prisons emptied; divers offenders, who had taken sanctuary in churches, and retired to the ambassadors houses, (which are highly priviledged in that court,) having notice thereof before, did, by way of anticipation, dispose of themselves into the hands of justice, and so made a purchase of their liberty by their imprisonment.

Instant order was also given, that all the English which were surviving in the gallies, and who had beene condemned to that servitude during life, for committing of piracy, and many other mortal crimes, should be released without delay. And this grace which his majesty manifested in contemplation of the prince, hath strangely encreased the generall applause wherewith he is received and observed in that court by all.

Saturday being the fifteenth, was spent at home by his highnesse in private manner, in regard of the solemne entry hee was to make the next day, which was designed by the king, to be performed with the same magnificence and splendour as is used at the coronation of the Kings of Spaine. Onely a little before dinner, the Conde de Monterey went to the prince, and told his highnesse that the king had sent two horses thither, and desired him to make choise upon which he would be pleased to ride the day following, for that the king would ride upon the horse which he should leave. Whereupon his highnesse passed out into a garden, not farre from the Earl of Bristols house, where, like himselfe, hee tooke paines and pleasure to try them both; to the end that if there were a difference, hee might take the lesse excellent to himselfe, and returne the other to the king.

On Sunday, being the sixteenth, when it was already well towards noone, there went four councellours of state, Don Augustine Mexia, the Marquesse de Montes Claros, Don Fernando Giron, and the Conde de Gondomar, to waite upon the prince at the Earle of Bristols house, and to attend his highnesse to a famous monastery, called Saint Jeronimo, neere Madrid; from whence the Kings of Spaine are wont to goe when they make their solemne entry into that towne, and where the king had a quarter reserved for the honour and entertainment of his owne royall person. There was his highnesse feasted privatly at dinner by his majesties appointment, but yet as by the Conde de Gondomar, who hath the keeping of that quarter in the said monastery. The after-

noone, till foure of the clocke, was spent by his highnesse in giving audience to the inquisidor generall, and to the severall bodies of counsels, which doe all reside in that court, and did all present themselves to the prince, excepting onely the councell of state, which never maketh any visit in corps, but all the rest did performe that duty of observance, namely, the councell-royall of Castilia, the councell-royall of Aragon, the councell of Portugall, the councell of Italy, the councell of military orders, the councell of the Indies, the councell of the treasury, and the councell of the exchequer.

The corregidor, and the regidores of Madrid, which are the persons who have the government of that towne, did also desire audience of the prince; for they all had beene commanded by the king to present themselves humbly before his highnesse. And here it is to be observed, once for all, that all the subjects of that kingdome, who had occasion to wait upon the prince, did strive with as much earnestnesse as good manners would permit, to have actually kissed his highnesse hands. But the prince was resolute in not accepting that humble token of their love, as conceiving it to be fitter betweene the naturall subjects and their soveraigne.

But about foure in the afternoone of that Sunday, the king went to see the prince, whom his highnesse received at the gate below. They made no very long stay there when once the complements were ended, but all things being put in order for his highnesse entry, they disposed themselves to be going. And whereas the king with his nobility came in coaches thither, the whole court did then mount on horsebacke, after the example of his majesty and the prince. The king did still put the prince into a necessity of taking the right hand, and so they passed towards the palace.

But as soone as they entered upon the liberties of Madrid, they were expected, and attended by foure-and-twenty regidores of the towne, who had there a large canopie of rich tissue, and it belonged to them by office to carry it over the king. They were all apparelled in rich cloth of tissue, lined with crimson cloth of gold. The king tooke the prince under the canopie, and kept him still on his right hand. Before them went the courts and ministers of justice, then the grandes, and all the other principall nobles of that court, in colours, and great bravery; and they were attended by their followers, in severall liveries, which were very rich. Next, after the king and prince, went the Lord Marquesse of Buckingham, and the Conde de Olivares, executing the places of masters of the horse to them both, the Conde giving the right hand to the Lord Marquesse; and either of them had a horse of state, as the ensigne of the place he held.

The canopy, which was to be the fee of the Conde de Olivares, as master of the horse to the king, was presented afterward by the town to the Lord Marquesse, with all other fees belonging to that office, because he served that day as master of the horse to the prince, in whose honour the action was performed. Then proceeded the Earle of Bristol, betweene the eldest councellour of state, and one of the gentlemen of the kings chamber; and Sir Walter Aston after him, accompanied in like manner; the rest both of the counsaile of state, and of the gentlemen of the kings chamber, following them. After whom went that goodly guard which is called *de los Archeros,* who were bravely clad and arraied.

In the way as the triumph passed, all the streets were adorned, in some places with rich hangings, in others with curious pictures, and heere and there certaine scaffolds were sprinckled, whereupon the bodies of those councells sat to see, which formerly had beene with the prince to doe him reverence. And in other streets of the same passage, divers representations were made of the best comedians, dancers, and men of musicke, to give contentment to the royall paire, as they passed by.

As soone as the king and prince were arrived, and had lighted at the palace, there was great pressing betweene them two for the hindmost place; but in fine, they went hand in hand, or rather indeed imbracing mutually their bodies with one anothers armes, all the while as they were going up towards the queenes side, to whom the king

was already conducting the prince. The queene, though shee were in a very large roome, would by no meanes expect the prince under her state; but went downe to within two paces of the very doore, to meet his highnesse, and then conducted him to her cloth of state, where there were set three equal chaires, the queens in the middle, with the prince on her right hand, and the king on the left. The roome was as richly furnished as may well bee imagined; but the chiefe riches thereof consisted in that living tapistry of ladies and noblemens children, called Menines, which stood and garnished all the roome round about, close by the walles.

The king from hence conveighed the prince to the quarter assigned him, and the queen would needs accompany him to the doore of the same great roome, bowing very low unto him at the parting, in such manner as well expressed the value her majestie set upon his person, and the honour shee desired to doe him.

The king, in the meane time, was upon his way to the princes quarter, which was all very sumptuously furnished; and, at the entrance thereof, stood the infantes Don Carlos, and the Cardinall Don Ferdinando, his brothers; so they all three conducted the prince into his bed-chamber, where the king tooke his leave for that time. Onely there, his majestie was content to take the hand of the prince, because his highnesse was now as in his owne proper home. And although the prince was even importunately bent to attend the king backe to his owne quarter, yet the king would by no meanes suffer that he should returne any further than to make one only step out of his owne lodgings.

The prince had not beene there an hour, before the queene sent the Conde de Benavente, who is her mayor-domo mayor, with sumptuous and curious presents to his highnesse, namely, a faire great basen of massie gold, borne by two men, and a curious imbrodered night-gowne, laid double in it Besides, her majesty sent him 2 great truncks, bound with bands of pure gold, and thicke strucke with nailes of gold, and locks and keyes of the same. The coverings and linings whereof are of amber leather, and the trunks full of severall delicacies of curious linnen and perfumes. Besides these trunks, shee sent him a faire rich deske, every drawer wherof was full of rarities. The Countesse of Olivares sent also a noble present to the Lord Marquesse of Buckingham.

Fireworks were made, and torches set in all the windowes of Madrid, for three nights together, having been so commanded by proclamation. And it is strange to heare, with what acclamations and benedictions the voice of the people doth attend the prince, whensoever hee is discerned to be abroad, crying *Viva el Principe de Galles, Viva el Principe de Galles.* The king hath also commanded, that his highnesse bee attended by all officers, and served in all points as himself is. All they who wait upon the princes person, are in the rancke or qualitie of lords. The king hath sent him halfe his owne guard. Hee hath assigned to his highnesse for the mayor-domo mayor, or high steward of his house, the Conde de Monterey, who is brother-in-law to the Conde de Olivares, president of Italy, of the councell of state, and a graunde of Spaine. Hee hath given him, besides, two other mayor-domos to serve him, namely, the Conde de Gondomar, and the Conde de la Puebla. And, as for the Conde de Monterey, his majesty having observed the diligent affection which he daily carried to the princes service, did bestow a gilt key upon him in contemplation thereof, whereby hee was *ipso facto* made a gentleman of the kings chamber; and it was done the rather, for that so hee should bee the better able to comply with his new place of mayor-domo mayor.

The king did also send two gilt keys to his hignesse, desiring him to bestow them upon what English he would, to the end that his palace might be all open unto them; whereupon his highnesse gave one of them to the Lord Marquesse of Buckingham, and the other to the Earle of Bristoll.

His majesty hath, moreover, imposed upon divers councellors of state, that some one of them shall daily attend in the princes quarter by turnes, to understand his pleasure

from time to time; and that foure grandes, namely, the Admirall of Castile, the Duke of Cea, the Marquesse of Velada, and the Duke of Yjar, be ever at hand, to court, accompany, and attend the prince, whithersoever his highnesse shall be pleased to goe.

The next day after the prince was conducted to the palace, all the counsailes came to wait upon his highnesse, and to let him know that they had received expresse order from the king their master, to performe and obey all consulates and commands, which should come from his highnesse, were it for the disposing of any offices, encomienda's, or any other provisions of grace, which should happen to fall, during the residence of his highnesse in that court, and that as exactly, as if the king himselfe should command any such thing under his hand.

There are also said to bee other great triumphs in preparation, and letters mandatory sent to the principall nobility of Aragon, that they come and give attendance at the court, upon the princes pleasure, because they have the reputation to be excellent men at armes. And that the court may appeare in greater lustre and glory, the king hath suspended for so long as his highnesse shall be there, the edict which his majestie lately had caused to be proclaimed, for the restraint of all excesse in point of apparell.

His majestie hath also beene pleased to take particular care that the Lord Marquesse of Buckingham be well lodged in the palace, in a quarter of his owne, neere adjoyning to the prince, and hath commanded him to be served with a full and plentifull diet, and to be also nobly attended, besides many other such demonstrations of grace and favour from that king, with so particular and great respects from the grandes and all the nobles of that court, as the like perhaps hath not beene seene imparted to any stranger, meerely a subject.

This is the substance of that which passed at Madrid concerning the reception of the prince, from the seventh of March, (which was the day of his arrivall in that court) till the eighteenth of the same moneth. But that which may put a good full point to this relation, and withall, fill the hearts of all the king our soveraignes obedient and loyall subjects, with much comfort, is to know that the last messenger which came from his highnesse, left him in as prosperous and perfect health as ever he had beene knowne to enjoy. And whereas vertue, when it is soundly practised at home, shewes faire abroad, the comportment of his highnesse in the place where now hee is, hath made such a prospect upon his noble and princely parts, in all respects, as may well give us cause to rejoyce, and to render humble thankes unto Almighty God for the same.

A Relation of the Royal Festivities, and Juego de Canas [*A Turnament of Darting with Reedes after the Manner of Spaine*] *made by the King of Spaine at Madrid, the 21st of August this present Yeere* 1623. *To honour the Espousall Treaties of the illustrious Prince of Wales with the Lady Infanta Maria of Austria, before the Departure of the Prince from his Court towards the Sea-Side, to take Shipping for his Returne into England. Composed by Dr Juan Antonio de la Penna, Natife of Madrid, and faithfully translated out of the Spanish printed Copie.*

London: printed for Henry Seyle, 1623.

The romantic expedition of Charles to Spain, the honourable and high-minded carriage of the court towards him, and the unexpected breach of a match brought so near to a conclusion, are to be found in all our histories. James Howel notices in one of his Familiar Let-

ters,—a bull feast exhibited to the prince a few days before this Juego de Cannas, but makes no mention of the latter festivity. The Juego de Cannas was borrowed from the Moors, and is still practised by Eastern nations, under the name of El Djerid. It is a sort of rehearsal of the encounter of their light horsemen, armed with darts, as the tourney represented the charge of the feudal cavaliers with their lances. In both cases, the difference between sport and reality only consisted in the weapons being sharp or pointless.

To Don Philippe Pacheco, Marquesse of Vellena, Duke of Ecalona, and Count of Santistena, &c.

This relation requires your excellencie for a Mecænas, above a thousand other titles, because you are a person more interessed in the favours of his majesty, shewed the day of turnament to my lady the Countesse of Miranda, and to my lady the marquesse her neece, when he honoured her house with his royall presence: and that your excellencie hath now recovered your health, I thought good to honour you with this presentation in writing, of what you enjoyed with your sight and presence, a while to entertain you, being assured to be pardoned for those faults, which in this treatise may occurre, the same being as secure to be freed from all court censure by such a patrone, whose life and state heaven ever make happy.

Doctor JUAN ANTONIO DE LA PENNA.

The king, our lord and master, not content nor satisfied with the festivities and entertainements hitherto shewed to the highnesse of the illustrious Prince of Wales, Prince Charles, sonne to the King of Great-Britaine; wherein the nobilitie, liberaltie, and glory of my countrie of Madrid, and cavaleers of the court, upon sundry occasions, had concurred, as by other relations is made manifest, his majesty determined to conclude his festivities publikely in the great market-place of the towne. A worthy amphitheater, whereon for the monarch of the two worlds to represent the memoriall of most renowned Romane solemnities, to burie them in oblivion, which, in despite of envie, new emulation and glory hath renewed. Munday was the day appointed, being the one and twentieth of August: for which end, the market-place was set forth with that order, disposition, and ornament, as is usuall, allotting convenient prospect for these rarities in the same erections, made in the forme of scaffoldes, so necessarie for the placing of many strangers which were there, as also being providently distinguisht and separated. The councels of state and peeres of the kingdome took their places after the accustomed manner. The panaderia was set forth with rich hangings, with two canopies of crymson cloth of silver; chaires and pillowes of the same, in the two principall scaffolds allotted to the king and queene, but that there was a little partition which separated them; a respect as due to the illustrious prince of England, the chosen spouse of her highnesse, as deserved in his affection, which, lighting on so superior an object, might seeme to be offended with any interposition to his eye. The renowned Infanta Lady Maria seconded, and augmented this favour; being clothed for this festivitie, in the prince's colours, in white, as an unspotted dove, after the majestie of England. The manes of her coach-horses were twisted with blue ribbands; a demise of the noble fleece of her future spouse: all these being premises, which seeme to glue assurance of what hath been treated upon. There accompanied the Lady Infanta, the Lord Don Fernando, her brother, clothed in Romane purple, that radient sunne of the church, even as his sister is the resplendent beames of true beauty. The queene, our lady, came in a chaire of state, supported by mens hands, with her usual state and magnificence, whom there followed, as the stars the greater light, the minions and ladies, bringing with her the peoples benedictions. His majestie, and their highnesses dined this day in publicke,

in the spacious halles of the Panaderia: and about two in the afternoone, came in coach into the market-place, our lord the king, the Prince of Wales, and the Lord Infante Don Carlos, brave with gravity, and grave in bravery. The king came apparelled in blacke, with his brother, and the illustrious prince in white: their habits divided in fashion, halfe after the English, and halfe after the Spanish manner; they entred the scaffoldes, his majestie giving the right hand, as alwaies he did, to the prince.[1] Foure and twentie charriots (being invented moveable groves, and fountaines brought to that place) began to disperse of their liquors, after the usuall manner: and about halfe an houre past two, the marquesse of Rentin having dismissed it, and Don Fernando Verdugo, with requisite gallantrie and authority, required in such solemnities, by the gate that issues out into the imperiall street, causing much delight, and awaking all mens desires, Leonardo, sergeant-trumpet to his majesty, entered, richly clad, and on horseback, whom followed sixteene kettle-drums, threescore trumpets and clarions, and four and twenty musicians, all his majesties servants, and with his liverie, which, for this day, was of carnation sattin, garded with silver lace, and blacke welts, cut upon silver tynsell; large cassocks, hats with blacke and carnation plumes, swords and daggers hatcht with silver, with silver hangers, twisted with blacke silke; all mounted on goodly horses, with bridles of the same: and the trumpets and drummes had his majesties armes on their pennons, as glorious and entire as could be made, in the most famous triumph of the world. Then followed the king's querrie, all the kings riders, his pages and officers leading the way, uncovered, before a rich horse, on which his majestie was to runne, all exceeding brave and gallant: there came four groomes of the stable, four farriers, with powches of crimosine velvet, and in them, whatsoever was requisite for the shooing of horses; twelve lacqueys of note, and sixtie horses of a brown bay, white and blacke trappings, with muzzlers of silver, mixt white and blacke, covered with horse-clothes of new and fresh crimosine velvet, there being embroidred on them, in cloth of gold, the name of Philip IV. and his royall armes, with edgings of silke and gold, and friudge of the same: a lacquey led every horse with the right hand, in a liverie of carnation sattin, hose and jacket laid with silver and black silk lace, the forepart and bottome being cut upon silver tynsell, black hats, silver hat-bands, carnation and black plumes, sleeves of cloth of silver, and silver furniture. There came forth forty youngsters of the stables, after the Turkish manner, open hoses, jackets and bonnets of carnation taffata; and after all the horses, with wonderful majestie and greatnesse, they brought along, leaning on their shoulders, a goodly rider, with his mounted steps of fine wood, in-laid with lists of ebony, covered with carnation taffata, with frindges of gold and silver. There followed this glorious sight, another no lesse sumptuous, of twelve mules laded with bunches of canes, covered over with cloathes of crimson velvet, and upon it richly imbroidered, the royall armes, head-stalles of silke, bits of silver, pettrels, and bridles of the same; on the sides, and fore-parts of the mules, and on the tops of their heads and saddles, were set carnation and blacke plumes,

The king's querrie.

[1] Howell gives us the following personal description of these exalted personages:

"The treaty of the marriage 'twixt our prince and the Lady Infanta, is now strongly a-foot: she is a very comely lady, rather of a Flemish complexion than Spanish; fair haired, and carrieth a most pure mixture of red and white in her face; she is full and big lipped; which is held a beauty rather than a blemish, or any excess, in the Austrian family, it being a thing incident to most of that race: she goes now upon 16, and is of a tallness agreeable to those years. The king is also of such a complexion, and is under 20; he hath two brothers, Don Carlos, and Don Fernando, who, though a youth of 12, yet he is Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo; which, in regard it hath the chancellorship of Castile annexed to it, is the greatest spiritual dignity in Christendom, after the papacy, for it is valued at 300,000 crowns per annum. Don Carlos is of a differing complexion from all the rest, for he is black haired, and of a Spanish hue; he has neither office, command, dignity, or title, but is an individual companion to the king; and what clothes soever are provided for the king, he hath the very same, and as often, from top to toe: he is the better beloved of the people for his complexion; for one shall hear the Spaniard sigh and lament, saying, O when shall we have a king again of our own colour!"...HOWEL's *Familiar Letters*, p. 124.

striped with silver, which seemed mountaines of feathers, cast over with gold; with every one of them there went a groom, or youth, in a livery of the lacqueys; all which, to the admiration of this order, and equipage, added a pleasure and delight to the view. Presently, with the same order and equipage, entred the horses of other troupes, the shew of the towne following, and the rest of the gentlemen, as their lot fell out, as betweene so great princes to avoid discontentments of precedencie, it was agreed.

The townes show. The honourable towne of Madrid, sent forth four trumpets on horseback, with caparisons of orange-coloured taffata, laid with silver lace, and the trumpeters in cassocks of the same; blacke hats lined with orange-coloured taffata, orange-coloured plumes, and silver furniture, and four and twenty horses with rich trappings, on whom were mounted four and twenty lacqueys, in a livery of orange-coloured taffata, hose, and mandillions, and girdles, and furniture of silver; orange-coloured hose and points, hats, furniture and plumes like to the trumpets; white targets, and orange-coloured bandels; and after them came the maior of the towne, discharging the place of chiefe rider.

DonDuarte. There followed the towne troope, four trumpets of the Lord Don Duarte, in a livery of tawny taffata, with gabbardines layd with silver lace, and hats of the same, with tucks of silver, tawny plumes, and branches of silver; at the bottom of them, silver furniture, and tawny hangers: they wore in their trumpets pennons, the armes of Portugall and Castile; and the trumpetters wore upon their shoulder plightes, and on their breasts, the same armes; their horses, with caparisons of tawny sattin, and furniture garded with silver lace. He brought forth six and thirty horse in rich trappings, and muzzelers, with white targets, and tawny bandels, who were led by the right hand with as many lacqueyes: and besides these, there went along, twelve other lacqueyes of note, cloathed in the same colours, with tawny hose and jackets, laid with silver lace, sleeves of tawny sattin, buttons of silver, tawny bases, white lists, and roses, silver furniture, tawny hangers, black hats, with wreathes and hat-bands of silver twist, and tawny plumes: there went distributed among the horses, after the Turkish manner, twenty young men, with tawny ribbons and hose, bonnets of the same, and cloathes of shag, wherewith to wipe and smooth the horses, with their speciall rider, in great gallantry and bravery, manifesting his royall bloud, and Portugall glory.

Infantado. That the precedent shew might no wayes be abated, it was requisite the Duke of Infantado should follow the lustre and honour of the Mendozas. He brought with him four trumpetters, in four white freezado mantles, with gabbardines of black damaske, edged with silver lace, and the armes of the Mendozas on their shoulders, breasts, and pennons of their trumpets, blacke hats, wreathes, and bands of silver, white and blacke plumes, silver furniture, and hangers silver and blacke, and the edgings of the skirts of blacke damaske, imbroidered with silver. He brought with him forty horses, flea-bitten, with blacke and white trappings, white Turkish barbes, white tayles and maynes, white targets, and blacke bandels, with the illustrious and glorious blazon of the Ave Maria; the which, by reason of the opposition of colours, yeelded to the sight a pleasant object. A lacquey led every horse with his right hand, and there were eight and forty more, of note and respect, all in hose and jackets of blacke sattin, garded with broad silver lace, silver furniture, hats with bands and wreathes of silver, white and blacke plumes, white bases, and loopes of silver plate, with thirty-six groomes clad in crimson taffata, with downe-cut open hose, jacquets, and bonnets, after the Turkish manner, and rubbing cloathes of freezado on their shoulders: and after the last horse, upon another very faire and beautifull sate the rider.

Don Pedro de Toledo. This pompe of the duke, was followed by Don Pedro de Toledo, the honour of the Castilian knights: the admiration and wonder of strange nations. Four trumpets led in his troupe of horse themselves, upon sorrell horses, in gabberdines of yellow-coloured sattin laid with gold lace, hats of taffata, with wreathes and bands of gold, white plumes, guilt furniture and spurres, with the armes of the house of Toledo on their

breasts, and the falling of their shoulders; their horses, with caparisons of the same the trumpets had. He brought in with him thirty sorrell horses, all with caparisons of cloth of gold, and muzlers of the same, white targets and bandell of gold. As many lacqueys led them along in their right hands, with eighteene others of respect and note, in a livery of hose loopt all over, cut and edged with broad gold lace, laid upon an inward lining of silver tynsell; jacquets laid with gold lace, and cut upon tynsell, guilt furniture, white bases, and sleeves of tynsell; hats imbroidered round about with little wind-mils of gold, with white plumes, and tucks of silver tynsell; and with them the rider.

Presently then entred the Admirall of Castiles troupe, with the same majestie and greatnesse, as upon all occasions his excellencie is accustomed: there went before his horse four trumpeters, in long coates of blacke sattin, garded with gold lace, with his armes on their breasts, falling of the shoulders, and pendants, the horse with cloathes of the same, blacke hats, yellow and white plumes, hat-bands and wreathes of gold, golden furniture, and their farrier on foot, with a sattin powch, and that necessarie in it for the shooing of horses, which were thirty in number, all of a chesse-nut coate or colour, with trappings of white and gold; and eight of them which were to runne, had their tayles and manes plighted with short gold twist, and sumptuous invention, and that moved wonder all over the place, blacke targets, and bandell of gold, lances with two heads, and with every horse a lacquey; they being in all, with those of note and respect, sixty two, cladde in blacke, hose and jacquets laid with gold lace, yellow bases, and blacke lists, with frindges of gold, white shooes, and gilded furniture; blacke hats, with wreathes, and bands of gold, orange colour, and white plumes, and twelve stable groomes clad in hose and jacquets of blacke taffata, thwarted over with laces of gold, bonnets of the same, and wiping cloathes of course cloath; and it gave no small contentment, to see in the market-place a troupe of them, slicking and smoothing the admirals horse. The Admirall.

The troope hemned round about the rider, and four trumpets of the Count de Monterey followed, with long coates of white sattin, laces and flowers of gold, hats of the same, blacke plumes, and golden furniture, with his armes upon the trumpets, and the horses that went with horse cloathes in the same livery. He brought with him fifty horses of chest-nut coat, in trappings of white and gold, white targets with white bandels, with imagerie wrought in gold; the colours of the illustrious Prince of Wales, who much favoureth the count. There came with them in all an hundred lacqueys: their liveries were in white, leaves of gold and blacke esses, golden furniture, blacke hats, with wreathes, and bands of gold, blacke and white plumes, and twelve young men of the stable, after the Turkish fashion, in the same liverie, blacke shooes and buskins gilded, and their rider. Monterey.

There follow him the Marquesse of Castel-Rodrigo his company a Portuguese, who was conducted by an under-rider, and four trumpets on horseback, with caparisons of green sattin, and silver lace: the trumpeters themselves, with cassock of the same, and the armes imbroidered on their pendons and trumpets, white bootes, spurs and gilded furniture, black hats wrought with silver, and tawny plumes. He shewed two and forty different horses, with rich trappings of purfle, gold and silver, white targets, and green bandels, with fifty lacqueys in green, hose and cassock laid with silver lace, sleeves of tawny taffata, with bases and hose of tawny, green points and roses, with little imbroidered wind-mils of silver, gilded furniture, with tawny hangers, black hats, band and wreathe of silver, and tawny plumes, twelve stable-groomes with mandilions, hose and bonnets of green taffata, with six caparisons of silver-worke, and his rider all in Portugall braverie. Castel-Rodrigo.

To whom in emulation, succeeded the Castellan of the Corduvas, in the company of the famous Duke of Sessa, who shewed glory and braverie proper to his family. He Sessa.

brought four trumpets on horseback, with cassocks of sea-water-green, waved with gold laces, hats of the same, with green pennons, plated furniture, and his armes upon the trumpets; the horses with cloathes of taffata, of the same colour, and garded with silver lace. There followed them four and thirty sorrell horses, with crymosine trappings, and Turkish barbes of the same colour, forty and two lacqueys, between the leaders and those of note, with a livery of sea-water green, and silver hose and cassocks garded with lace, green hose, and blue points, plated furniture, with black hats, wreathes and bands of silver, and green plumes, and their rider with eight lacqueys.

Cea. Last of all, inclosing these magnificent shewes, came in the Duke of Ceaes horse, Don Francisco de Sandoval y Roias, with that hereditarie greatnesse he derives from his grandfather: he brought with him four trumpets in four freezado coates, clad in gabberdines of blue sattin, laid with silver lace, black hats, wreathes and bands of silver, blue plumes, plated furniture, with blacke hangers; the hose with cloaths of the same liverie, and his armes on the trumpets; about four and twenty horse, with rich trappings of pearles, pouncings, gold, silver, and pomegranates, and amongst them he that is called the Sevillano, upon whom he ranne his canes: their targets were white with blue bandels, four and twenty lacqueys led them with the right hand, and thirty others of note, cloathed in blue sackcloth, laid all over thicke with many silver laces, black hats, wreathes and bands of silver, blue plumes and bases, points of silver thread, white shooes, plaited furniture, and their rider all in black, with lacqueys also in black, after a grave and modest fashion. The horse were all in number, five hundred twenty and three, with those of the trumpets, kettle-drummes and riders: and the lacqueys five hundred fourscore and six: twelve muleters; farriers, horse-keepers, and stable-groomes, an hundred forty and one: their entry continued above an houre. And having shewed, and made their obedience, they baited but a few bulls, to give way to the running of the canes.

His Catholike Majestie, and the Lord Infanto Don Carlos, shewing their accustomed courteous complements to the Queene, the Prince, and the lady Infanta, left their scaffolds, and at a gate that goes into the street of Atocha, took coach, where an infinite concourse of people attended their entry. The street reflected upon by the sunne, was sanded and watered, and the entries chained up, a remedy against the cumbersome annoyance of coaches, the disturbance of festivities, which the providence of Don John de Castilla prevented, as he useth to doe. Advertisement was given some few dayes before, to the Countesse of Mirandas, that his majestie would honour her, by coming thither to maske himselfe, and the messengers were one day, the Marquesse de Flores Auila, and the other day del Infantado. Her excellency entertained this favour, providing her house, conformable to the short warning she had: she whited it all over even to the staires of ascent, setting forth the court round with new hangings, and hanging up in all the entries or portals of the kings quarter, curtaines of white damaske, with gold frindge, and walking rods guilded: There were beds laid for the king and the infante, which were brought out of the palace, by the Duke of Infantado's order, who requested the countesse in this one thing to follow his direction, though her excellencie had provided those that were most rich: but she followed the dukes counsell, as a friend, though it were against the ancient custome of her house; who, in such like entertainments, without having any thing from the palace, had ever plentiful and honourable store: the roomes were washed with sweet powders, and water of amber mingled, yeelding an excellent and comfortable odour to the senses. Next to his majesties quarter, she provided another for the Conde de Olivares, with a rich bed of needle-worke, and the gussets of the soft knappings of silk; and in the lower part of the house, a quarter for Don Jayme de Cardenas, who was this day one of the guard, and appointed to cloath the king: for which purpose he had provided gloves, handkerchiefs, present collation, and sundry waters of delight. In the same manner was there pro-

vided another quarter for the Marquesse del Carpio, who was to attend the Lord Infante; and another, hanged with crymson damaske, fringed with gold, for the lords that would refresh themselves, with abondance of conserves, sweet-meats, and waters of all sorts, and delightsome. She provided shirts, for his majestie and highnesse to change, at their coming or going, as they did. She gave two boxes for reliques, of inestimable value, to his majestie, with a famous relique of St Philippe the Apostle, to the Lord Infante; and another of St Lawrence, which Pope Sixtus V. gave to the countesse, when she was Vice-queene of Naples; and the galley wherein they came being sunk, after a yeers space, the trunk wherein they came was seen in the water, which being known to belong to the conde, John Andrea Doria sent it him; a miraculous accident, and which approves the certaintie of reliques, a pious and discreet present upon such an occasion, and to such persons: she also had gloves and handkerchiefes for them, in cabinets of rock-christal, wrought with gold, pastes to be eaten, in glasses of the same, and apples of sweet waters, all christall and gold; and being most wise and discreet, to give full contentment to his majesty, she procured that in the monastery of the holy Trinitie, the holy sacrament should be opened, with great solemnitie of lights and ornaments, which his majestie and highness humbly adored, from the countesses window, shewing the devotion which the house of Austria ever had. At the countesses staires, there received his majestie the ladies of Zunniga; and the first that kist his hand, was the Countesse of Monte-Rey, whom the king honoured, with laying his armes upon her; the Lady of Nieva, and the Marquisesse of Flores Davila did the like; the Lady of Alcannizas, and the two Countesses of Stantisteuan and de Villa Alonzo, to whom his majestie vouchsafed the courtesie he usually sheweth to ladies; and so passing through the midst of them all, he went directly to the quarter of the Countesse de Miranda, where her excellencie attended; and being saluted by his majestie, she made sute for his hand to kisse, with a briefe and modest discourse, manifesting the favour that herein she received.

After this, his majestie went to maske himselfe, into his owne quarter, where they had placed a royall table, furnished with all manner of conserves, about forty plates and dishes of silver, with dryed suckets, and rose-sugar confections of eight several sorts. The king tasted some of them, and commanded it should still stand ready prepared till they returned from running. All this passed in the countesses house, which being so worthy to be imparted to those curious to learn and know, I thought good, in this discription, to make a digression from setting down the festivities. And no great wonder that Philip IV. thus honoured the Countesse of Miranda, knowing that wise Philip II. his grandfather, did as much, when she was Vice-queene of Barcelona, being accompanied with the Ladies Infantaes, Lady Isabella, and Lady Catalina, when the count had the Duke of Savoya for his guest, and the greatest part of his court, for four moneths in his own house, and at his charges, imitating in these favours Philip III. the Vertuous, his father, who in Vallodolid supped in the countesses house, when the duke was married, who is Duke of Pennaranda, favours due unto his illustrious house and lady. The canes were now sorted out, the drummes, trumpets, and his majesties musicians going before them, by the streets of the Relators, and Atocha, even to the market-place; and before their entring it, Don Augustin Mexia, and Don Fernando Gyron, of the councell of state and warre to his majestie, being valiant souldiers, as all men know, made The King. their entries as patrons of the canes, to present them to his majestie, and highnesses; presently came in all the musick, taking their places, when his majestie, whom God preserve for many yeeres, entered, running against the Count de Olivares (a deserved honour of so faithfull a prince) mounted on two brown bay horses, with such dexterity and force, and so justly encountering in every respect, that the earth, envying so equal a shock, remained with the impressions and prints in it of this carreere, making footsteps in the sand, as a patterne and example for such as are accustomed to that exercise, and shall hereafter follow in the same place. At the king's running, his majestie and

their highnessess, with the councellors of the place, made a complementall recognition. By and by, ran the Lord Infante Don Carlos, renewing in the valour of his tender yeeres, the memoriall of his great-grandfather, and the Marquesse of Carpio ran against him, as ever he useth to do. There followed Don Lewis de Ato, an imitator of his father, the marquesse, and with him ran Sant Estivan, Don Jayme de Cardenas enclosing the troupe, brother to the Duke of Maqueda, and the Count Portalegre. The vestiments of his majestie, and the Lord Infante, were rich and costly with Spanish capes and cassocks of carnation sattin, embroidered with black silk and gold, white frizled sleeves, and plumes carnation and black, and answerable to the kings colours, was all the rest of his squadron. By and by ran the nobilitie of the towne of Madrid,

The towne. faithful servants to his majestie; against whom, came Don Juan de Castilla, their corregidor, and Don Lorenzo de Olivares, Don Pedro de Torres, and Don Christoval de Medina seconding them, all three regidors, Antonio de Herrera, and Don Francisco de Garnica, maintaining the courses, and Don Gaspar de Guzman, and Don Sebastian de Contreras, ending the squadron, all in the habite of St James. Their liverie was of orange-coloured sattin, embroidered with leaves of silver, plates of silver, and black silke bonnets with rich setting forth, and fairely spread with orange-coloured plumes.

Presently ran the Lord Duarte, with the Count of Villamor, the encounter was brave, Don Antonio de Meneses, and the Count Pennaflor maintained it; there seconded them, Don Rodrigo Pimentel, and the Count Punnonrostro, and the Marquesse of Malagon, and the Duke of Veraguas, ended this squadron. Their liverie was rich and sightly; cape and cassocks of tawny sattin, embroidered with silver and blue, cut upon silver tynsell, with white pennons, and tawny plumes.

Infantado. By and by after, ran the Count of Tendilla, and the Marquesse of Mondejair, his father, the Duke of Infantado, beginning the first course of the squadron, with their accustomed spirit and valour; one honouring another, as the fruit doth the tree, and the father assisting his son, and giving him his right hand. De Corunna, and Villar seconded them, and with rare equality; de Annouer, and de la Peubla, the Marquesse of Belmar, and Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, corregidor of Toledo, ending this squadron. The duke ran not with the canes, both in respect of his venerable yeeres, as also of some other indisposition of body. Their liverie was very fantasticall, capes and ribbons of black damask, embroidered with branch-worke of silver cut upon tynsell,

Don Pedro de Toledo. with white and black plumes. The valour of the Toledos contested in some sort with the force of the Mendozas, the Marquesse of Belada, and the Lord of Higares, beginning the course; the marquisse herein shewing that agilitie and dexteritie, which, with the applause of the people, he shewes upon all such occasions In imitation of him, followed Don Luis Ponce, nephew to the Duke of Arcos, and Don Francisco de Eraso; and so maintaining that which was well begun, there followed Don Antonio de Auila and Toledo, Count of Risco, with the Lord da la Horcajada; Risco, as at all other times, performed it bravely. Last of all, to conclude the rest, which was good, Don Pedro de Toledo, with Don Diego de Toledo and Guzman, ended this squadron. Their liverie was, capes of cloth of gold, upon the gold embroidered with silver, ribbons of cloth of silver, embroidered with gold; small wreathed hat-bands, and bonnets with white plumes, with black sprigges, and open sleeves.

The Admirall. The last Toledoes had scarce finished their courses, when, to continue admiration and delight, there entered the admirall, and the Marquesse of Alcanizas, a worthy couple, to renowne and celebrate the place, by the sound their horses made, with the gold twisted in their manes and tayles. De Tabarra, and Count de Villalua seconded, with no lesse braverie. In emulation of these, came in the Marquesse of Toral; chiefe of the Guzmans, and Don Antonio Moscoso, Don Diego de Silva, Marquesse de Orani, and the Count de Villaflor, ending this squadron. They had rich open sleeves, black feathers striped with gold, ribbons and capes of black sattin, embroidered with gold, and cut upon silver tynsell.

Monte-Rey gave occasion of new commendation and praise, with the Marquesse of Camarasa, an encounter of equall braverie, who were seconded by Don Juan Carlos de Guzman, and the Count of Salvatierra, de Onate, and Don Pedro de Cardenas and Angulo, the illustrious de Fromesta, and Don Juan Erasco, finishing the squadron ; all as gallant in their appearance, as ready and expert upon their gynnets. Their liverie was white sattin, embossed with gold, and black powncings, Mylan bonnets, and black plumes. Monte-Rey.

There followed the squadron of the Marques of Castel-Rodrigo, who ran with the Duke de Hijar, with such equall valour and worthinesse, that one could hardly judge, whether it were one or two that ran; Don Lorenzo de Castro, and Don Dionis de Faro, Portugalls, followed the Marques of Orellana, and Don Baltazar de Ribera. This squadron ending in the Count de Ricla, and the Marques of Almazon. Their livery was of green sattin, imbroidered with silver, the lining of cloth of silver, and faire bonnets, adorned with dark tawny plumes. Castel-Rodrigo.

The Duke of Sessaes squadron followed this, who ran with Don Luys Vanegas, a Posentador maior, both dexterous with valour, and valorous with dexterities, who were seconded by the Lord de Sueros, Don Francisco de Cordona, Don Lewis de Rojas, and Don Diego de Guzman, the Count de Cabra, and Don Juan de Cordova, ending the squadron, advancing the equalitie of their first encounter. Their livery was very lustrous, sea-water green sattin, imbroidered with silver and black, black plumes, striped with white, and faire and rich sleeves. Sessa.

Last of all, for the last service of such royall beginnings, and princely progressions, there ran the Duke of Cea, and the Prince of Esquilache; the duke bare himselfe bravely, and the prince accompanied his own noble disposition with martiall dexteritie, de Pennafiel and de Valle seconded them, a worthy emulation of such precedents: the Counts de Mejorada, and de Cantillana imitated them; this quadron ending in Xabalquinto, and Don Chrisoval de Gabiria, so speciall a runner, as upon any occasion he hath ever manifested. Their liverie was of blue sattin, cloake and cassock, imbroiderd with drafts, and raisings of silver, spots of black silk and silver, with the lining of cloth of silver, blue turbants, with seeing glasses, (a witty conceit, because in the glasse of every end and conclusion, we may behold the worthinesse of beginnings) their plumes were blue, large, and lustrous, which, on this day, were so many in number, as it seemes incredible they could ever light upon them, though not sufficient to write such magnificent festivities as this, yet enow to blaze the fame hereof to all the world. After they had quartered out the place, back to back, and ran along the sides thereof, they went to change horses, and take in hand their targets, making their windings and divisions. The parties being divided into five squadrons, for each one his majestie conducting some, and the Duke of Cea the rest. The canes were run, as being guided by such a master; for certainly, without allowing herein of any flatterie, or affection of a subject, his majestie ran the best of them all, and the Lord Infante Don Carlos, shewed himselfe to be truly his brother. The Duke of Cea delivered the canes to the king, with that observance which becomes a subject to his prince. The whole place brake forth into generall acclamations, " May his majestie live long and many yeeres, and London questionlesse would now re-echo to our sounds, seeing his majestie made this triumphant show to honour her prince, and in a time of such vehement heate, though this very day it was somewhat qualified." The festivitie ended, and his majestie and his highnesse returned to the countesses house, where they refreshed and comforted themselves with those sweet-meates which before were left standing on the table, eating none of the hot meat which was provided, being abundant and good: there was fresh drink allowed. This bounty continuing from the morning til night, with three butteries, or cellars, abundantly furnished The queen and the lady infanta returned to the court, with the Lord Infante Cardinall; and his majestie, and the Lord Infante Carlos, to the Panna-

deria, to bring home the Prince of Wales, who entertained these favours with the same respect and love they deserved.[1]

[1] James Howell has recorded the hospitality which the English received upon this memorable visit, with the following curious particulars:—

"For outward usage, there is all industry used to give the prince and his servants all possible contentment; and some of the prince and his servants wait upon them at table in the palace, where, I am sorry to hear, some of them jeer at the Spanish fare, and use other slighting speeches and demeanor. There are many excellent poems made here since the prince's arrival, which are too long to couch in a letter; yet I will venture to send you this one stanza of Lope de Vega's:

Carlos Estuardo soy,
Que siendo amor me guia
Al cielo de Espanna voy,
Por ver mi estrella Maria."

[Thus literally rendered:

Charles Stewart am I,
Love has guided me far
To this fair Spanish sky,
To see Mary my star.]

"There are comedians once a-week come to the palace, where, under a great canopy, the queen and the infanta sit in the middle, our prince and Don Carlos on the queen's right hand, the king and the little cardinal on the infanta's left hand. I have seen the prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the infanta half an hour together, in a speculative posture, which sure would needs be tedious, unless affection did sweeten it: It was no handsome comparison of Olivares, 'That he watched her as a cat doth a mouse.' Not long since, the prince understanding that the infanta was used to go some mornings to the *Caso del Campo*, a summer-house the king hath on t'other side the river, to gather may-dew, he rose betimes and went thither, taking your brother with him; they were let into the house, and into the garden, but the infanta was in the orchard: and there being a high partition-wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her; but she spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek and ran back. The old marquis, that was then her guardian, came towards the prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any company; so the door was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in. I have seen him watch a long hour together, in a close coach, in the open street, to see her as she went abroad: I cannot say that the prince did ever talk with her privately, yet publickly often, my Lord of Bristol being interpreter; but the king always sat hard by, to overhear all. Our cousin, Archy, hath more privilege than any, for he often goes with his fool's coat where the infanta is with her *meninas* and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and flurts out what he lists."—Howel's *Letters*, p. 136.

A Relation of the Departure of the most Illustrious Prince of Wales from Madrid, the 9th of September, this present yeare, 1623. Stilo Novo.

After seven months stay in Spain, during which his personal conduct was as acceptable to the people, as that of Buckingham, his favourite, was insolent and disgusting, Charles prepared to return to England; leave of departure was granted, without the slightest hesitation, and he was as much honoured in leaving Spain, as he had been on his arrival. Howel, in a letter dated 21st August, 1623, writes to Sir James Croft:—"The prince is now upon his journey to the sea-side, where my Lord of Rutland attends for him with a royal fleet There are many here shrink in their shoulders, and are very sensible of his departure, and the lady infanta resents it more than any; she hath caused a mass to be sung every day ever since, for his good voyage. The Spaniards themselves confess there was never princess so bravely woo'd. The king and his two brothers accompany'd his highness to the Escurial, some 20 miles off, and would have brought him to the sea side, but that the queen is big, and hath not many days to go. When the king

and he parted, there past wonderful great endearments and embraces, in divers postures, between them a long time; and, in that place, there is a pillar to be erected, as a monument to posterity. There are some grandees, and Count Gondomar, with a great train besides, gone with him to the *Marino*, to the sea side, which will be many days journey, and must needs put the King of Spain to a mighty expence, besides his seven months entertainment here."—HOWEL'S *Letters*, p. 147.

To Don Alonso Neli de Reibadeneyra, Lord of Vega de Porras, neere to Valladolid.

THE wonder of Cordova, (Seneca, Romes master,) said, "That the first point of ingratitude was to bee forgetfull of a benefit." Those which I received from Don Francesco de Reibadeneyra, a Knight of the Order of Santiago, father to your worthines, I cannot, in gratitude, passe over in silence; for acknowledging whereof, I may well say, (that the sonne of reason and recognition rose in me early) and moreover by an hereditary bequeathment, sonnes put their fathers in mind, what I stood endebted in to yours, whereof I now pay a part, laying at the feete of your censure, (for the discharge of my office, in respect of your wit, and more then humane parts) this last discourse, of the departure and magnificences of the prince, except the shallownesse of my own braine abate some graines of the due estimate. Fare you well.

ANDREZ DE MENDOZA.

The comming of the illustrious Prince of Wales into these kingdomes, being the strangest occurrent that in a royall person the world hath for many ages seene,[1] which dasht and obscured all ancient patternes and examples, it astonished whole nations, and raised up assured hopes of great prosperities and opinions, of his coming amongst men, being so diversly conceived, beyond the bounds of ordinary discourse, as in sundry of my relations hath beene reported, wherein are discovered and revealed many points of urbanity, greatnes, and gallantrie, I thought my selfe likewise obliged to write of his departure, comprehending (as you shall see) so many circumstances of pleasure and contentment. For which, the ninth of September was constituted, and by the Conde de Olivares, as chiefe master of the horse, councellor of estate, and the kings neerest confident; order was given, that hee should be accompanied by twelve gentlemen wayters, to serve and attend him, Conde de Villa mor, de Meiorada, de Villa Franqueza, and Catillana, D. John de Sabe, Ara the gallant, D. Diego de Zarate Landi, D. Joseph de Samano, D. Antonio Zapata, D. Garcia de Castro, D. Juan de Cordova, D. Aularo de Guzman, D. Pompeio de Farsis, all persons of renowned and great quality. They and their servants, with all honourable appearance, of coaches, horse-litters, jewels, liveries, and gallantry, manifesting the greatnes of their persons, by undertaking it with that observance and cheerfulness, which usually they shew, in any thing commended to their care.

The carriages were committed to the licentiate Don Lewis de Paredes, Alcayd of the pallace and court, and his care and diligence herein was but requisite, for so great provisions as belonged to the king and the infantes, besides those of the prince which hee had in charge, and the preparing of the wayes, and opening of passages, to the licentiated Juan de Queniones, lieutenant to the corrigidor of Madrid, who in this, as in all other things, shewed his affection and desire to serve the king; then to provide victuall, to minister justice to both parts, and to governe a company so necessary to be ruled

[1] The romantic character of the Spanish people was captivated by an exploit which implied so much ardour of affection on the prince's side, and such a liberal confidence in their national honour. They confessed there was never princess courted with more gallantry, and hesitated not to say the infanta should have been thrown into his arms the first night of his arrival.

and ordered, as such a number of coachmen, littermen, and muleters, was referred to the licentiate, Don Diego Franco de Garnica, Alcayd, which was not one of the least services that ever hee performed.

The Cardinall Zapata, the Marques de Aytona, and the Conde de Gondomar, counsellors of estate, were appointed to accompanie, and to assist, in whatsoever was necessarie to bee consulted or treated of, in the behalfe of the king; for as there is no action of princes which is not subject to great variety of accident, and new reasons give occasion of present debatements, points of state must necessarily bee scand and discust. The Conde de Monterrey, president of Italy, so rare and famous in understanding, was commaunded to attend his highnes, for the contentment hee had given herein since his comming, and the great acceptance which the prince made of his service; and he was commaunded to joyne with the counsell of estate, to treat of any matter that should come in question; and for secretarie, there was ordained Don Andres de Prada, and Losuda, Knight of the Order of Saint John, one that also deserved higher employments.

The kings house, furnisht with double officers, from the highest to the least, at the disposition of the Conde de Baraias, his mayor-dome, or steward.

The privy chamber and all belonging to it was commended to the Duke of Buckingham, who attended in that place; and most of the gentlemen there attending were of the English nation, and the offices being inferiour to ours, it was the lesse inconvenient they should come for the time under foraine obedience, then to oblige so great nobilitie to new orders and customes. The servants and pages of Conde de Olivares attended and served the duke, as they had done since the first day of his arrivall.

Those of his majesties chamber being all of the chiefe nobility of Spain.

Horses, and mules of carriage, with whatsoever to them belonged, was referred to the charge of D. Francisco Zapata, one of the king's ryders, who was confident of his owne experience: and amongst so many and sundry persons that went along in this troop, there were D. Jacynto Castelin and Don Antonio de Farsis; D. Gieronimo de Tapia and D. Manuel Gutienes, the kings pages, the chiefe of the order of Calatrava; the rest were of the order of St Jago.[x]

The lieutenant to the great post-master, Sanctiago de Saldanna, and his officers, and the Spanish and Almaine guardes, were under Baraias command, and whatsoever else belongs to so many lords: all which strove to the uttermost in adorning their owne persons and enriching their servants liveries.

His majestie presented to the prince; and the Marques Flores de Avila, his principall rider, and a gentleman of his chamber, in his name, delivered eighteene Spanish genets, sixe Barbaries, sixe breeding mares, and twenty foles, all covered with clothes of crymson velvet, garnisht and garded with gold lace, and scutchions of his armes; and one of them had a saddle of fine limbskinnes, the other furniture set and embroydered with most rich pearle, beseeming well both his majestie and his highnesse; and two stallions, with their mares, and a pistoll, sword, and dagger, set with diamonds of great value and estimation, fourscore small shot, the like number of cross-bowes, with which the Duke of Medina Sidonia had served, and a sword and pistoll, with which the Duke of Ossuna once served his majestie; and a hundred selected swords, amongst all those of the court, and the prince gave the Marquesse of Flores a rare jewell of diamonds.

To the Duke of Buckingham were given twelve Spanish gennets, four Moriscos or Barbarie horse, four mares and ten foales, covered with mantles of crimson velvet, garnisht with gold, and of swords and hand-peeces about fiftie; with a girdle of diamonds of the value of thirty thousand crownes.

[x] "Upon Monday morning after the prince's arrival, the king sent some of his prime nobles and other gentlemen, to attend the prince in quality of officers; as one to be his *major-domo*, his steward; another to be master of horse, and so to inferior officers; so that there is a complete court now at my Lord of Bristol's house."—Howel's *Letters*, book I. sect. 3. letter 15.

And to the captaine of the guard, Baron of Kensington, two hundred buttons of diamonds, and four horses, and with them certaine slings; and to the estimation of fifty thousand duckets in jewels amongst the English gentrie, a gift and largesse correspondent to so great a monarch.

The queene, our lady and mistres, besides linnen, presented to the prince fiftie skins of ambar unshaven, and an hundred and fiftie cabretanes, or of young kids: their sent and perfume amounting to a great sum of crownes.

The Conde d'Olivares (besides divers pictures and other rich utensils of the house) presented his highnes with three chains of needle-work, so rich as proper only for a prince.

Don Jayme Manuel de Cordeves, Marquesse of Belmonte, gave him foure Barbary horses, and his highnes commanded a very faire chaine to be given him that brought them.

His majestie and his highnesse went twice, to take leave of the lady infanta, and of other royall persons, to the monastery of the Descalzas; where they were entertained with teares of joy; and his majestie commanded that the Marques of Villena and the Prince of Esquilache should enter, with other lords that had sisters and daughters there. And her highnes gave unto the prince many boxes of sents, flowers, and other things of great curiosity and riches.

The embassadors, grandes, and counsellors of estate, went to take leave of his highnes; by whom they were honoured, and he thanked them for the care and paines they tooke in all the meetings for his dispatches; and hee sent to visit all religious and grave persons, ecclesiasticall and secular, of the assembly, to whom he gave the like thankes: for as in greatnesse, so is he in no manner of urbanitie defective. On Thursday, at seven of the clocke in the morning, in the presence of the counsell of estate, between the handes of the illustrious Patriarke of the Indies, his highnesse, with the King of Spaine, performed some ceremonies of the matrimoniall capitulations, and those of the convention of the state.

The day after, in the evening, about five of the clocke, his majestie went for the prince in publike, wearing a blacke sute and jewels for the sorrow of the princes departure; and his highnesse ware no jewels at all. The concourse of people was so great, that neither any respect of his majesty, nor feare of the guards, could keepe them back, so dearely Spaine loves her kings. The love of the prince is growne so naturall, and his confidence and tractabilitie in treaties hath so augmented it, as also the Spaniards are so easily wonne with affabilitie, an infallible effect of their demerit and valour. And so likewise, as beeing sonne to a most absolute and understanding king, his highnesse knew how to imitate with such admirable sufficiency. The queene and the infanta, accompanied with all the ladies of the court, the wives and ladies of embassadors, ladies and *meninas*, which are certaine young nobilitie expected; who being entred, they went and received him without the Tarrima; and all turning towards her, hee first took leave of the Queene of Spaine, without an interpreter, in the French tongue: and afterwards, by meanes of his embassador ordinarie, who interpreted for the infanta, with whom he continued about halfe an houre. And all the English lords and knights kissed the queenes and the infanta's hands.

A place of the court so called.

Where, being conducted and accompanied by the lordes infantes to his coach, and the Duke of Infantado, the Conde de Olivares, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earle of Bristoll, the Spaniards on the side of his highnesse, and the English on the king's side, they went to the Descalza's, to take their last leave of his highnes, leaving behinde them this great and famous place. They returned by night. And afterwards his highnes gifts and presents were made knowne, such as beseemed a prince, to persons who shall be made knowne; wherein he shewed the greatnesse of his person, and the desire and respect they bare to his majesty, and ought to shew and manifest.

A monastery of bare legged friers.

To the king our lord, hee gave a sword set with diamonds, which, in the least estimate, must needs be held a great gift; and his majesty gave him that delivered it, a jewell corresponding to the majesty of a king.

To the queene our mistresse, hee sent a faire and relucent diamond, which was esteemed to be of twenty caracts weight; and a triangle, and two ear-rings of diamonds, as big as an indifferent beane, great in value, but greater in art and workmanship; and the queens majestie gave to the keeper of the wardrobe that brought them, three thousand crownes.

To the lady infanta, a string of two hundred and fifty great peare-fashioned pearles, of rare perfection, and of five caracts; and one with a diamond which cannot be valued; and two little peare-pearles for the eares, of inestimable value; and other two pearles for the same parts, marvellous great.

To the two chiefe ladies of the chamber, the Duchesse of Gandia and the Countesse of Lemos; to the chiefe major-domos or stewards, the Duke of Infantado and the Conde of Benavente, jewels of diamonds: and the duke gave five hundred ducats to him that brought them; and to seventeene ladies and *meninas*, seventeen jewels, as estimable for value as for art,

To the Lord Infante Don Carlos, a poynted diamond in a cup, set in a ring, as a true present from a prince to his highnesse.

Some rare jewell so called.

To the Lord Cardinall Infante, a pectorall of topazes, diamonds, and a pendent pearle, which might supply the absence of the *Peregrina*.

To the Conde de Olivares, a great diamond, called a *Portugues*, and it was some time Don Sebastians; it is of eight caracts, with a pendent pearle of great price. And the Conde gave to the keeper of the wardrobe, to Mr Endimion Porter, and Mr Thomas Carey, of his highnesse chamber, jewels of good value, and each of them sixe excellent swords, with all their furniture.

To the Countesse of Olivares, a cross of very great diamonds, in forme of a columne; and to the Lady Maria de Guzman her daughter, a ring worth a great summe of crownes.

To the Admirall of Castilla, a great jewell; and his excellency, a thousand crownes to him that brought it, and to the Marquesse of Carpio the like.

To the Duke of Hixar, to the Marques of Mondexar, to the kings confessor, and to the Bishop of Segovia, foure jewels of diamonds, worthy of such persons, and him that gave them.

And to all the gentlemen of the chamber, rings with faire diamonds; and to the counsellors of estate, stones of double the greatnesse.

To fourteene of the kings pages, so many chaines; and sixe and fifty thousand ryals to the inferior officers that waited. To the guard of archers, foure thousand crownes; and to every one was given a very good ring: and also to Don Melchior of Alcazar, whose observance and attendance deserved it.

To the Conde de la Puebla del Maestra, a chaine of a thousand an hundred and seventeene diamonds, and a jewell, with forty-seven more, with his owne picture.

The Duke of Buckingham gave to Don Rodrigo de Aguiar and Don Pedro Ares, servants to the Conde de Olivares, two sutes of apparell, and crosses of diamonds, double the value. The like were given to Don Juan de Santacruz and Don Pedro de Vega; and to thirteen pages, thirteene chaines of gold; and to the inferiour officers and servants, a great summe of money; and to all that carried horses, or any other thing, into England, great gifts of money and chaines; reserving still the shewing them a further favour there. The prince did the like to the gentlemen-waiters to the king. To Marco Antonio Darroque, and to Don Juan de Fonseca Rabelo, attendants about the kings person, to each of them a thousand five hundred crownes.

On Saturday, by faire day-light, they departed, the prince, the king, and the infantes, and in a manner all the court, and every ones family, to San Lorenço, or the Escuriall,

whither they came that day; and the day following there were shewed to his highnesse, accompanied with the royall persons, the pantheon, sepulchres, vestrie, quire, libraries, cloisters, and gardens; who admired it, as it well deserves: and to all those lords it seemed not onely greater then the fame that went of it, but then any conceit or imagination they could have thereof; and, in reason, it was exalted with the title of the eighth wonder of the world, and the epilogue and conclusion of all the rest.

A place of pleasure in Spaine.

Monday following, being the eleventh (while they that were to goe the journey, came on to the rest of the company), was spent in seeing the Fresneda and the Boscages, as also in hunting there.

Tuesday morning was spent after the same manner; and his majestie determining with their highnesses to accompany them to the grove of Balsayn; when his highnes requested him, having respect to the queenes being great with child, that he would no longer continue his absence: his majesty resisted, but in the end was overcome by his highnesse, for his just demand required no lesse.

They departed from the Escuriall; and in a little field not farre off the place ordained for their taking of leave, they alighted, and so sitting down for the space almost of halfe an houre, conversed.

Afterwards they embraced, and the queene, the infanta, with the brothers, Don Carlos and Infante Cardinall, came to doe the like; then all the English lords and gentlemen kissed the kings hand, and the Spaniards the princes; by both whom they were vouchsafed great honours: and returning to embrace againe, with wonderfull demonstrations of love, a trophee was commanded to be erected, with an inscription of all that succeeded, in this place where they took leave.

The prince departed, to lye at Guardarama, in his coach, with the Duke of Buckingham, Conde de Monterrey, Conde de Gondomar, and his fathers ambassador leager; and the king and their highnesses went to Madrid; and this night the Admiral of Castile and Leon, in his majesties name, with a great traine and show of followers, was sent post to visit the prince; and one of the English lords was likewise sent by his highnesse to the king of Spaine.

On Wednesday hee went to dine at Balsayn, where hee tooke great delight in the house and boscages; as also in the rare and strange situation. And about foure of the clocke in the evening, he entred into Segovia, where all the country came flocking in to see him. He admired the building of the church and of the palace, when, upon the opening the coach, they gave him a welcome with all their artillerie, which was much and good; and, lighting on foote, hee viewed all the house, extolling the memory of prudent Philip the Second, the re-edifier thereof, delighting to see his armes quartered with those of these kingdoms in the scutcheons of the second great hall; the worke of Don Henriques the Third, who married him a neece of the kings his progenitors.

An officer of great place. Betweene dinner and supper a collation of some fruits and junkets.

The Conde de Chinchon, Alcayd of that royall house, and the Treasurer of the money mint, was appointed to entertain him, which hee performed with the greatnesse of his quality, and singular wit and discretion; who attended him at the gate, accompanied with his lieutenant, the guard, and the captaine of the *alcazar* or palace, and withall their servants set forth in all braverie, and hee offered him the chiefe and double key, because the principall key of the *fuerca* is onely presented to the kings person, or else obtaining it by plea of homage.

His highnesse was pleased to *merender*, or make his collation, and the Conde served him with a number of delicates, and certaine trouts of extraordinary greatnesse. Also Don Sancho Giron, a knight of the order of Alcantara, Corrigidor (the glory of Talavera, his countrie) was ready with a present of milke confections, of that citie, so celebrated, which he esteemed, and for it sent him great thankes.

Afterwards the whole citie, in ranke and order, with mace-bearers, came to kisse his

hand, whom he honoured, discovering himselfe to them, and, not permitting the ceremony of a kisse, hee imbraceth them with shew of great joy and contentment.

Then he went downe to see the mint-house, where also the count himselfe offered him the keyes; and the *alcazar*, or palace, gave him a full salve. All the stamps were imployed, and wrought of all sorts in his presence; and here, after he had admired the form and maner thereof, the Conde de Chinchon served him, in founts, with more then three thousand crowns, telling him how it was the fruit of those gardens, in doubles, of an hundred, eight, foure, two, and plaine plates, ryals of fifty and of eight, and from them to halfe ryals: he accepted of this service; and among those knights and gentlemen that delighted in the beauty of the coyne, he imparted some; the rest, with much contentment, hee disperst among the people, who beheld him with many acclamations and benedictions.

Being returned to the palace, when he had supt, the place was girt round about with lights and fires; and the palace with a number of torches, and some great ones, very artificiall, which yeelded much light; an excellent invention: and he presented him with a gallant mask, of thirty and two knights, which might wel have appeared in the court, wherin there were liveries of cloth and silkes, mounted on excellent jennets. The palace discharges all their artillery, which was mingled with the sound of bels, trumpets, and musicall instruments, which took up a great part of the night. They had provided buls, and twelve lanciers; but the haste of the journey could not admit of this service.

His highnesse gave to Chinchon a jewell worth 3000 crownes; and hee to him that brought it, a chaine worth three hundred.

He commanded money to be given among the officers of the house, and 200 crownes to the masters of the artillerie, and as many to Don Juan de Torres, a pregnant and witty poet, who dedicated unto him certaine ingenious and elegant verses; and to Andres de Mendoça, author of this relation, who presented him with a congratulation of his happy espousals, in the Latine tongue, three thousand ryals, with many honours and manifestations of contentment. And about five in the morning, hee cheerefully departed for Agasaxo, being received into that citie. Hee dined at Santa Maria de Nieva, and the day following at Santiustie, and lay at Olmedo: on Saturday he dined at Valdestillas, and by two came to Valladolid, where the whole chancerie, citie, and universitie kissed his hand, with a great traine and company, whom he honored with signes of joy and gladnesse: he was entertained by those lords with bravery and gallantrie, wherein they shewed affection to serve their king, and by celebrating the joy of the prince his comming, which his majestie formerly manifested: amongst whom, the Marquesse de los Velez and the Conde de Alvade Aliste exemplified themselves in the great traine of servants, the glorious apparell of their owne persons, and in the riches of their liveries; all which he honoured as they deserved, and as he well knowes how to performe it. His highnesse went to see the kings garden; hee was much delighted with the pictures of Raphael de Urbino and Michael Angelo,[1] and with the alabaster fountaine, which the illustrious great Duke of Tuscan gave to my lord cardinall, the Duke of Lerma:[2] he was served with it: it is the portrature of Cain and Abel. And his highnesse took great contentment in the rich shops of the citie, which honoured him with festivities of fires (for he would stay for no other solemnities), and leaving among the officers of the palace and the garden testimonies of his manificence, he departed to Duennas, where, by order, the Duke of Cea, Vice-Admiral of Castilia, enter-

[1] Charles is well known to have had considerable taste for the fine arts.

[2] The jealousy of Olivarez did not permit this fallen favourite to visit the prince on his passage. "We hear that, when he passed through Valladolid, the Duke of Lerma was retired thence for the time, by special command from the king, lest he might have discourse with the prince, whom he extremely desired to see. This sunk deep into the old duke, insomuch that he said, that of all the acts of malice which Olivares had ever done him, he resented this more than any. He bears up yet under his cardinal's habit, which hath kept him from many a foul storm that might have fallen upon him else from the temporal power."—HOWEL'S *Letters*, p. 147.

tained and feasted him; and in Palencia he was received and feasted by the bishop, to whom he gave a great jewell, and to his best and inferiour servants a liberality of mony: from whence he departed to Carrion. Hee visited the antiquities of the citie, and so went to Fromista, and having entertainment in the Marquesses house, by his order he was served with a great sumptious dinner: the like was shewed him in Alguilar de Campo, by the marquisse thereof; and in Herrera Rio de Pisuerga. The Constable of Castilia and Leon presented him with the like, for his own honour and the eminency of his family, omitting nothing wherin he may testifie it.

And thus the author cuts off the thread of his narration, reserving the rest for some more elegant pen, till his comming to London.

With licence from the Lord Gançalo Perez de Valençuela.

In Madrid, by the Widdow of Alonso Martin, 1623.

Thus far runnes the printed Spanish relation: what ensued after, you shall now heare, from the report of some of his Highnesse traine, that attended in the voyage. And thus it beginnes:

He arrived at St Andera on St Mathews day: not farre off from this port, the prince dined, (having not yet made his entry into the towne). Whilst he sat at dinner, (circled about with all his noble company,) a double newes saluted him at the boord, and both of them good; the one was, that his sister, (the Princesse Palatine,) was safely brought to bed of a sonne; the other was, that the whole fleet, (unshaken by any dangerous sea-bruises,) was arrived in the haven of St Andera. In the afternoone of the same day that the newes was brought, about foure of the clocke, he was with all honor received and welcomed into the towne: being entertained upon the way, not only with multitudes of people testifying much affection in their faces, and uttering no lesse in their Spanish tongues, that it came from their hearts: but to render this joy more substantiall, he was first all the way he came along presented with vollies of musketeers, and at the towne with a ringing peale of ordnance. He was no sooner in the towne, but his desire was to take a view of his fleet, being attended by many great lords of Spaine, who had come along to St Andera with him; the Conde of Monterey being a principall; with many English of good quality.

How soone are joyes turned into sorrowes; safetie into dangers; a shining forenoone into a gloomy evening! His highnesse after all that feasting and triumphing in St Andera, being desirous to go aboord that goodly ship, (the admirall of his fleet,) called the Prince, (a title due to it for the bravery and princely building of it,) spent so much time, that the evening drew on apace, and with the evening a more threatening enemy: for not onely the tyde resisted his coming backe (his highnesse being then in his own barge, and his owne watermen rowing in it,) but a storme began to arise, and the billows to swel high, before the watermen had gotten halfe-way from the ships to the towne, the distance between the shore and the ships being at least a Spanish league. The watermen were strong, cunning, and couragious, but the furious waves taught their oares another manner of practise then ever they were put to upon the Thames. To the town they could not possibly get, against a wind and a tyde so raging, or if they had ventured, it had been dangerous, in regard a huge barke, (to save herselfe,) lay very neere the mouth of the harbour: to the shore they were as fearefull to put, it being full of rocks; to the ships backe againe to flie for succour, night, (a darke night,) being spred over that horizon, denied that comfort, for if they should misse the ships, they were in doubt to be carried into the maine, the channell where the fleet anchored, running with an impetuous and irresistible torrent. In this full sea of horrors, the prince resolved to

turn back towards the ships, and to fall in upon the first they could fasten, rather then trust to the mercy of the rockes, upon every one of which sat inevitable destruction.

A hideous night.

What could hope trust to here, where neither the watermens skill, nor strength, could incourage them to bring safety to their master? The clouds opened, and discharged their artillery of raine, lightning, and thunder: elements of contrary nature, warring one upon another, whilst the waters, (which were called up, to decide the controversie) quarrelling with the winds, made the uproare more horrid and tempestuous.

And so much greater was the danger, by how much the night, (by reason of the storme,) grew darker and darker: yet at last, that omnipotent arme, which can teare up rocks from their center, and that voyce which can call in the winds, and still them with the moving of his finger, sent a dove with an olive branch in her bill, as an assurance of comfort.[1] For by casting out a rope from a ship called the Defiance,[2] (which with much hazard of life, one of the princes watermen catched hold of,) by spying a light in the same ship, his highnesse, and all in the barge with him, (praise be given to the Almighty Pilot, that stood at helme,) were, with unspeakable joy received into that shippe, and there tooke up his lodging till the next morning; nothing at all daunted at these terrors, sithence dangers to noble minds are but the triumphs of their constant sufferings.

The next day, (being Saturday,) his highnesse was brought to shore, and dined in a house appointed for him and his company; where, after dinner, he tooke leave of the Spanish commissioners, and others, who had waited on him thither; and a little before the evening, went aboard his ship, called the Prince, with a full resolution to make the compasse of those wooden walles the Prince of Englands court, and in that sea-chamber of presence even to dwell, without any remove, until it should please God to send a prosperous winde, fit to carry him into England.

On Sunday, (which was the 14. of September,) his highnesse invited the Spanish com-

[1] Waller, with equal conceit, but less devotion, compares the state of the Prince to that of Leander in the Hellespont:

"For from the stern of some good ship appears
A friendly light which moderates their fears;
New courage from reviving hope they take,
And climbing o'er the waves that taper make;
On which the hope of all their lives depends,
As his on that fair Hero's hand extends.
The ship at anchor, like a fixed rock,
Breaks the proud billows which her large sides knock;
Whose rage restrained, foaming higher swells,
And from her port the weary barge repels,
Threat'ning to make her, forced out again,
Repeat the dangers of the troubled main.
Twice was the cable hurl'd in vain; the fates
Would not be moved for our sister states.
For England is the third successful throw,
And then the genius of that land they know,
Whose Prince must be (as their own books devise)
Lord of that scene where now his danger lies.
Well sung the Roman bard, 'All human things
Of dearest value hang on slender strings.'
O see thee then, sole hope, and in design
Of heaven, our joy, supported by a line!
Which, for that instant, was heav'n's care above,
The chain that's fixed to the throne of Jove,
On which the fabric of our world depends;
One link dissolv'd, the whole creation ends."

"Poem of the danger his Majesty (being Prince) escaped in the Road of St Andero."

[2] Commanded by Sir Sackville Trevor.

missioners, and other gentlemen, to a feast aboard, as a farewell to them, before they set forward to Madrid; and at their returne from his shippe, where they had such royall entertainment, as the time and place could conveniently prepare, the whole fleet in their passage, by every particular ship, bestowed upon them a sea salutation and farewell, from the mouthes of their artillery, whose echoes met them upon their very landing on the shore.

The Spanish lords feasted in the Princes ship, for a last farewell.

Leave we those lords of Spaine, fitting their journey backe againe to Madrid, and let us returne to our prince; whose progresse, (after the King of Spaine had taken leave of him at Campillo,) ending at St Andera, (or St Andrew,) the time untill he set sayle for England, was thus entertained.

On the 10 of September, his highnesse came to the towne; on the 11. his whole fleet, (being eight ships of his majesties navy royall, and two pinnaces) safely arrived in sight of the towne: the 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. and 17. went away, (as before is related,) in entertainments on shore and aboard, in surveying, and making ready the fleete; and last, in that last farewell given to the Spanish commissioners, which was on the 14. of September; after whose departure, his highnesse continued aboard foure dayes, before he weighed anchor, which was with much joy, elevation of voyces, thundring of drums and trumpets, and that excellent musicall tumult of mariners, nimbly running up and downe to set forward so royall a businesse

Anchors now are weighed, all the linnen bravery of swelling sailes, courting the winds to speed them in their journey: Spanish people stand upon the shore; our prince and English noblemen upon the decks, taking leaves one of another in dumbe shewes, with lookes, hands, and hats; and now suppose that for nine dayes and nights together you behold his highnesse and his noble attendants, flying apace towards England with the wings of prosperous winds. But on the 29. day of September, (being Michaelmas day,) the seas grew churlish, the windes angry, and to avoyd their fury, the whole fleet was forced to put into the Iland of Silley, from whence they came into St Maries Sound, and then on the third of October, being accompanied onely with a side wind, they came merrily forward; and within two dayes after, that is to say, on the fifth of October, (being Sunday,) at nine of the clocke in the morning, his highnesse, (with unspeakable joy of all within reach of such happy tidings,) landed at Portsmouth.

Yet before he could meet this happinesse of landing, a misfortune had a mind to crosse him, but heaven would not suffer it: for one of the ships in the fleet had like to overset him, but the malice of this danger ended in his preservation.

Being thus then in health and safety set upon the shore, let us with the same speed follow him to London, which he himselfe makes, to glad with his presence, the eyes of his royall father.

But the joy, (that he was come,) being swifter then he could be himselfe, put both the countrey, (all the way that he came,) and the city, (when even after midnight it was entred into,) into such inutterable expressions of affectionate gladnesse, such unlimitable and violent inundations of joy, that the people, (to remember the comfort they received in their prince,) seemed to loose their owne being, and to forget that they were themselves: men, women, and children made but one consort, and the musicke of that consort, sounded nothing but the prince is come, our Charles is come. From the nobleman to the artificer, if contention had arose, which of them was fullest of good wishes, of glad welcomes, of loud resounding acclamations for his comming, it had beene hard to decide the difference.

So many bels were heard ringing for a whole day together, that a stranger but newly entring the citie, might have thought here had beene spoken no other language, all language else being drowned.

So infinite were the bonefires, so costly, and so high flaming, that had they all beene

seene burning in the night-time, that weeke might have boasted it had gotten one day more than any other weeke in the yeere, so universall was the light.

The day was foule and rainy, but there were artificiall sun-beames in every streete to dry up the showers.

What need I busie my selfe againe to draw forth this English master peece of ours, when every man carries the picture of it in his bosome! It will be a legacie for yong men when they grow old, to reade (by the fire-side,) the chronicle of this day to their children.

Let us leape therefore from land againe, and behold at sea one remarkable accident, with which his highnesse happily encountred in his passage homewards. And that was this:

About a day before they put in at Silley, a great thundring of ordnance beat round about the aire, in so much that in a short time after, the fire of the peeces was a farre off easily discerned.

The fleete approching neerer and neerer, certaine Dunkerkers and Hollanders were at it pell mell: hereupon two ships of his highnesse fleet, called the Seaven Starres and the Rainbow, (being the formost of the rest,) gave them a shot and hailed them; upon which first came up foure shippes singled from the rest, who being asked what they were? They answered, Men of warre and of Dunkerk: our men bid them go to the leeward, and speake to the Prince of England; they presently did so, and went under our princes sterne.

Then came up five ships more, they being likewise hailed, came; and being demanded what they were? They answered, Holland men of warre: these also were bidden to go to the leeward, and speake to the Prince of England.

These comming then under the princes sterne, as the other had done before; his highnesse commanded them to hoyse out their boates, and the captaines of either side to come aboard; they did so; and the cause of their fighting being examined by the prince, it was found that the foure Dunkerkers comming out for them, made after them, and chased them to fight. His highnesse understanding by their own relations the truth of their quarrell, told them that since it was their fortune to fall into his company, hee would perswade them to be at peace, and to give over the chace, and to bid farewell one to another. The Hollander seemed unwilling to this, urging rather the contrary; but his highnesse, (out of a noble desire to save the shedding of bloud,) used many gracious mediations to draw them to peace, and prevailed so much at that time, as that they parted friends and upon equall termes: and for prevention of returning to their quarrell, his highnes set them one from the other some good distance off, and so let them goe.

Prince Charles his welcome from Spaine; who landed at Portsmouth on Sunday the 5th of October, and came safely to London on Monday the 6th of the same, 1623. *With the Triumphes of London for the same his happie arrivall. And the relation of such Townes as are scituate in the wayes to take post horse at, from the Citie of London to Dover, and from Callice through all France and Spaine, to Madrid, to the Spanish Court. By John Taylor, the Water-poet.*

The following more full account of the festivities on the arrival of Charles from his Quixotic ex-

pedition, is given by Taylor, the water-poet, as he styled himself. I have omitted a few doggrel verses at the conclusion.

After Great Britaine (overwhelmed with doubts, hopes, fears, and most careful, loving and dutifull jealousie) had dolorously drooped and mourned in a robe of melancholy 8 moneth long, for the absence of our hopefull, unparalled, and illustrious Prince Charles, each minute of whose unexpected and unthought of journey from hence, seeming a tedious torture to millions of loving and wel-wishing hearts, whose happy and wel-come home, doth, like the radiant sun, expell all the dismall and moody clouds of griefe and melancholy, to the universall joy of his royall father, and all his loyall subjects, having passed so long and tedious a journey, so much change of ayre and varieties of dyet, preserved by the Almighties especiall providence from all dangers and casualties that might any way impeach his highnesse health, or prejudice his princely person, in any of his affaires.

After his highnesse stay from the 7 of March with his Catholike majestie at his court at Madrid, with the great and magnificent entertainments, feastings, maskings, banquetings, huntings, hawkings, and divers other royall, pleasant, laudable, costly, sumptuous, and manly disports and exercises, wherewith the king, the queene, the faire, vertuous, and lovely Maria, (the highborne infanta) his highnesse having all the content and welcome which so potent a monarch could any way expresse, or our gracious prince expect. Then, to ease our common griefe, and to revive our halfe-dead hopes, it pleased his grace to take his leave of Madrid, and, passing by easie journees on his way, accompanied some part by the king, after whose departure from his highnesse was attended by certaine of the graundes of Spaine, so that in 13 or 14 dayes space, his highnesse came in perfect health to the port of Saint Anderas, in the province of Biscay, where our English fleet had knowledge of his long looked-for and welcome coming; then did the hearts of every man leape within him for joy; their eyes overflowed with tears of loving and dutifull affection; their voices shooted with acclamations. The great ordnance thundered, and filled the earth and skyes with loud rejoycings; the trumpets clangor pierced the welkin; the beaten drums rattled tryumphantly; all manner of instruments sounded melodiously; and, to better and sweeten all the rest, his highnesse most graciously accepted their loves mutually and thankfully. But blustring Boreas, with his brother Eurus, (the north and east winde) blew most stifly, and churlishly detained our joy and happinesse from us here in Britaine. So that never any loving mother desired, with more longing, to see her hopefull sonne, whose long absence had fild her with griefe, then all the honest inhabitants of this kingdome did hunger and thirst to see or heare from their most hopefull and beloved prince. With what greedy desire did many thousands (as it were) nayle their eye-sights dayly upon fanes, weather-cocks, the smoake of chymneys, and the racking of clouds? and, for fifteene long dayes and nights, the thwartouer and crosse north and easterly winde blew us nothing but lengthening of our sorrowes, and delaying of our comforts, until at last, on Friday the third of October last, it pleased the great archmaster of windes and seas, to turn the breath of Eolus the way we most heartily prayed for; so that his highnesse, speedily taking advantage of this most happy and prosperous gale, anchors were soon weighed, sailes suddainely displayed, and, by the providence of the Almighty, and the diligent industry of the skilfull navigators and marriners, his highnesse most safely landed at Portsmouth in Hampshire, on Sunday the fifth of October, betwixt the houres of three and foure in the afternoone, where he tooke coach, and came that night and lodged neere Guilford, in Surrey, 25 miles from London, at the house of the Right Honourable the Viscount Annan's.

The happy news of his highnesse most welcome arrivall, was brought to London on Monday, being the sixth of October, and shortly after, the same morning, hee came in person himselfe, taking barge at Lambeth with the Duke of Buckingham, followed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and divers others; whence he passed to York-house, betwixt eight and nine of the clocke, where he having taken some repast, hee tooke coach againe to goe toward his royall father, to rejoyce his heart with his princely presence.

The joyfull newes of this happy returne filled the whole kingdome with excessive joy; first, his most royall father had a chief share in his comfort: Secondly, many of his good servants, who were almost with griefe for his long absence like so many bodies without life: but now they are all relieved by his welcome presence, with the spirits of mirth and alacrity. But the city of London, in expression of their loving duties, have spared for no cost, eyther generall or particular.

The bells proclaimed aloud in every steeple,
The joyfull acclamations of the people;
The ordnance thundered with so high a straine,
As if great Mars they meant to entertaine.
The bonfires blazing, infinite almost,
Gave such a heat as if the world did roast.
True mirth and gladnesse was in every face,
And healths ran bravely round in every place:
That sure I thinke, this sixt day of October,
Ten thousand men will goe to bed scarce (&c.)
This was a day all dedicate to mirth,
As 'twere our royall Charles his second birth.
And this day is a jewell well return'd,
For whom this kingdom yesterday so mourn'd.
God length his dayes who is the cause of this,
And make us thankefull for so great a blisse.

The whole day being spent thus in mirth, triumphs, and thanksgiving, wherein the people of all degrees, from the highest to the lowest, both rich and poore, in London, Westminster, and the suburbs, to their powers exprest their loves: that not so much, but the foure elements, fire, water, ayre, and earth, seemed to applaud the celebration of this happy and welcome day; for the heavens most aboundantly powred downe a shower of raine of nine houres continuance, which the dry and thirsty earth drank most greedily, or, as I may say, most lovingly, to the health of so joyfull and auspicious a solemnitie. The fire (or fires) in all places, streets, lanes, courts, and corners, (despight the raine, or envying that it should quench the flaming ardency of its transcendant love) ascended upwards in shew of thankfulnesse; and the vast, empty, and subtle ayre, was filled with the shouts and acclamations of people, with the rejoycing noyses of instruments, ordnance, muskets, bels, drums, and trumpets. And further, I heard it credibly reported, that there was one bonefire made at the Guildhall in London, which cost one hundred pound (belike it was some logwood, which was prohibited and unlawfull to be used by dyers, and being forfeited, was ordained to be burnt in triumph.) But, (as good cause we had) the day was commanded to be kept holiday, so that no shops were opened, no manner of worke was done from morning to night, but carying and recarying wood to make bonefires, ringing, filling, and emptying of pots, that all seemed as if the world was newly preserved from some second flood, (as indeed our whole kingdome was from a flood of griefe) to the safe and happy haven of happinesse.

Moreover, his highnesse happy and joyfull coming on that day, was a putting off an

execution which sixe men and two women, condemned malefactors, were to suffer at Tyburne, whereby hee was the most fortunate cause of their reprieves and saving, and a larger time of repentance to amend their lives.

The very vintners burnt their bushes in Fleet-street, and other places, and their wine was burnt all over London and Westminster, into all colours of the rainbow; whole pints, quarts, pottles, and gallons, were made into bonefires of sacke and claret, whilst good fellowes, like loving salamanders, swallowed those liquid fires most sweetly and affectionately. But, as concerning this fuell of Bacchus, a great many would not stay, or could not endure to see it burnt, and so devoured those French and Spanish billets and faggots raw, which, afterwards being warmed with shooting, laughing, singing, and leaping, the heat burst out so hotly, that it appeared in many a high-coloured face, till in the end, the fire was quenched in the embers and ashes of sleepe.

And to the intent all estates should be merry, there were divers noblemen, gentlemen, and others, that gave store of gold to the poore; some gave vessels of wine in the streets.

Thus was the whole day spent, till the darke night came, and then began the second part of Englands joy: for the nights love did, as it were, scorne to be outstripped with the dayes affection and obedience. Amongst the rest, the Spanish ambassadors, both at Exeter-house in the Strand, and at Ely-house in Holborne, did expresse their loves by their charges and rejoycings.

Then began a most merry and joyfull confusion of billets, faggots, bauins, and logs, baskets, buckets, and tubs, were hotly and merrily consumed; buts, pipes, hogsheads, teirces, puncheons, barrels, kilderkins, firkins, runlets, and dryfats, most bravely blazed and suffered. Some in Smithfield burnt their old coaches, (and I wish they had all been so well bestowed) washing-boules and beetles went to wracke, old graters and stooles were turned to ashes, mouse-traps and tinder-boxes came to light, and hee or shee that had but foure tokens, or as much credit, committed their whole estate to fire and faggot; insomuch, that chandlers shops and store-houses, were almost willingly emptied. But in Paules Church-yard was exceedingly benighted tryumphs; for, on the crosse round about, were placed, on the battlements and on the top of it, as many burning linkes, as the prince his highnesse was yeares old; and in some good distance from the crosse, were two mighty bonefires; besides, there was a crosse of wood erected, which extended into foure branches, and upon every branch a pitch barrel was fastened, and one in the middest, on the top, which made a brave shew in the burning; there were there cressit lights, and most excellent fire-works, with squibs, crackers, rackets, which most delightfully flew every way. And it is certaine to be proved, that betwixt Paules Church-yard and London Bridge, in the nearest way that could be gone, there were 108 bonefires told, many of them having at least one load of wood in each, some lesse; I speak not of other streets and lanes which are out of that way, besides the Strand, Westminster, and Holborne, with hundreds of places which I saw not.

All these, and much more was done here in London, Westminster, and the adjoining places; nor is it to be doubted but that all cities, townes, and villages, will generally and particularly shew their loving obedience and affections.

Here is set downe the long and tedious journey, with the severall stages or places where men take post-horse, quite through the spacious kingdome of France, and so throughout into Spaine, to the city of Madrid, being in all 141 stages or post-towns, some 8, some 10, 12, or 16 miles from each other, being in all about 1100 miles.

London	Sittingbourne	Callice
Darford	Canterbury	Le Bison
Rochester	Dover	Marquessa

Bulloigne
Newchattell
Franeaz
Montruell
Newpon
Bernai
Noieane
Abbeville
Aillyle hanc dordes
Fleircourt
Piquigny
Amiens
Hancourt
Flaire
Briteur
Rauigny
Saint Remy
Cleremont
Roucellai
Saint Leu
Lufarder
Escouen
Saint Dennis
PARIS
Le Burlarayier
Longuemeaux
Chator
Bonur
Estampe
Guillerua
Anguerville
Shaupillary
Shateugaillad
Artenay

Sercott
ORLEANCE
Saint Minion ,
Nostra Dama de Clara
Lestroya Shemina
Le Laurena der eux
Maide
Mondinaux
BLOIS
Les Montriba
Lambin
Mont Richard
Vr Leige Lochez
Varenur
Liguer
La hay
Perlane
Shatibben
La Tredeuir
Chaffener
POICTIERS
Rusigni
Vr porte Aioutete
Vinour
Vmenieur
Couer
Chour
Chouffa
Villafoignant
Aiger
Gournille
St Seuerdeaux
Villara
Chasteauneuf

Nonnauille
Barbefieux
Raignar
La Grole
Mou Lien
Plonte Blae
Chauignon
Vr voya de Lion
Cusac
Le port de Crussac
Le Charbonblane
Le port de la Bastil
BOURDEAUX
Le petit Burdeaux
Hauborre
Troia
Pooter
Belleene
Muret
Allispostell
Le Brouheer
Jen Guiller
Laharee
Les Speroone
Chastel
Maior
Saint Vincent
Le Cabalon
Les Anders
Vn poste Aioutee
BAYON
Bidarbe
S. Jan de Luz
Arinanat

What towns are named in this catalogue since you read Callice, are all standing in France. Now we come to relate of the passage through Spaine to the city of Madrid; and first, after your passage from Bayon, you come shortly into the kingdome of Navarre, which is now in the king of Spaines dominions. The first place therein where they take post-horse, is named,

Yron, or Feria
Oyason
Eseruand
Tollousette
Tolosa
Verafrangii
Segaur
Callarette
Andicamer
VITTORIA
Poypela

Muranda
Maiogur
Sogure
Brenica
Castil de pione
Quinta Palla
BURGOS
Bisbregur
Songuide
Lerma
Bahabon

Arandadeduera
Roubia
Fressenuille
Chastel
St Meresieur
Bouteagur
Canauville
St Augustine
Acacuenda
MADRID

Thus, having shewed the long and dangerous tract by land from London to Madrid, wee may herein see in part how much we are all bound to be thankfull to our great and good God, who hath so healthfully, happily, and timely preserved and returned our gracious prince, so wishedly, after so many perils past on his part, and so many doubts and fears on ours.

Vox Cœli, or News from Heaven. Of a Consultation there held by the high and mighty Princes, King Henry 8, King Edward 6, Prince Henry, Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Anne; wherein Spaines ambition and treacheries to most Kingdomes and Free Estates in Europe, are unmasked and truly represented, but more particularly towards England, and now more especially under the pretended match of Prince Charles with the Infanta Donna Maria. Whereunto is annexed two Letters written by Queene Mary from Heaven; the one to Count Gondomar, the Ambassadour of Spaine, the other to all the Roman Catholiques of England. Written by S. R. N. I. Printed in Elisium, 1624.

This Tract, although written, like others in the collection, against the match with Spain, bears a later date, and seems to owe its existence to another faction. The dissatisfaction which the Spaniards conceived at the light and insolent manners of the Duke of Buckingham, and the quarrel between that presumptuous favourite and the Conde D'Olivarez, the Spanish minister, had produced a revolution in the sentiments of the English court, which the murmurs of the clergy, the soldiers, and the people at large, had been unable to accomplish. Buckingham was now determined, at all risks, to break that very match which James had most at heart, and considered as his very master-stroke of policy. And although, as Clarendon observes, the favourite's imprudence and presumption in carrying the prince into Spain, was forgotten in the high merit and inestimable obligation of bringing him safely home; yet the king was wonderfully disquieted to find the prince totally alienated from the match, to complete which, such risques had been incurred. Charles, therefore, or rather his director, Buckingham, resolved to avail himself of the authority of parliament, hitherto so much neglected, to overawe the aged and infirm sovereign. For the same purpose, while Bristol, the ambassador in Spain, was commissioned ostensibly to prosecute the marriage, (but annexing conditions which could never be complied with, and had never before been hinted at) such Tracts as might most readily inflame the mind of the English against its completion were published and dispersed. From certain passages in the following treatise, complimentary of the Duke of Buckingham; from its being addressed to the parliament, in which his unhoped for opposition to the Spanish marriage, gained him a short-lived popularity; and from the comprehensive view which it takes of the politics of the European states, there seems reason to believe it was published rather by the favourite's immediate direction, than by an obscure volunteer in the cause. At the same time, from various passages, it appears that it was chiefly composed before Gondomar left England, although not made public until 1624. The form of the Tract is such as suited the humour of the times; the dreaded Henry VIII., the venerated Elizabeth, the beloved Prince Henry, with other august persons of the royal family, are introduced in heaven as discussing the interests of England, at a moment of perilous exigence. It is not the least remarkable circumstance, that, while the author places the soul of the persecuting Mary in the celestial regions with the others, he does not pretend that her residence in heaven had ameliorated her splenetic temper and vindictive disposition. So that we may suppose, her majesty, like the souls of the discontented travellers mentioned by Sterne, was doing penance there to all eternity.

To the Illustrious and grave Assembly of the High Court of Parliament.

The Fruition of all Temporall, the Felicitie of all Spiritual Blessings.

LORDS, KNIGHTS, BURGESSES.

To you, who are the representive body of England, and the epitomie and compendium of this great volume of our estate; to you who are assumoned by our king, and sent up by our country, to obay the first with your best fidelities, to serve the second with your chiefest zeale and endeavours, and to affect and honour both, with your most religious prayers and wishes. To you, from whom God for his glory, our soveraigne for his honour and safety, and our church and commonweale for their flourishing wellfare and prosperity, doe expect much by your transcendent and honourable imployments: To you I say, and to no other, doe I present this Consultation (termed Vox Cœli) to your consideration, and dedicate it to your protection.

And because (in point of integritie and duty) I hold my selfe bound to bring the truth neerer to your knowledge, or rather home to your understanding, may it please you to be informed, that about some three yeares since, at the first sitting of the last high court of parliament, when our king was so earnest in proposing the match of our noble prince, his sonne, with the Infanta of Spaine: when the King of Spaine coulourably presented (though not really intended) to be deepely affected to entertaine and embrace the said motion; when Count Gondomar (his ambassador) made shew to be a zealous solicitour, and a most active and officious stickler for compassing and finishing it; when our Romish Catholiques became passionately, and insultingly confident of the free tolleration of their religion, and, in the skie-reaching mountaines of their ambitions and superstitious hopes, were already preparing to erect their groves and altars, to set up their idols and images, and consequently to introduce their pope and his masse in the temples of our God; when all prisons were unlocked and open to all pernitious priests and dangerous Jesuites, and that many others like (caterpillers and vipers) came flocking and swarming from divers parts of Europe, to poison and eate out the soules of our people, with their idolatrous doctrine of Antichrist, and to withdraw their hearts and consciences from their allegiance and fidelitie to their naturall prince and countrey, purposely (with more treachery then religion) to subject them to a forraigne power and jurisdiction. When the emperour had beaten the King of Bohemia from Prague, and the Duke of Bavaria, with the assistance of the swords, souldiers, and treasure of the King of Spaine, had, in a settled truce, assaulted and taken many townes in the Palatinate, contrary to their promises to our king, and of his majesties to the prince his sonne-in-law, and contrary to the publique peace of Germany and Christendome. Then, then it was, (that to pull off the maske of Spaines ambition and malice, who, with the fire of this match, sought to set England all flaming in a mournfull and miserable combustion) thereby to bury her glory in the dust, and her safety in the cinders of her subversion and ruines, that as Prometheus fetched fire from heaven, so the fire of my zeale to the good of my prince and country, likewise fetched from thence this royall consultation for the discovery of our apparant and imminent dangers, and in knowing them, to know likewise how to prevent them, which resolving to make publique, because it solely tended to Englands publique glory and prosperitie; I, contrary to my expectation, but not to my feares, saw my hopes nipt in their blossoms, and my desires stifled in their births, because the seas of our kings affection to Spaine went so loftie, and the windes were so tempestious, that it could not possibly be permitted to passe the pikes of the presse; when, albeit, my zeale and fidelity againe and again infused new audacitie and courage to my resolutions, to see it receive the light; yet it was impossible for mee or it to be made so happy, because I sawe Allureds honest letter, Scots loyal

Vox Populi, D. Whiting, D. Everard, and Claytons zealous Sermons, and others suppressed and silenced; as also Wards Faithful picture,[1] which yet was so innocent, as it onely breathed foorth his fidelity to England in silent rethorique, and dumbe eloquence. Whereupon, inforced to take a lawe from the iniquity of the time, with much reluctatation and more greife, I hushed up my said consultations in silence, and because I could not serve my prince and countrie in that booke of mine; I therefore then renewed my constant resolution and zeale to serve them in my most fervent prayers, and my most religious and zealous wishes; the which I have ever since faithfully and constantly performed.

Sitting thus to beholde the constant inconstancie of the world, which presents as many different accidents to our knowledge as objects to our eye, and being jealous, vigilant, and attentive to that which did or which might any way appertaine to my soveraigne and his princely posteritie, to his dominions and subjects, I was enforced to see (O that I had been so happie as not to have seene!) the perfidious progresse of Spaines new trecheries, and usurpation upon many countries of Europe; for, first, his cousen Leopaldus hath devoured the dutchy of Cleaves and Julliers; then he and his forces have taken many other free townes and whole bishoprickes in the countries of Luxembourg and La Marke, as also in the frontiers of Swisserland and Loraine; then he and his factor the Duke of Bavaria (for him) hath finished his absolute conquest of the Pallatinate (that dainty, rich, and fertile province of Germany), the dowry of our oneiy princesse, the inheritance of the prince her husband, and the patrimonie of their royall issue, wherein the honour of our king and his three famous kingdomes doe most extreamely suffer.

I saw him conquer the chiefest cities, forts, and passages of the Grisons, and hath brought their liberties and lives to their last gaspe and periode; yea, to the mercilesse mercy of his not generous but bloody sword, which, being under the protection of the French king, doth likewise cast a wonderfull stayne and blemish on the lustre of his honour and crowne, if he speedily take not his revenge thereof, by leaving these his honest confederates as free as he found them, and as great Henry his father left them. And after the triumphes and treacherous progression of the house of Austria in Germany, the King of Spaine hath now made a body of his and the imperiall forces, and this summer intends to play his bloody prize for the totall ruine and subversion of the Netherlands, who (to the eye of the world and to humaine judgement) must shortly sinke, if the two Kings of Great Brittaine and France doe not make them swim, by speedily sending them brave succours and assistance in this their urgent necessity.

And whereunto tends all this treacherous ambition and formidable usurpation and greatnes of the King of Spaine, but to cut out a passage with his sword, and to make his troopes and regiments fly o'er the Alpes, for his erecting and obtaining of the westerne empire: and whereunto tends it, I say, but to make his territories and dominions to encirculize Great Brittaine and France, yea, to be their cloyster, and to make and esteeme those two famous monarchies but onely as a fatall church-yard to burie and interre themselves in.

But, illustrious and generous sirs, is this all the malice and treacherie which Spaine hath offered towards England? O no, nothing lesse; for upon that journie (which was as dangerous as suddaine) of our prince into Spaine (then whome the world hath not a braver) hath not the King of Spaine dealt treacherously with him about his match with the infanta his sister; yea, have they not in his princely person violated the lawes of

[1] Thomas Allured, secretary to Ralph Lord Ever, president of Wales, wrote a letter against the Spanish match, for which he incurred the Duke of Buckingham's displeasure. Scot's Vox Populi is a preceding Tract in this volume. The sermons and picture mentioned, were obviously to the same purpose.

From what is here mentioned, it appears that the body of the work was written about 1619, although not published until the inclination of Buckingham to the Spanish negociation had turned into abhorrence.

hospitality and the priveledges of princes (when being under his owne roofe) by attempting to tye him to formes which were diametrally opposite to his honour; yea, to be so audaciously impudent, as with much violency and virulency to seeke to put a rape upon his conscience and religion, and proffered inforcement of his conversion to popery, as if their infanta had bin to him more pretious then his soule, or that he had bin so wretchedly grounded and instructed in pietie, that his highnesse would have forsaken his God purposely to have obayed and adored the King of Spaine, who is not, nor cannot be, a greater king then he is a prince.

And to step yet a degree further; was it not a hellish pollicy, and a diabolicall designe and resolution of the counsell of Spaine, to advise our prince, upon his returne into England, to warre upon the Protestants, and to proffer him an army to suppresse and exterminate them.[1] The Protestants, I say, who are those by whome our king his father reigneth, and without whom his majestie can never subsist nor raigne, nor his highnesse successively aspire, or hope to aspire, to his crownes and kingdomes after him, sith they are the life, the vigour, the heart, and the soule thereof. And will our king, and our prince, our parliaments, and our Protestants of England, then ever forget this inveterate rage and infernall malice of Spaine against them? as also the rest of their imperious and insulting cariage towards his highnesse, and towards Great Brittaine, as if they prized it at so low a rate, and made their boundlesse ambition so excessively over-valew their owne Spaine, that that were in the crisis of her weakenesse and misery, and this in the prime and verticall point of her power and glory? And when his highnesse pressed them for the restitution of the Pallatinate, which they had often promised to the king his father, then they temporized so cunningly, and subtillized so trecherously with him, that every day brought forth new delayes and difficulties, till in the end they had made the cure worse then the disease, and having taken firme footing therein, were enforced to unvaile and unmask their dissimulation, and faintly and coldly to affirme, that they would treat with the emperour for the restitution thereof, but could not promise it. Thus having abused, first our king the father, and then our prince the sonne, they have now likewise betrayed and ruined our princesse the daughter, in their finall conquest and resolute detention of the prince her husbands Palatinate; that princesse, I say, whose royall and sublime vertues make her the honour of her time, the ornament of her sexe, and the phœnix princess of the world. Whereunto adding the absolute breach of the match, long since prophetically delacerated and cast in heaven by the princely and royall authors of this consultation, and since the same breach here on earth likewise so happily confirmed by the king, as also by the prince: so, all these premisses considered, hath not England reason to hate Spaine, in regard Spaine hates it, especially because of these two maine ensuing points and important considerations?

First, For that the King of Spaine is a greater and more professed enemy to our sacred king and his royall posteritie, then either the emperour or Duke of Bavaria, and is to be held and esteemed of us.

Secondly, That therefore to denounce warre to him, and to make it good as soone as it is denounced, is as honourable as necessary, and as just as honourable for England; as upon new-yeares-day last I made these two points apparent and manifest to the king, in my discourse, entituled *Votivæ Angliæ*, which I sent his majestie in the behalfe and favour of the Prince Palatine, his sonne-in-law, for the restoration of his Palatinate.

Having thus (with as much disdaine as griefe) seene his inveterate malice towards Great Brittaine, towards our king and his royall posteritie, and consequently the eminent danger whereinto our profound securitie hath throwne and precipitated us in particular; and understanding likewise how the said King of Spaine, with Xerxes, threatens

[1] This advice could never be given in serious earnest, and most probably was one of the devices used by the Duke of Buckingham to exasperate the nation against an alliance and marriage which he had resolved to break off.

the seas and mountaines of Europe in generall; being, as well in heart as tongue, an Englishman, and therefore knowing by grace what I owe by nature to my naturall prince and countrey (like Cressus his dumb sonne), I would not, I could not, be silent thereat, but must expose this consultation of *Vox Cœli* to the light and sight of the world: I meane, to the light of your knowledge, and the sight of your consideration, under the secure target and safe shelter and sanctuary of your auspicious protection.

To you therefore Great Brittaines, greatest palladines and champions, to you the invincible bulwarke of our king and his royall progeny, and the inexpugnable cittadel and Acrocorinth of our estate: to you I say the conscript fathers of our supremest senate; doth it in dutie present it selfe, and in humilitie prostrate it selfe; which, when your first leasure hath curiously read, and your best zeale carefully and maturely considered, then, by all that true English bloud which streameth in your heart and veynes, by all the love which your countrie beares you, and by all the dutie and affection which reciprocally you owe to your country, I both request and conjure you to tell our king, that it is nothing for his majestie to have made a brave and generous declaration of warres against Spaine, except hee speedily second it with execution, without which it will prove a vaine *fantasma*, and an abortive *embrion*. Tell him, that it were the last acts of Augustus, which embellished his raigne, and that old Pericles made the greatnesse of his generositie and courage to revive and flourish on his tombe, when he caused the Athenians to warre upon the Pelloponessians: Tell him, that Philopæmenus affirmeth, that peace is the best time to meditate of warre: Tell him, that to transport warre into Spaine is to avoide and prevent it in England, as Hannibal said to King Antiochus, that the only way to make warre against the Romanes, was to begin it in the heart and bowels of the dominions of Rome, and so to vanquish Italy by Italy: Tell him that Plutarch affirmes, there is no action so royall or magnificent in a king, as to take armes to assist and revenge his confederates, unjustly oppressed and ruined, much more his owne royall children, and that, if the Palatinate be too farre, that Flanders and Brabant are but the skirts and suburbs to England. Tell him that Agesilaus said, that words are feminine, and deeds masculine, and that it is a great point of honour, discretion, and happines, for a prince to give the first blowe to his enemies. Tell him that Spaniards hate us; why then should we love them? that we can beat them at our pleasures, why then should we fear them? Tell him that if it goe not well with Holland, it must needs goe ill with England; and that if wee doe not prevent their ruine, that wee cannot secure our owne danger. Tell him, that in matters of warre, it is dangerous to make a stand, shamefull to retire, and glorious to advance. Tell him, that Philip of Spaine is of Pyrrhus his minde, who said, that, having devowred and conquered all Europe, he would end his days in jollity and pleasure in Macedonia. And therefore, that it is time, yea high time, to strike up our drums against him, aswell because our saftie as our honour invites us to it.

And now turning from his majestie to you, the illustrious and famous body of this great and famous court of parliament (whereof the king is the head), to you I say, who are the creame and flower of his subjects, O hold it no disparagement that I tell you! that sith in all matters of order, policie, and reformation, delayes and protractions prove still dangerous, many times fatall, that you beware least, as your consultations flie away with the time, that occasion and opportunitie flie not away with your consultations; sith time must be taken by his forelocke, and then, as Julius Cæsar saieth, we have winde and tide with us.

Think what a happines, what a glorie it is for England to have wars with Spaine, sith Spaine, in the lethargie of our peace, hath very neere undermined our saftie, and subverted our glory; and let us dispell those charmes of securitie, wherein England hath beene too long lulled and enchanted a-sleep: and if feare and pusillanimitie yet offer to shut your eyes against our saftetie, yet let our resolution and courage open them to the imminency of our danger, that our glory may surmount our shame, and our

swords cut those tongues and pennes in pieces, which henceforth dare either to speake of peace, or write of truce with Spaine.

No, no; to take the length of Spaines foote aright, we must doe it with our swords, not with our necks, for the first will assuredly establish our safety, and the second infalibly ruines it. Wars, wars, then ye (with cheerefull hearts and joyfull soules) let us prepare our selves for warrs: that our Great Brittaine (the beautie of Europe, as Europe is the glory of the world) lie no longer exposed to the apparent danger and merciless mercy of this Castilian rat, of this crocodile of Italy, of this vulture of Germany, and of this woolfe of Ardena; but let us all signalize our fidelities to our soveraigne by our courage, and immortalize our zeale to our country by our valour and resolutions herein: that we may all be of Alcibiades his opinion, that the bed of honour is the best death; that there is no better recompence of death then glory, nor no richer glory then to dye for our prince and country.

And here I had imposed silence to my penne, and infused a period to this my epistle, had not the dignitie of your places, the quality of your imployments, the nature of the time, and the consideration that I am an Englishman, commanded me to insert and annex these few lines, by the way either of a supplement or a post script.

Although I can adde nothing to your affection and care for the good of our country, yet give me leave, I beseech you, to substract this from mine owne fidelitie and zeale:

1. That you be carefull that your warres (both by sea and land) be plentifully stored with money, powder and shot, which indeed is the veignes and arteries, the sinewes and soule of warre.

2. That you crye downe all gold and silver lace, and all silkes, velvets, and taffities, and crie up woole cloath, and blacke cuirasses and corslets insteede thereof, that thereby England, as a blacke and dismall cloud, may looke more martiall and terrible to our enemeis.

3. That our English Romanists may be taught either to love or to feare England.

4. That there be provision made, and especiall care had to secure his majesties coasts, seas, and subjects from the ships of warre of Dunkerke and Ostend, by whome otherwise they will be extreamely indomaged and infested.

5. That by some wholsome statute and order, you cleanse the cities and countrie, the streets and highwaies, from all sort of beggars, by providing for their labour and reliefe, whereby many hundred thousand Christian soules will pray unto God for his majesty, and to power downe his blessings upon all your designes and labours, whereby, without doubt, our warres will succeed and prosper the better.

I will no further usurp on your patience; but here (withdrawing the curtaine of this preface) invite your eyes and thoughts to the sight and consideration of this consultation. S. R. N. I.

The Introduction.

Heaven being Gods throne, and the earth his footstoole, it is impossible any thing can be here spoken and acted, but will there be heard, revealed, and detected; for not onely our hearts but our thoughts, not onely our tongues but our intents, lye open and are obvious and transparent to the glorious and relucent eyes of Gods most sacred majestie, who, being the sole architector and preserver both of heaven and earth, rules that by his presence, this by his providence, and both by his power; and that wee men are not by many thousands degrees so great in his eyes as the smallest pysmires are in ours; who lookes still in our designes and actions, sometimes with approbation, now with pitie, then with contempt, and anon with choller and indignation, being himselfe the prime President, the great Moderator, the mighty Councellor, the eternall and everlast-

ing Jehovah, who can and will give lawes to all the kings and princes of the earth, as they doe to their subjects by their subordinate yet transcendent power, drawne from his most sacred Majestie of Heaven, as the starres who actually derive their light and borrow their lustre from the refulgent beames and glorious body of the sun.

And as this great God, seated in his cœlestiall throne of glory, with his all-seeing and sacred eyes beholds in heaven the thoughts and actions of men here on earth; so likewise, out of his indulgent mercy and providence, he likewise gives the same authority and power to his angels, saints, and martyrs, to doe the like; who, clad in white robes, the ornaments of sanctity and purity, with palme-branches in their hands, the emblems of peace and joy, and crowns and coronets on their heads, the rewards and markes of glory, follow the Lamb Christ Jesus wheresoever hee goe, still singing these joyfull *Iö Peans* and *Ephithalamians of Halelujah,* and glory be to God on high, peace on earth, and good will towards men.

By vertue of which divine priviledges, the maske of Spaines boundlesse ambition being discovered and pulled off, in supporting the Pope, and seeking the increase of his spirituall jurisdiction, whereby his holinesse in exchange may enlarge that of Spaines temporall monarchie, so as that shall have feete to goe, and these wings to flie to the height of earthly greatnesse; whereby the Catholique kings ayme, out of the ruines of Rome and Germany, to erect another empire in the west, and endeavour by degrees to make most of the kingdoms and free estates of Europe become provinces unto Spaine; as some by force, some by policie, some by treacherie; and now England, by the match of the infanta his daughter with our most illustrious and royall Prince Charles (next to his royall father King James, our most dread soveraigne), the hope of Englands life, and the life of its joy and hope.

I say the newes of these projects and resolutions of Spaine, having with as much fortunary as celeritie, passed the cloudes and peirced the vaults and windowes of heaven, it fast arrived there, to the understanding of that immortall mayden Queene Elizabeth, whose heart ever loved England as her soule did heaven, and of whose flourishing welfare and prosperity I cannot truely averre, whether she still remaine more jealous or ambitious: whereat grieving with as much disdaine as she disdained with griefe, and knowing that her nephew and god-sonne Prince Henry participated and burned in her zeale, that the insatiable and blood-thirsty ambition of Spaine might not erect his trophees upon the tombe of Englands downfall, and the ruines of her subversion, shee speedily acquaints him with it, whome, although heaven had purified and devested of his earthly passions, yet such was this young prince his never-dying zeale to Englands ever-living glory, that his highnesse could not refraine from looking red with anger, and pale with feare, at the report and knowledge thereof. They consult hereon, and hold it both expedient and necessary to acquaint other English princes herewith, especially those whom they knew stood deeply and sincerely affected to England. So Prince Henry acquaints his mother Queene Anne herewith, and Queene Elizabeth her brother King Edward VI. and both their father King Henry VIII. who, so uppon advise hereof, could not refraine to looke on England with the eyes of affection and pitty, and on Spaine with those of indignation and contempt. So these five great princes and queenes prepare themselves to consult on this most important business, when, loe! they are suddenly met and assayled with a doubt of no meane consequence and consideration, viz. Whether or no they should admit and receive Queen Mary into this their consultation, whom not her Romane merits, but the prayers of the Protestants had brought to heaven; when at first they considering that in heart and soule she alwayes loved and preferred Rome and Spaine before England, they resolved to exclude her; but at last (upon riper and more mature deliberation), considering that she knew many secrets of Spaine, whereof peradventure they were ignorant; as also that, from her innate and inveterate malice to England, shee might (either in jest or earnest) bewray something

that might turne and redound to the good of England, they all consented she should be advertised hereof, and so admitted, which was instantly performed; and as the rest of these royall princes envied Spaines ambition, and pitied Englands dangers, so, to speake the truth and no more, Queene Mary (still resembling herselfe) both in her speeches and lookes, testified the contrary; vowing that, as she loved Philip the II. the father, so she would still honour Philip the III. his son.

Thus these three princes and three queenes, not daring to consult in heaven on any thing, without permission of the superiour powers, they all repayre to the sacred throne of the Lambe (of that great Maker and Conductor of heaven and earth) whose tribunall is environed with more sparkling and burning sonnes then we see starres in the firmament, and who is waited and attended on by many millions and meryades of angels; where, in signe of Gods glory and their humilitie, these royall personages fall on their faces to his blessed feet, and so proffer up their petition to his heavenly Majestie, to have authority and place given them to consult on this important businesse betwixt England and Spaine.

Their petition read and considered, God, out of the profunditie of his immense affection and favour towards the prosperity of England (wherein, for the space of well neere one hundred yeares, his Sacred Majestie hath seen himselfe truely served and glorified) ratifies their request, and approves and authoriseth their sitting; when, departing from Gods most sacred throne, they were, by a full quire of angels, with trumpets and tymbrils in their hands, ushered into the golden starre-chamber of heaven, which was purposely prepared for them; when, taking their severall seates, the doore shut, and, guarded by Englands tutelary angell, with a naked brandished sword in his hand, all thinges being hushed up in silence, and all heavenly duties and ceremonies performed, these sixe royall personages begin their consultation in this manner.

The Consultation.

H. 8. Before we descend to speake of Spaines ambition and envie towards England, or the match now in question betwixt England and Spaine, with the dangers which threaten and presage us will ensue thereof, it will not be impertinent, rather necessary, that we mount up the steps of this last century of yeares, and so take a cursory, though not a curious survey, with what ambition and crueltie and treachery the kings of Spaine, from time to time, have knocked at most kingdomes and estates of Europe; in the unfolding and dilating whereof you must not expect much light from me, rather I from your selves, sith as your yeares so your raignes succeeded me.

Navarre.

E. 6. And as you all know my yeares were so few and my raigne so short, that neither these nor this made me capable to dive into the affaires of princes and kingdomes, and yet, I must confesse, it was both with griefe and pitie that I reade, with what usurpation and trechery Ferdinand King of Arragon deprived John of Albert, and Katherine his queene of their flourishing kingdome of Navarre, who, for mere griefe and sorrow, dyed immediately after, having no other claime nor title to this kingdome, but an insatiable desire of empire and dominion, which the Aragonois and Castilians wonne with their swords. [1]

[1] In the year 1513, Ferdinand of Arragon, by force of arms, possessed himself of the little kingdom of Navarre, which has ever since remained attached to Spain. Mariana pretends no right to this state in his sovereign's favour, save that of the sword.

Q. M. O but Navarre lay fit and commodious for the provinces of old Castille, Biscay, and Galicia, besides the Kings of Spaine are the Catholique kings, and therefore it is both proper and naturall for them to be universall.

Q. E. It is indeed both naturall and proper to them to bee ambitious and tyrannicall; for I am confident that, as Catholique as they are, they love earths empire better then heavens glory; and sure I cannot but lament to see Navarre made a province to Spaine, which more is the griefe of Christendome and the shame of the royall line of Bourbon, now the French kings, whose patrimonie and inheritance it is: And will not King Lewes recover it?

P. H. Had great Henry his father lived, he would undoubtedly have conquered Navarre, with as much glory, as it was lost with shame and pitie; yea, the turrets of Pampelone, and Fonteraby, had long since cast off the ragged staffe, to beare out the three flower de luces.

Q. A. So might King Lewes his sonne too, if the Pope and Jesuites diverted not his thoughts from that honourable and glorious enterprise.

E. 6. Surely it is against the lawes of conscience, and the rules of religion, for the kings of Spaine thus to usurpe Navarre, or were they so just, as they pretend they were holy, they would restore and not retaine this kingdome.

Q. M. O the Catholique kings are too wise to commit such grosse errours of state, as to restore; for it is conquest and possession, and no way restitution, which affoords them best melody; besides, sith they are the Catholique kings, they cannot be irreligious much lesse uncharitable.

H. 8. Why then daughter, the kings of Spaine are of Pirrhus and Lysanders minde, whose limits and confines of their countries they held so farre, as their swords and lances could extend them. Which being so, they are only Catholique in title, not in effect, much lesse, in heart or soule, for if usurpation bee religion, I know not what is heresie.

E. 6. The Pope may, but our Saviour Christ, never authorized or approved usurpation.

Q. M. But the kings of Spaine know the Popes will and pleasure, as they doe Gods, and this beliefe I am sure is both catholique and apostolicall.

Q. E. See, see with how much ignorance and wilfulnesse, with what blind zeale and poore implicit faith, my sister is perpetually lincked to Rome and Spaine.

P. H. If so usurpation be Romes doctrine, and Spaines delight and practise, my soule did well to make me hate the one, and detest the other.

The West Indies, or New Spaine.

H. 8. But leave wee Navarre weeping and groaning under the burthen of the miserable servitude to Spaine, O how since Columbus, de Cortez, and Pizzarro, (with as much judgement as fortunacy) discovered to Castille the rich America, and in it the gold and silver mines, which hath given wings to his ambition to flie to the height of this earthly greatnesse, wherein wee see Spaine seated and founded; How it hath both grieved and amazed me to understand, how at Cuba, Hayta, Peru, Panama, and Mexico, and in all these vast iles and spacious continents, that the Spaniards with a more then hellish cruelty, have slaine such infinite millions and meryades of those poore Indians, whereby in a manner they have wholly depopulated these populous countries, and not onely made rivers but whole seas of their bloud; and of whose inhumane and bloudy cruelty, I may justly say; that as all former ages cannot shew the like president, so our posterity will difficulty beleeve it. And yet behold the horrible hipocrisie

of these insulting and usurping Castillians; for demaund them the reason of these their bloudy and execrable massacres, of those poore armelesse and harmlesse Indians, and of the rooting out and exterminating of all their princes and nobility, they with as much falshood as impiety will affirme, that sith their king is the Catholique King, so this is to plant the Catholique faith in the remote, and new found worlds of the world; whereby we may observe, that religion must still be the pretext, and cloke of their bloudy usurpation, when heaven and earth knowe and see, that it is first gold, then a greedy desire of dominion and empire, which is the true cause, and sole object thereof.

E. 6. But if that bloudy resolution, against these huge numbers of poore Indians tooke place in the heart and councell of Charles 5. must it needes follow that the like humanity and cruelty should live in this of Phil. 2. and Phil. 3. his sonne and grandchilde: so as this bloud-thirsty malice of spleene and gall against these poore Indians, must be heriditary to the kings of Spaine, as now by custome and intrusion, (and by the ignoble conivencie of the Princes Electors) the ambition to enjoy the empire of Germany, is to the house of Austria, from whence they are descended.

Portingall.

Q. E. My royall father observed well, that religion was onely the pretext, but wealth and empire the sole object of Spaines ambition; for although Charles the 5. usurped those places of America from the Indians, who indeede knew not Christ; yet what religion or Catholique was that of Philip the 2. his sonne, under hand to precipitate, and throw Sebastian King of Portingall, into the unnecessary and unfortunate warres of Affrica against the Moores, where he losed his life with his ambition: and then after his decease, to worke so on the impotency, feare and ignorance, of olde King Henry his successour, as (contrary to the lawes of justice and nature) to enforce him to illegitimate Don Anthony the prior of Crato, [1] who was the first and neerest heire unto that crowne and kingdome, thereby to exclude him, as indeede he did, or if he had not an itching and longing desire to swallow and devoure that kingdome of Portingall; which all Christendome and Rome her selfe knew was still more Catholique then Spaine; yea, and then when hee had ingaged his royall word to the rest of the pretendants, as the aforesaid Don Anthony, the Dukes of Savoy and Parma, Katherine of Medicis (queene mother of France) and Katherine Dutchesse of Braganca; that hee with them would stand to the sentence of the chamber of Lisbone, to know to whom the right of that kingdome most properly and lineally descended; that then this king Philip the 2. forgat his conscience to God, and his promise to these princes (fearing others right, and distrusting his owne) brought an army to the gates of Lisbone, ere the pretendants, or Portingalls themselves dreampt thereof, or had meanes or leasure to defend themselves, wherby such was his insatiable ambition, usurpation, and covetousnes, that in a plaine and settled peace, hee devoured this rich and noble kingdome; making it not onely tributary but a province to Spaine. And was this also religion, or to plant the Catholique faith? or rather, was it not manifest treacherie, and apparant usurpation, such if Don Anthony had not, all the world kuowes, the Dutches of Braganca had more right to this kingdome then King Philip [2]

P. H. Yea, that policy King Phil. learnt of the Emperour Charles 5. his father, who when himselfe, and King Francis the First of France contended for the empire of Ger-

[1] Don Anthonio tried, by the means of France and England, to recover his kingdom, but died in poverty and exile. See Volume I. of the present Collection, p. 169, 241, 242.

[2] As was afterwards made good by the revolution accomplished in favour of her family.

many, whiles Francis was bribing of the electors, Charles brought an armie into the field and so enforced them to elect and choose him.

Q. M. I must confesse I ever held the Portingalls to be zealous and good Romane Catholiques; but as Navarre lay fit for Biscay and Galicia, so Portingall lay exceeding commodious for Andoulosie; and if my husband King Philip, had not seconded his right of descent by the law of his sword, perhaps he might have had a bad neighbor in Portingall, which he and his counsell timely fore-seeing they as wisely prevented. And howsoever, although he hated Don Anthonie, yet I know he loved the Dutches of Braganca well; but when we speake of crownes and kingdomes, religion will make his surprise of Portingall a matter of state, though to speake truth, state can never make it a matter of religion.

Q. A. How well King Philip loved the Dutches of Braganca, I know not, but this I am sure of, that both Monsieur de Boysise Monsieur de Bisseaux, and Monsieur de Marais, (ambassadours with King James my husband for the two last French kings, Henry 4 and Lewes 13.) tolde me that Philip's hatred and rage was so great against Don Anthony, that he begged his body, which lies in a coffin of lead, in the Cordeliers church at Paris, to be delivered his ambassadours, and so sent him into Spaine; but as they said, these two most Christian Kings their masters answered Philip, that there was little religion, lesse charity to take up, and remove the ashes of a dead prince and king, as was Don Anthony, and so his body still remeanes in Paris.

P. H. If Spaine were so malicious to a dead prince, how ought those that are living to beware and take heed of him?

H. 8. As a guilty conscience can never finde rest, so it may be that king Philip was afraid of a second Don Anthony, as of a second Sebastian.

P. H. But King Philip 3. his sonne, hath farre more reason to feare Don Anthony his two princely sonnes, Don Emanuel, and Don Christopher, and of Don Emanuel, his two generous and illustrious sonnes, Don Maurice and Don Lewes, all foure living, who are famous, and royall reserved peeres of shipwracke of that royall kingdome and blood of Portingall. [1]

Q. M. O but they are poore, and want friends and meanes to advance their just title to that crowne if they have any.

E. 6. Their right and title to Portingall is just, and therefore cannot, and should not dye.

Q. E. If the French forces had met mine at the Groyne, Peneca, or Lisbone, or had the Portingals risen, my Norris, Drake, and noble Essex, in despight of Philip and his forces, had plucked the crowne of Portingall from his head, and set it on King Anthonies. [2]

P. H. No, no; Don Anthonies sonnes are beloved of the nobilitie of England, France and the Netherlands, and Don Emanuel's wife, is sister to that valiant and incomparable captaine Maurice of Nassaw, Prince of Orenge. So if fortune smile, and a favourable gale blow, these disinherited Portingall princes may one day prove pricks and thornes to the sides of Spaine. For all Portingall knowes, that their veines and

[1] Emanuel, eldest son of Anthony, married Amelia of Nassau, sister to the Stadtholder. He was made Viceroy of the Indies, and died at Brussels, 1638...Don Christopher, second son of Don Anthony, assumed the title of King of Portugal, and died at Paris in the same year with his brother, without issue.

Emanuel left two sons, of whom the eldest, Emanuel, became a Carmelite, and afterwards renouncing his vows, was converted to the Protestant faith, and married, but had no male issue. The younger, Louis-William left two sons, both of whom died without issue.

[2] Alluding to what was called the Journey of Portugal, undertaken by Essex, Drake, and Norris, rather with the aid and connivance, than by express authority of Queen Elizabeth, in favour of Don Anthony. It was unsuccessful.

hearts streame with pure Portingall blood; yea, with the remainder of the royall blood of that kingdome, which Philip 3. his last entertainment (together with the prince his sonne) at Lisbone, had almost found true: but that his majestie departed with as much feare, secresie, and shame, as he came with resolution, popularitie, and glory: in the interim, these Portingall princes remaine prodigious and ominious commets to Spaine.

Q. M. Did Spaine thinke so, it would quickly make these princes ride poast into another world.

Q. E. If Spaine should send these princes poast into another world, either by the backe doore of poyson, by the wicket of a ponyard, and not by the great and fore-dore of nature, it would draw the fists of most Christian princes about King Philip's eares, and make all Portingall solemnize their funerals with their swords drawn, and their cities gates shut.

E. 6. Indeede I have heard that the commons, and especially the nobilitie of Portingall begin extreamly to distaste the imperious pride and ambitious carriage of the Spaniards, as many of them let not to say boldly and publiquely, that Philip enjoyes the kingdome by usurpation and not by right.

Q. M. Not by right? Why Pope Gregory 14. approved his title and confirmed his conquest of the kingdome of Portingall.

Q. E. So, did not our Saviour Christ, whose successour and vicar the Pope pretends himselfe to be.

P. H. In the meane time Spaine domineers at her conquest of Portingall, and well shee may; for it is one of the fairest flowers of his garland, and of the richest diamonds of his crowne.

H. 8 But the other kings of Christendome have just cause and reason to grieve and storme hereat; for as it was Portingalls mischance then to fall, and vaile bonnet to Spaine, so it may be theirs to-morrow; for to a prince and people so greedy and ambitious of empire as is Spaine, all fish is good that comes to his hooke or net.

P. H. Thus Spaine devoures kingdomes as the Cyclope Polephemus did passengers; for he surprizeth no more then he meetes withall, and yet will not Christendome beware of Spaine.

Italy.

H. 8. We have past from Navarre, the West Indies and Portingall, and now let us come to Italy, to see how Spain is beloved or feared of the Italians, and how he hath behaved himselfe there.

E. 6. In Italy, the king of Spaine is nayled to the Pope, as most of the colledge of Cardinals, and all the Jesuites are to him; yea, he hath the greatest and richest territories thereof, as the kingdome of Naples, the dutchy of Millane, and the island of Cicily, and (in a manner) the Marquesse of Monaco, and Finall, the Dukes of Montova, Parma and Urbin; the Princes of Massa, and Piombino, with the states of Genova and Luca, doe all march under his banner, and call onely on his name; yea, he hath so incircled the Pope, as hee is rather his prisoner then his spirituall father; for if his patrimony of St Peter be the temple, his Naples and Millane is the cloyster to impall it, so as he hath no impeachment or obstacle from making himselfe sole lord of Italy, but the great Duke of Tuscany, and the prudent and potent Siegnorie of Venice.

Q. M. O but the Pope neede not feare the King of Spaine, for as Spaine is the Popes hand, so the Pope is Spaines tongue: For the Catholike King, is his holinesse champion; and his holinesse the King of Spaines oracle.

E. 6. I had thought that the Popes alwayes loved the kings of France better then those of Spaine.

Q. E. O no: there is reason to the contrary; for Spaine hath received Romes hellish and bloudy inquisition, and France is so wise and couragious, as it rejecteth and disdaines it.

P. H. Nay there is another reason likewise; for although the former Kings of France were brave and victorious, yet King Lewes that now is, feares the Pope and loves him not, whereas King Philip of Spaine loves him, but feares him not. [1]

Q. M. If the Popes had not loved Spaine, they would never have given him Naples and Cicily, nor permitted him to enjoy that rich and populous dutchy of Millan, which is the patrimony of the house of Orleans, and is now fallen to the right of France.

Q. E. Surely there is a great union betweene the Popes and the Kings of Spaine, for Spaine makes the Pope ride on his pontificall chaire, and the Pope makes Spaine flie in Phaetons chariot, about the foure corners of Christendome.

P. H. But the Pope loved not Spaine so well, to give him either the marquisat of Anconitana, or the dutchy of Ferrara, when he begged it of him by his ambassadours.

H. 8. But did Spaine seeke Ferrara, and the marca of Ancona of the Pope?

Q. M. Yea, and upon good grounds and solid reasons too, for that lay commodious for Millane, and this for Naples, and both would serve as bridges to passe into that brave and proud state of Venice.

The State of Venice.

Q. E. Now you speake of the grave and noble Venetians; as they have long since pulled off the maske of Spains itching desire to deflowre their beautifull Adriatike sea-nymph: so they have resolved no more to trust Spaniards. For of late (notwithstanding their prudent decree to the contrary, grounded upon some private reasons of state) they both thinke in their hearts, and know in their soules and consciences, that it was onely the ambition and double pistols of Spaine that laid the foundation of the last treacherous and execrable attempt against their citie; [2] and consequently against their whole state, notwithstanding that some perfidious Frenchmen (degenerating from the honour of their country and ancestors) were corrupted and seduced (by the gold and flattering promises of Spaine) to be the chiefest agents, and forlorne hope in that damnable attempt; and to make this as cleare and apparent as the sunne, that illustrious and wise senate well knowes, that at that very instant, and nick thereof, the Duke of Ossuna (Vice-roy of Naples) hovered with his fleet and land-forces to lay hold and embrace that occasion.

Q. M. Sure sister, you wrong the Duke of Ossuna, and in him King Philip his master; for I have heard that the said duke did then arme, upon newes of a great fleet of galleys coming from Constantinople to Rhodes, upon the irruption of intelligence betwixt the great Turke and the French King, for the escape of the Polonian Prince Coriski: for the which the Baron of Sancy, the French Ambassadour, was at least confined, if not imprisoned at Constantinople, and that therefore for the safety of the kingdome of Naples, it behoved the said duke to fortifie his ports of Apulia, Ottranto, and Calabria as well with fleets as regiments.

P. H. The King of Spaines ministers never want pretexts and evasions for their designes; but if the Duke of Ossuna, for affirming hereof, should sweare, *Voto a Dios*, and

[1] Such passages as these, in favour of France, might be intended to smooth the way for the match with Henrietta Maria.

[2] Alluding to the celebrated conspiracy against that republic, on which is founded the tragedy of Venice Preserved.

par la Sanctissima Virgina, till he were damned, yet that wise senate, and especially the councell of Tenn, will never beleeve him.

Q. E. O, but Ossuna and the King of Spaine his master, shall give me leave to join in opinion with the prudent Venetians; and therefore I highly praise their fore-sight, and applaude their generositie, in keeping a brave navall army on their seas, and strong garrisons in their castles and cities, for the security of their state, as also for keeping of their exchequer rich, and their arsenall and magasins abundantly stored and furnished.

H. 8. But hath Spaine offered the Signiory of Venice, no other wrongs and affronts but this?

Q. E. O yes: for although that prudent state say little, yet they remember, (and will not forget) how busie his ambassadour and agents were at Rome, to give fire to the quarrell betweene Pope Paulus Quintus and themselves, about banishing the Jesuites from their state, and for imprisoning the Chanon of Vincensa; as also, how readily and earnestly they proffered the Pope, that a great Spanish and Neopolitan army should instantly enter their state, and put all to fire and sword.

P. H. And they likewise remember, how the King of Spaine, (that thereby his regiments mought fish in troubled waters, and get firme footing in their country) hath often incensed this Emperour Ferdinand, then Duke of Gratz, to invade their frontier townes in Friull, and the Trevisan.

Q. E. But Nova Palma, Brescia, Pescara, and Verona, are obstacles and stops to the designes both of the Emperour, and King of Spaine; yea, that wise state, is so watchfull and vigilent, that in time of peace, they make their greatest preparations for warre. And it were a blessed happinesse, and a safe felicitie, for most kingdomes and estates of Christendome, if herein they would emulate and imitate the example of these wise and valiant Venetians, which is neither to trust, much lesse to feare Spaine.

Q. M. But as wise and as strong as the Venetians are, as their church and pallace of St Marke, was not built in a day, so are not all the designes and resolutions of the King of Spaine, and therefore, a time may come; but I say no more.

Q. A. O, I guesse at your minde! you would have the State of Venice made a province to Spaine, that thereby he may finde a way for his fleetes, to convey his armies into High and Lowe Germany. And if Spaine thinke so Contareno, the Venetian ambassadour, resident with the king my husband, and since him, Donato likewise told me, that herein Spaine is deceived in the arithmetick of his ambition and usurpation; and thus to reckon, is to reckon without his hostesse, and without God.

Swisserland.

H. 8. But how doe the warlike Cantons of Swissers trust the King of Spaine?

Q. A. As they doe the Emperor Ferdinand, his brother Leopoldus and the rest of the Austrian Princes: for they knowe his ambition and their malice, and so neither feare nor love these.

Q. M. But they love the double pistols of Spaine, doe they not?

Q. E. Yes, but they say the French crownes of the sunne are farre purer and truer gold, and therefore passe currenter with them.

E. 6. The Austrian Princes and the Swissers, I have still heard, are from father to sonne, hereditary and irreconcilable enimies.

P. H. Yea, the Swissers drawe good use and benefit hereof; for by this meanes they live not in securitie as some other states doe, but are still armed and ready to march and followe their colours.

Q. E. But there is no warre would be so acceptable and pleasing to them as up to Millane, or downe to the free country, Brabant, and Heynault; if France, Savoy, and Venice, would command them the first, and England, France, and Holland, ordayne and give way to the second.

Q. A. What is not past is yet to come.

Q. M. Yea, but the councell of Spaine hath policy enough to insinuate and temporize with all these princes and states; and so to divert their designes, and frustrate their resolutions, if they were bent that way.

P. H. It hath indeede hitherto proved so by Spaine: for their policy and treachery, hath purchased and gotten them more countries, then either their valour or swords.

Q. M. These easie conquests are still sweet and pleasing to Spaine.

P. H. Yea, but they are neither honest nor just.

E. 6. But hath not Spaine cavill'd with the Swissers for their confines and limmits?

Q. E. Yes, two wayes, next Germany by Leopoldus, and betwixt Losanne and Gray in the free country by the archduke Albertus.

Q. M. Yea, the King of Spaine will angle so long till he take.

Q. E. But hath not Spaine attempted by his ambassadours and agents to sowe discention and discord among these Helvetian cantons; to oppose them one against the other and so to debauch and withdraw them first from the French King's service, and then to his owne.

P. H. Yes, many times, but that tricke of Spaine is now growne old and thrid-bare; so as the Swissers vowe to remedy the first, and the French Kings to prevent the second.

Q. M. But the Catholique King will watch those Swissers a good turne, and if the ephimærides of his envie, ambition, and greatnesse faile him not, either his Spinola, or his Pedro de Toledo, shall one of these dayes dine with him at Berne, Freburg, or Soleurre, ere their table-cloathes be layed.

Q. E. But sister, you are deceived in the Swissers; for their table-cloathes are alwayles nayled to their tables; yea, they have so great a quantity of swords, pikes, and muskets in a readinesse, to give any enemy of theirs a bloudy banquet, that if Philip King of Spaine dare assault them, they doubt not but to use him, as they have formerly done Phillip Duke of Burgundy, whom they overthrew in three severall pitched battels, at Grauson, Morat, and Nancy, where he losed his treasure, his men, and his life.

The Grisons.

H. 8. But how stand the Grisons affected to Spaine?

E. 6. Spaine, through the vicinity of Millane, doth so often knocke at their doores, that if they keepe them not fast shut, they know, or at least feare that he will shortly enter by the Voltaline, and Chiavena.

Q. M. O, though of late they made a shew of resistance, yet the gold of Spaine, the neighbourhood of Millane, the Fort Trents, but chiefly their owne credulity and security, hath almost brought them to the King of Spaines lure.

Q. E. This people were both warlike and wise.

P. H. But Spaine will briefly make them fooles and cowards, if they will hearken unto him.

Q. M. As how, nephew? pray, be not bitter against Spaine.

P. H. Why, first, Spaine will nussel them up in peace and security, 'till matters be ripe, or else he will engender factions, and sowe discords among themselves, either for religion, or ranke, or betwixt them and their dearest friends, the Swissers; and when hee sees all things ready, and the iron hot, then he will march, and st[illegible]

not faile to unite and annex the cantons of the Grisons to Millane, as he hath already done Millane to Spaine.

H. 8. If the Grisons at any time lose the Swissers friendship, or their owne vigilancy and generosity, it will not be long, ere they shake hands with their liberty and lives.

Q. M. So Spaine hopes, for if warre cannot worke, and effect it, they make no doubt but peace shall.

Q. E. If the Grisons hearken to the charmes of Spaine, they are halfe lost.

Q. M. If they hearken not to Spaine, they are wholly undone, but if they listen to Spaine, all will be well.

H. 8. Yea daughter, I beleeve for the Spaniards, but not for the Grisons.

Q. E. To trust to Spaine, is to rely on a broken staffe, and to harbour a serpent in our owne bosomes.

P. H. To trust to the promises of Spaine, is to commit our selves to the mercy and protection of a lyon who will devour us.

Q. M. The Grisons will see, and say the contrary.

E. 6. So will I say, if I see the contrary; till when, I feare the Grisons will buy their peace, as well with teares as bloud.

Savoy.

H. 8. But how doth Savoy brooke Spaine? for I take it this present Duke Charles Emanuell, married this King Phill. 3. his second sister; the Infanta Katherina Michaela.

P. H. Savoy loves Spaine, as it hath deserved of it; for the noble and generous duke thereof cries out, God defend me from such a brother-in-law as King Philip.

Q. M. I beleeve if the Catholique King offered that duke any unkinde office, it was nothing but because hee was so neere a neighbour to Geneva, as he and the Pope suspected his highnesse would turn Calvinist.

Q. E. Alas that good citie of Geneva, why all the world knowes the dukes love to it, and its religion, witness the Barron of Attignac and his consorts, as also Terraill and Bastide; but if there were once a Spanish garison in this citie, Savoy would soone know how to distinguish between good and bad neighbours.

E. 6. But it is the laughture of the world, to say that Spaine hates Savoy, because he loves the religion of Geneva.

P. H. Yet this is as true as many other of Spaines colours, pretexts, and evasions, when he hath a purpose and plot to usurpe.

Q. M. Why, wherein hath the King of Spain abused, or wronged the Duke of Savoy?

P. H. First, in being himselfe the chiefe cause and subject, and then making him the instrument and executioner, to cut off the two noble heads of Biron in Paris, and D'Albigny in Turin.

Q. M. Why the Catholique King is the universall, and therefore it is not strange, if in all countries of the world, hee have his farre-fetched policies, agents, and instruments to make his stratagems and resolutions take effect, for those who are obstacles to his will and pleasure; his verball friendship shall always prove their reall overthrow and subversion; howsoever hee and his ministers pretend, and make shew of the contrary.

Q. A. Nay, let us leave Biron and D'Albigny in their graves, for me thinkes it is a poore charity to take up the ashes of the dead. And for our better information, let us take a survey of the courtesie, or rather of the cruelty that Spaine hath offered Savoy.

E. 6. None knowes nor can deliver the particular truth thereof, so well as your royall sonne Prince Henry.

Q. M. But I feare my nephew will be too partiall in the delivery hereof, betweene the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Savoy, because I have heard that of the two princesses their daughters, hee preferd that of Savoy, before this of Spaine.

H. 8. No, no; My nephew Henry is a judicious and just prince, therefore I know he will not wrong Spaine to doe right to Savoy.

Q. A. He resembles King James his father too well, who will still love the King of Spaine, although therein he hate himselfe, therefore speake on faire sonne.

P. H. When great Henry of France (my honoured uncle,) made warres upon the present Duke of Savoy, for the recovery of his marquisat of Saluses, then this Phillip King of Spaine, (under the pretence and shew to ayde the duke his brother-in-law against the French) sent him many troopes and regiments of Spanyards for the preservation of his state; when the peace being made betwixt the king and the duke, and the exchange for Saluses, with the countries of Bresse and Gex ratified and accomplished; these Spanish regiments being quartered in Carbonieres, Mountemellion, Savillan, Pignorall, and other places of Savoy and Piedmont, they upon no request or assummons made them by the duke, would depart thence, but being commanded the contrary by the Count de Fuentes, (vice-roy of Millan,) as he was from the king his master from Spaine, they peremptorily resolved and vowed to keepe firme footing, which they long time did, untill at last that wise and valiant duke being thereunto constrained for the securitie of his estate, whose eminent and utter subversion he apparently saw before his eyes, he very nobly cut all their throats.

H. 8. Beleeve me his highnesse of Savoy did well, for it was an act most worthy of his judgment and generositie.

Q. M. But the King of Spaine, the Dukes of Lerma, Pastrama, Denia, Albecurque, Tolledo, and all the counsell of warre of Spaine, vow to have their revenge of this affront.

Q. E. Spaine hath done his worst to Savoy already, for as long as France loves Savoy, Savoy needs not feare Spaine; at least mine authors tell me so, who are that famouss captaine, the Duke of Dedisguieres, his valiant son De Crequy, and noble Du Fremes.

Q. A. Though this one wrong, be one too many, yet is these all the wrongs that this King of Spaine hath offered this Duke of Savoy?

P. H. No, madame, for although the duke winke, and seemes (with Father Aubigny,) to have the art of forgetfulnesse; yet he well remembers how Don Juan de Faxis, (Spaines ambassadour in France,) told Lullius, Arconas, and Alimes, his highnesse ambassadours at Lyons, that the king his master would contribute towards the exchange of the marquisat of Saluces, conditionally it remained on that side the Alpes from the French; and since how his Catholique majestie hath performed nothing. He remembers Spaines plots upon his castle of Nice, (the key not only of his countries, but of Italy,) when his Spanish galleyes lay at Villa Franca to bereave him of his children; hee remembers how the Spanish cardinals oppose his precedency at Rome, with the Duke of Florence, and how the Catholike King, or his Vice-roy of Millan for him, was the match and incendiary to set fire twixt the Duke of Mantoua and him, for the marquisat of Montferrad.

Q. E. We may see what a kind brother-in-law the King of Spaine is, and what it is to build upon his alliance, affinitie, promises and assistance.

P. H. I am glad the Duke of Savoy, and the princes, his children, have now purchased the length of Spaines foote.

E. 6. They have reason to have it, for they were all enforced to take it with their swords, pikes, and lances, at Cassalo, Verceile, and other wheres.

Q. A. As long as Savoy loves not Spaine, the Marquis of Lullius, and Monsieur De Gabaleon told me, it needes not feare it.

Q. M. O but as long as Spaine knockes at the gates of Savoy and Piedmond, he may at last enter.

Q. E. Savoy hath reason to enter Millan, not Spaine Savoy.

Q. M. But time and the policie and swords of Spaine cut all donations and rights in peeces.

P. H. Savoy hath had warnings enough to beware of Spaine, and therefore as I ever loved that generous duke, so I hope that he and the illustrious and valiant princes, his sonnes, will never want arme of steele, and hearts of diamonds to out-brave Spaine, who with such ambition and malice seeks to out-brave it.

France.

H. 8. But what sayes France of Spaine.

Q. M. My honoured father, all the world knowes that Spaine hath ever loved France well.

Q. E. Yea, too, too well, and so well as France will never love Spaine, much lesse trust it in requitall.

Q. M. Why hath not Spaine reason to ballance and counterpoise the power and greatnesse of France.

P. H. Yea, but not to seeke to make that famous and flourishing kingdome become a province to Spaine.

Q M. Spaine never wisht it, much lesse attempted it.

Q. E. Yeares, more often then France hath provinces, or Spaine cities.

P. H. Why? who was the author and protector of the league, but first Spaine, then the Pope, and next the devill.

Q. M. O that was onely to preserve Catholikes, and the Catholike religion, and to exterminate and root out heretickes, and was not this well done of the King of Spaine, sith he is the Catholike King.

E. 6. Nay, now the least childe in France knowes that religion was onely the pretext, but empire and dominion the object of that league. Howels dared Mendoza, (Spaines ambassador,) in Paris seeke the crowne of France for the Infanta of Spaine, or how els dared the Jesuites his ministers, in their seditious sermons, and pernicious pamphlets, advance her right to the crowne and kingdome, when God and the world knowes she had none to it.

Q. M. Why, it was when God had caused that good fryer James Clement, to kill that bad king Henry the Third at St Clou, and when indeed that kingdome was without a head, and then the King of Spaine had reason to advance his daughters title to France, in right of her mother Elizabeth, (that queene of peace,) notwithstanding the fundamentall power of the salique law to the contrary.

H. 8. You are deceived daughter, for it was a good king, and a bad fryer, (or rather a divell in a fryers weed,) to set handes on the Lords anoynted, but this arrow came out of the quiver of Spaine, and hell, for that bloody and execrable murther was no sooner perpetrated, but then instantly followed the proposition of the Infantaes title to France, which apparently makes the murther to be Spaines.

Q. M. It was the Dukes of Mayene, and Mercuæur who drew the King of Spaine, to assist the league and in it France.

Q. E. No, no, contrarywise it was the King of Spaine, that debouched and drew these two dukes, and with them almost all the nobillitie, to forge and contrive

this league, and in it to ruine France; for already France was almost Spaine, and the infanta had undoubtedly borne the crowne, if great Henry his victorious sword had not pulled off Spaines maske, and so cut her title and its pretence in peeces.

Q. M. But see the equitie and justice of King Philip, for when Henrie that heriticke king came to the crowne, he restored him Calais, Dourlans, Valencienes, Blavet, and all other townes and castles which he had formerely wonne and conquered in France.

P. H. But all this was not worthy thankes, for Philip alone restored that which he could not, nor dared not to keepe.

Q. M. Nay, observe farther, how religious King Philip was, (in imitation of King Agesilaus,) for he kept his faith inviolable towards Henrie 4. although he were an heretique king.

P. H. Nay observe how irreligious and treacherous King Philip was to King Henrie 4. (in imitation of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes,) for he violated his faith and frindship towards him, in debaushing of Biron, Marcænques, Loste, whose promises and gold made them traytors to their king and country.

E. 6. Surely I think it is incident, and I feare it will prove hereditary to the kings of Spaine, to conquer more by treachery then by the sword.

Q. E. But had great Henrie lived, he would have requited these courses of Spaine, as also that of Guygnard and Chastell; who, although the report runnes otherwise, had their greatest light and encouragement from beyond the Pyreene mountaines; for to speake truth, he in hart could never be drawne to love Spaine.

P. H. Yea, that Spaine knew full well, for when the French Jesuits his ministers had unlocked that mistery, they like bloody schoolemasters, so divilishly instructed and fortified that monster of men Ravilliack, (their execrable and damnable disciple,) that he soone sent him hither in a bloudy coffin.

Q. M. But you will not say that the King of Spaine was accessary to Henry 4. his murther.

P. H. No, but I will say that if the truth were knowne, the opening of that veyne would make many great birds, yea and many learned ones too, bleede themselves to death, and peradventure the wounds and scarres thereof, would bleede an hundred yeares hence.

Q. A. The marshall of Laverdin whispered me a word concerning this, which I shall never forget, onely he requested my secrecie therein: so the King of Spaines Lerma, and the Queene Mother of France her D'Anchre, his Mariano, and her Cotton, shall give me leave to thinke.

Q. M. Questionlesse it were the sinnes of that king, and the finger of heaven that cut off the thred of his life.

Q. E. Questionlesse you are deceived sister, for it were the sinnes of France who made the knife, and the treasons of Spaine and Rome, which made that parracide of Ravilliack performe.

H. 8. Well, in despight of Rome, Spaine, and hell, that victorious and glorious king is wafted hither in triumph, therefore leave we him with God, and God with him, and let us see since his deplorable death, how kinde King Philip of Spaine hath beene to King Lewes his sonne.

Q. M. So kinde that hee hath matched King Lewis to his eldest daughter, the Infanta Anna; and his eldest sonne, Prince Philip, to eldest princesse of France Madame Elizabeth, that now these two mightie kingdomes and houses seeme to be but one.

Q. E. This is faire to the eye of the world, but it will be excellent if the end of these matches prove fortunate for France.

H. 8. Who were the match-makers?

P. H. S. P. Q. R. or to bee better understood, Spaine, Pope, and Queene Regent.

Q. E. If King Philip of Spaine be heyre as well as to his fathers ambition as to his kingdomes, he will love France so well as to push and fish for it.

P. H. What force could never effect, he hopes those marriages now will.

E. 6. Indeed, the snake lurkes under the fairest green leaves, and the aspick under the purest and sweetest roses.

Q. E. No kings of the world know better how to dissemble then the Catholique Kings.

P. H. You speake Scripture, not tradition.

Q. M. And you tradition not Scripture.

H. 8. But what entertainement had the Infanta of Spaine in France?

P. H. Noble, royall, glorious.

E. 6. What trayne of Spaniards brought shee with her into France.

P. H. A very great trayne, for Monsieur de Marais (the French ambassadour, with the king my father,) tolde me that Monsieur de Bovelle, maister of the ceremonies to the French king, reported, that when the first of them were entring Paris at St Jaques gate, that the last were but coming downe the Pyrene mountaines.

Q. A. But what did all this rabble of Spaniards doe in France?

P. H. To speake truth, they fell presently to skrewing and working themselves into the state, by begging and buying of offices, places, pensions, and governments, both in church and common-weale, and by making pensioners for Spaine, and consequently a bridge and passage for the king their master to enter.

H. 8. But how did the parliaments, the privie councell, and the nobilitie of France brooke and digest this?

Q. E. That is a question of state indeed.

P. H. As for the parliaments and privie councell, many of them are so jesuitized, as they are Spaniards in heart, though French in tongue, and therefore they were so farre from preventing, as they gave way to it, onely for the princes and nobilitie, some few excepted, they, resembling themselves, vowed and swore, that their swords should cut the pennes and tongues in pieces of any Spaniard whatsoever, that dared propose or attempt it, for they spake aloud and affirmed the Florentines had taught them wit.

E. 6. A brave resolution of the French nobilitie; for the greatest of a state have always the greatest interest in the state; those princes and nobles are therefore highly to bee applauded and praised: and such of the privy councell and parliament who tacitely are delinquents, and traytors to their prince and countrey, deserve to be found out, arraigned, and sacrificed to the good of the common-weale, either with a sword, or a halter.

Q. M. But what said the clergy of France to this?

Q. E. Sister, it is to be feared, as you wish and desire.

P. H. Why they out of passionate zeale, more then of zealous and sollid judgement, approve of any match for their king, so it bee not with a Protestant, and yet of none so well as of this with Spaine; demaund their reason, and they will answer you, with as much vehemency as ignorance, that the King of Spaine is the Catholique King, and if youe further to particularize, they reply, that their cardinals, who indeede are onely the Popes creatures, shall deliver more at the estates generall: so the clergie bad the Spaniards welcome into France.

Q E. But where are the firebrands and incendiaries of the state, the French Jesuites, who indeed are the fistulaes and botches of a state, what entertainment gave they to the young queene and her Spaniards?

P. H. Surely aunt, they crouched very low to the queene; but in Cottons[1] absence,

[1] Pere Cotton, a Jesuit, who had studied under one of the first followers of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order. Cotton was confessor to Henry VI. and to his son Louis XIII.

Arnoux[1] and Berrulla,[2] (their tongue and eare,) whispered so secretly to her majestie, that I could neither gather nor understand what they said, but I guest at it: onely they gave faire words and actions to all the Spaniards in generall; and to the nobler and wiser sort of them in particular, they engaged themselves to keepe curious correspondence with the Catholique King, to whom they affirmed and swore by their semiegod and sole patron Ignatius Loyalla, they would beare true observance as the marigold doth to the sunne.

Q. A. are not these two Jesuites the French Kings ordinary preachers, and yet dare they doe it?

Q. E. Although Berrulla be the father of the oratory, yet he is in heart and soule a Jesuite, and Arnoux is the arch-jesuite of France, and the kings confessour, and yet they dare and will doe it.

H. 8. But how did the Queene Regent entertaine the Spaniards?

P. H. Courteously and nobly, because shee made the match; which since she hath repented though; yea, and the Duke of Mayene too, who concluded and finished it: and so did Villeroy likewise, although it were too late. But Villeroy and Du Vair love Spaine so well, as their courages are so masculine, that though they see their errors in perswading these matches, yet they rather persist then acknowledge it, for, like good cleare-sighted statesmen, they have wit enough to beare up with the time, for otherwise they know the times will not beare up.

Q. M. But how did the commons of France entertaine the Spaniards.

Q E. Truly I thinke they will never be perswaded to like the fashion of the little hat, and great sette ruffe.

Q. A. Son Henry, pray answere Queene Mary.

P. H If we may judge of Hercules by his foote, so we then may of France by those of Paris, which is the eye, the heart, the soule thereof, where the citizens in all streetes, and especially the lakeyes at the lourre gate, and the new bridge, still salute the Spaniards as they passe by, by these courteous epithites, Boracho, Pantalones, and Bouriques.

H. 8. How long remained all these Spaniards in France?

Q. M. So long I warrant you, untill they did all their kings businesse, and their own too before they departed.

P. H. In truth so long, till all France was weary, and distasted of them and their proceedings, yea, so many yeares, that at last the king and counsell were in a manner constrained to send them away by an edict, as they themselves, not many yeares since did the Moores.

Q. M. The banishing of the Moores was a good and wholesome counsell of Spaine.

Q. E. And I assure you sister, the sending home of the Spaniards was as excellent a one in France, for upon the matter, they were but spyes, moaths, and drones, and would have proved so to France if they had continued there longer.

E. 6. But were they all sent home, and none left at the court of France to give and receive packets too and fro for the jesuites, the King of Spaines factors and agents?

Q. E. O no, assure your selfe, for the councell of Spaine is too wise to commit so grosse and palpable an errour of state.

[1] Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, son of Anthony Arnauld, Avocat-General to Mary de Medicis. Notwithstanding what is here said of his attachment to St Ignatius, Arnauld, though early introduced to high offices at Court, became a Jansenist, and retreated to Port Royal in 1644.

[2] Peter, Cardinal de Berulle, was attached to the service of Mary de Medicis, and by his intercession reconciled her with her son Louis XIII. He was a favourite in Spain, from which kingdom he imported into France a valuable colony of Carmelite friars. This Cardinal founded the *Congregation des Pretres de L'Oratoire.*

P. H. Therefore, to cast the thicker mist, and to put the better varnish one the businesse, the Countesse de la Tour, was left there, with the title of governesse to the young queene, and there is as much correspondencie, betwixt her and Don Ferdinand de Geron, (the ambassadour of Spaine) as there is betwixt him and the French Jesuites.

Q. A. Thus, Spaine leaves alwaies a sting behinde him, and I feare France will in the end finde it so.

Q. M. Whereon is your suspition and feare grounded?

Q. A. Upon the apparant symptomes of the lethargie, fever, or consumption of France.

E. 6. You say right, madam, and the noblest, and truest hearted Frenchmen participate of your apprehension; for the Jesuites (being the Pope's factors, and the King of Spaines oracles and agents) have already corrupted the Parliaments and privie councell, who should bee her Illyum, and Acrocorynth. They have undermyned and ruinated the Sorbone, heretofore her palladium, once the queene of Universities: Who now, as a mournful widow, sits with her haire dandling about her eares, and her teares trickling downe her cheekes, living onely in her shadow or ghost, or rather in her ruines; for the genius and soule, hath already made a transmigration to Clermont house; yea, and to speake true French, in our English tongue, they, by their devilish aphorismes, and bloudie positions (under a false and hypocriticall shew of learning, and pietie) doe poyson and corrupt the youth, and prime wits of France, as the Jewes did the springs and fountaines in England.

Q. E. Also, the clergie of France degenerates from its pristine candor, and zeale to the good of France, and the glory of the French church, for they receive lawes from the Popes nuncio, and the Jesuites, to whom they should give them. How else, at the last general estates of Paris, and the assembly of notables at Rouen, were they so unwise, dishonest, and cowardly, to referre themselves to the two cardinals, Perron, and Gondye? who, like good cardinals, but bad Frenchmen (having onely their bodies in France, but their hearts at Rome) in thankfulnesse to the Pope, for their red hats, forgat themselves and their allegiance so much, as to prostitute and debase that famous crowne, and flourishing kingdome of France, to be dependant to Rome in temporall matters, notwithstanding the pragmaticke sanction, and the prerogatives of the crowne and church of France to the contrary; whereat, the Popes nuncio at Paris, laught with open mouth: so did the colledge of cardinals. and the Pope himselfe at Rome; and likewise the Catholike King in Spaine, with all that huge rabble of Jesuites, whiles all the kings, soveraigne princes, and free estates of Europe, (Spaine and Italy excepted) greeved and lamented at it, with as much shame as wonder.

E. 6. Indeed these are two maine points and reasons, that the greatnesse and generosity of France declynes, and that Rome and Spaine will shortly shuffle the cards so well, as it must needs be made a province to Spaine; for they both have consulted, and finde, that what could not be effected during the reigne of old Henry, may in these of young King Lewes his sonne.

P. H. It is not impossible, rather likely, for France abounds in a monstrous height of pride and sinne: and the old cleargie of France, admit of so many new orders of fryers and nunnes, that almost all is out of order; and the seventeene millions which the Duke of Sicily left by accompt to the queene regent, is all long since spent, and twice seventeene more. So as although the polleta be still on foote, monopolyes never so rife, the finnances or exchequer drawne dry, and exhausted, yet the king is extreamly in debt to his nobilitie and pensioners; and is not this musique for the King of Spaine?

H. 8. Had great Henry lived, he would have remedied and prevented these calamities.

Q. A. But his sonne King Lewes is not happy to doe it; no, nor his creator the Duke of Luynes, so discreet and honest, to advise and councell him thereunto.

P. H. The neglect thereof may make one, or both of them to repent it, and peradventure the kingdome too; for already the commons grieve hereat, and the nobilitie would, but cannot remedy it.

Q. M. Spaine loves France, therefore France neede not feare Spaine.

P. H. The panthers skin is faire, yet his friendship is fatall, and his breath infectious.

Q. E. Indeed if France loved not Spaine, it neede not feare it.

Q. M. King Philip loves King Lewis dearely.

Q. A. Not halfe so well as he loves his kingdome of France.

Q. E. In truth, France hath reason to have a vigilant eye ore Spain, for as long as shee sleepes in her bed of pleasure and securitie, perhaps one of these dayes, Spaines ambition may awake her with drum, trumpet, and cannon.

P. H. O no, not as yet, for if the King of Spaine were so ill advised, his councell is not; for they, like old experienced foxes, will never permit him to discover himselfe, much lesse his resolutions, and least of all his ambition and sword, untill the sunne hath attained the meridian.

Q. M. I know not what my nephew meanes by this mathematicall riddle.

Q E. I was never greatly skild in the mathematickes, and yet consuming my youth, yeares, and cares for England, I have reason to understand his knowledge. Wherefore, sister, sith hee is a noble and famous prince, let us heare him, for he hath some mistery to reveale twixt France and Spaine.

Q. M. He loves France, and hates Spaine, and which is worse, hee was an heretique, therefore his tongue can make no spherall melody.

E. 6. But his heresie hath brought him hither to heaven tho, and he is a famous and noble prince: therefore, cosen Wales, speake on of France and Spaine, for now wee are all resolved to heare you.

Q. E. I gave him my fathers name, and he inheriteth my resolution and courage, and the king his fathers wisedome, therefore he can neither flatter nor dissemble.

Q. A. Speake on, Henry.

P. H. Know all men by these presents, that if Spaine did see the heart and bowels of France weltring in its bloud, and flaming in the fire of an intestine civill warre, if it did see the princes banded against the king, or the king against the Protestants, these rifeling of the Lourre, and of Paris, and his majestie besieging of Rochell, Sancerre, Sedan, Nismes, or Samury, or denouncing warre to all those of that religion. If it did see sixteene Parisian tribunes, carrying away the court of Parliament prisoners to the Bastille, and Chastellets, the rebellious barycadoes, and a bloudie massacre in Paris, and generally in all the cities of the kingdome; if hee did see some princes of the bloud (or two great dukes, as were Du Mayene and Merary,) captivating and deboshing the obedience and affections of the French nobilitie, clergie and commons, and covering their pernitious designes and trecherous attempts, under the cloake of the holy league; if it did see Calais, Doullaus, Amiens, Montdidier, Valencienes, Blauet, and Croyden, or other strong cities or forts of France, bearing out the red ragged crosse, instead of the three yellow flower deluces, and a second Mendoza for his ambassadour, sate as premier president and oracle in the Louare, Towne-house and Parliament, that then Philip the III. of Spaine loves his sonne in law Lewes the Thirteene of France so well, that hee would use him as King Philip the Second had an eager desire, and had almost done great Henry his father.

Q. M. Why, how was that?

P. H. Right, as my godmother Queene Elizabeth had formerly told you, nothing but to deprive him of his kingdome.

E. 6. It were better that all the Jesuites were hanged, and the young queene of France sent home to Spaine, with her portion, to the king her father.

Q. E. But wee see strange alterations in the court of France, for some dare, but will not, and others would, but dare not informe the king hereof.

Q. A. France hath reason, yea, it is high time for her to looke to her selfe, for the agents, Jesuits, and double pistols of Spaine are busie, and their swords and pikes are not idle. For whiles France playes the theorie, Spaine playes the practique.

Of the Netherlands.

H. 8. How doth Spaine and the Netherlands agree?

E. 6. Spaine hath so long inured, and enforced the Hollanders to bloud and warres, as now at sea and land they are become such brave souldiers and marriners, as they feare not Spaine, and to love Spaniards, they vow it is impossible, much lesse to obey them.

Q. M. It is pittie that King Philip the Second, ended not the chastising and conquest of these heretique Hollanders, ere King Philip the Third began it, or that hee cannot reduce them to obedience, by ending these warres with more fortunacie, and lesse danger and dammage.

Q. E. Nay, sister, it is pittie that these two kings of Spaine, and the Archduke Albertus, and Isabella, have from time to time beene so ambitious, inhumane, cruell, and revengefull, to drowne the face of the Netherlands with many deluges of bloud, in seeking to preserve their libertie, lives, and consciences, from the cruell tyrannie and inquisition of Spaine.

P. H. Indeed for this forty yeares, the Netherlands hath beene the schoole and theater of Mars, whereon there hath beene more brave souldiers, and renowned captaines slaine, then in any country of the world, or in many precedent ages; and yet all this bloud is not capable to quench Spaines ambition and tyranny, in seeking to devour those provinces.

Q. A. Hath not Spaine assaulted the Netherlands as well by trecherie as hostilitie?[1]

Q. E. Yes, witnesse the damnable villaine Gerrard, who long since murdered William the famous Prince of Orange, their lieutenant-generall, and father to Maurice, that valiant and incomparable captaine, who now succeeds him in his principalitie.

Q. M. O sister, cast not so base an aspersion on King Philip my husband, to affirme hee was accessary to the murther of William Prince of Orange, much lesse authorised it, or commanded it.

P. H. All the ocean betweene Holland and Spaine, cannot wash off that murther from your husband King Philip, for his proscription to murther him beares it, and his lieutenant the Duke of Parma, commanded the Count Assonuille to deale with Gerrard about this murther, who promised him twentie-five thousand crownes to effect it, which, O griefe to speake it, he did.

E. 6. But his valiant sonne hath long since had revenge for the death of his father.

Q. A. If he have not, he resolves to have it.

H 8. But hath not Spaine since attempted, or broached any other treason towards the Hollanders?

P. H. O yes, very lately, for whilst Spaine is Spaine, Holland will never forget how neere he was to have extinguished her libertie, and surprised their state, by infecting

[1] See Volume I. of this Collection, p. 407.

and corrupting their secretary Barnevelt, a man of so profound wit, and deepe judgment and experience in matters of state, as he was not onely the oracle of the Netherlands, but the ornament and wonder of Europe, yea of his time.

Q. E. See, the fruites of Spaines gold, and the effects of his boundlesse ambition, for it is a common custome with him, if not by the maine, yet surely by the bye, to breake the necke of great princes, and free estates, publique ministers, whether they are great souldiers, or great statesmen, or both.

Q. A. Yea, the web of this treason was so cunningly woven, and so subtilly and finely spun, as if the Netherlands had not broken Barnevelts necke, he long ere this had assuredly broken the necke both of their libertie and state.

Q. M. Well, Barnevelt is gone, and now Spaine needs not feare his policy.

P. H. Nay, Barnevelt being dead, and Maurice, that famous Prince of Orange living, Holland need not feare either the trecherie, or force of Spaine.

H. 8. But nephew, I heare that the United Provinces of the Low-Countries will this spring have warres with Spaine, for their peace is neere expired and ended.

P. H A brave, noble, and wise resolution of theirs.

E. 6. Heretofore England taught the Hollanders wit and valour, and now they resolve to shew England the way to those two vertues.

Q. M. But the gold and silver of Spaine will prevaile against them, and weigh them downe.

P. H. But the Hollanders had ships enough of their owne, and gold, silver, and men from England; therefore they disdaine to feare Spaine, nay rather they vow before the next summer to make Spaine feare them.

H. 8. See, see, a handfull of men dare attempt that against Spaine, which Great Britaines huge infinitie will not.

Q. E. And yet their cause and reason is Englands, viz. their consciences, lives, and countries.

Q. A. Pray God, England and France interpose not to crosse the warres, and seeke to conclude a peace betwixt Holland and Spaine.

E. 6. But the Hollanders are resolved to make King James a large offer, to protect them against Spaine.

Q. M. But King James loves Spaine too well, and therefore will not hearken to or regard their proffer, for his majestie is resolved not to protect them.

P. H. The more is the pitty.

Q. E. The more my griefe.

Q. M. And, without griefe or pitty, the more is my joy.

Q. E. I protected the Netherland in despite of Spaine.

E. 6. But Spaine went neere by your Leicester, to betray both you and them.

H. 8. If King James would now protect the Netherlanders, how easily might he refetch backe Flushing, the Brill, and the Ramekins?[1]

E. 6. Nay, how easily did his majestie depart with them to the Netherlands?

P. H. It infinitely rejoyceth me to understand the Hollanders brave resolution and forwardnesse to have warres with Spaine.

Q. M. But there is a secret tricke to coole their courages, which they least thinke of.

H. 8. As how, daughter?

Q. M. Why, to pistoll this Prince of Orange, as they did his father.

Q. E. Heaven forbid it.

P. H. God defend it.

Q. M. Why, 'tis but one for another; for, he knowing Barnevelt a traytor to his

[1] The Cautionary Towns pledged by the States to Elizabeth, and restored by James.

country, because a pensioner to Spaine, caused the Lords States to put him to death; why then (in exchange and requittall) should not a pensioner of Spaine either poison or pistoll the Prince of Orange?

E. 6 These diabolicall resolutions and bloudy positions come from hell.

Q. E And thither they goe that professe and practise them.

Q. M. The King of Spaine is too religious to authorise so execrable a murther.

Q. E. But the Pope, as holy as he is, will pardon it; and yet the world, I hope knowes that the King of Spaine cannot be so religious as his holinesse.

Q. A. It were good then for Holland to be carefull of their Prince of Orange his life, as all the world knowes his excellency is of their safetie and preservations.

P. H. And it will likewise behoove them to observe withall (as I hope they doe) how subtilly and trecherously Spinola takes their neighbour townes for the emperour, and keepes them for the King of Spaine his master.

E. 6 And if the warres goe on 'twixt Holland and Spaine, as I hope they will, it will be needfull for Spaine to have a speciall care of his West-Indies from the Holland fleetes.

H. 8. Wherefore only Spaines West Indies, or rather, why not all the worlds West-Indies, sith their red and white earth sets all the world on fire and in combustion?

Q. A. Surely, ere this summer passe, and the next appeare, the Hollanders vow to have a heave at them.

Q. M. Nay, I hope the contrary, for the West-Indies is the maine and onely prop of Spaine, which, if once found out, and taken away from them, will quickly make the greatnesse of his ambition and empire totter.

P. H. Till when all other kingdomes and estates of Christendome may think themselves exempt from Spaines feare, but shall never be from his danger.

Q. E. This Holland perfectly and apparently knowes, and it were a greater happinesse for the rest of Europe, if they would herein imitate their generositie, valour, and wisedome, who stand on their guards with their swords drawne, and their match lighted, ready to give fire, as being constantly and vertuously resolved neither to love, trust, nor feare Spain.

England.

H. 8. But now leave we all other countries, and come wee to England, from whence being descended, wee, by the lawes of nature, are eternally obliged to honour and love it; yea, to preferre it and its prosperitie and glory to all other countries of the world; wherefore let us see Spaines ambition and envy towards it, and how he hath from time to time borne himselfe to the English.

Q. M. There is no kingdom in the world that Spaine loves better then England.

Q. E. Nor no people under the sunne that it hates more then Englishmen.

E. 6. For Peter, King of Castille, most ingratefully and basely abused our famous and generous Edward the Blacke Prince (the ornament of armes, the glory of England, and the honour of the world), and his whole army in Spaine, after that he had inthronised and seated the said Peter in his kingdome, and with his victorious armes expelled Henry the Bastard, who usurped it.

Q. M. If Spaine had not loved England and Englishmen, King Philip would never have married mee.

Q. E. Hee loved you well, sister, but your kingdome farre better, for you were the object of his zeale, but England that of his ambition.

H. 8. But, Elizabeth, hee hated you more then ever he loved Mary.

Q. E. And yet I dare truly affirme, that King Philip loved my kingdome farre more then ever he hated my person.

H. 8. To speake truth, daughter, he neither loved you nor Mary his wife and queene, but only England.

P. H. And I have heard, that if he had never married my aunt Mary, shee had never lost Calais, nor, consequently, England, France.

E. 6. Though that match were unfortunate to England in the losse of Calais, yet it was fortunate that Philip and Mary had no children.

Q. M. If we had had any males, England had beene long since a province to Spaine.

Q. E. God knew so much, and therefore prevented it; wherein I blesse his mercy and providence, as also your sterrilitie.

P. H. Aunt, and I your resolution in speaking it.

Q. M. The Kings of Spaine are the greatest and most potent kings of the world.

Q. E. Yea, in ambition and ostentation, but not in power; for I proved it not so, I found it not so, I left it not so.

P. H. You, madame, found warre with Spaine surer and safer then peace.

Q. E. Yea, farre more safer, and farre more profitable too for England.

Q. A. Then I wonder that King James, my husband, so delightes and drownes himselfe in his peace with Spaine.

Q. M. O but Spaine findes both policy and reason enough to lull King James a-sleepe in the cradle of peace and security.

Q. E. I never feared Spaine lesse then when I loved it not, nor more then when it made greatest shew to love me.

P. H. And the king my father never loved it more then now when he feares it.

E. 6. But is it possible King James feares Spaine?

P. H. It seemes so, for else he would never love it so excessively.

Q. E. Sir Nicholas Bacon, my chancellor, on his death-bed, wrote me a letter, that the glory and conservation of England consisted in holding Spaine at rapiers point; and will not his sonne Sir Francis, the now chancellor, tell his maister so much?

P. H. O no, he is otherwise imployed.

H. 8. But tell mee, daughter, was Spaine ever treacherous to your person?

Q. E. Almost every yeare Spaine hatched mee a new treason, witnesse Parry, Babbington, Williams, Yorke, Lopez, and infinite others, who sought to lay violent hands on my person and life; but that God, in his infinite mercy and providence, still protected and defended me, to their owne confusion.

P. H. But King Philip II. chiefely discovered his love to England in the treacherous attempt of his huge armado of 88, tearmed by the Pope, in a bravery, "The Invincible Fleete;" at what time his ambition and greedy usurpation so farre ore swayed him and his councell, as he thought to have made an absolute conquest of England; but hee was deceived of his hopes; for God looked on England with his indulgent eye of pitty and compassion, and on that great and mightie navall army with contempt and detestation.

Q. E. Yea, God was so gracious to England, and so mercifull to mee, as not only my ships and people, but the windes and waves fought for my defence, and that of my countrey, against the pride and malice of Spaine, who grew mad with anger and pale with griefe, to see this his great and warlike armado beaten, foyled, and confounded, in the midst of their glory and ambition.

E. 6. But, sister, was this all Spaines malice and treachery towards you and your state?

Q. E. No, no, for I had forgotten how, before that, his majestie in Spaine, and his lieutenant the Duke of Alva in Flanders, embarg'd and confisk'd[1] a world of goods and ships that belonged to my subjects, contrary to all lawes of conscience and nations.

[1] Laid embargo on and confiscated.

P. H. And no other?

Q. E. Yes, King Phillip begged my kingdome of Ireland of the Pope, and so assisted the rebels, and made a confederacy with them for the conquest thereof from me, bringing in first Stukeley,[1] then Don Juan of Aquila,[2] into that kingdome to the same effect: but heaven alwayes laught at their ambition, usurpation, and trecherie, which still proved as vaine as impious and unjust.

P H. And yet see the justice of the cause and the equitie of your armes; for Essex landed at Calez, and in despight of Spaine tooke and rifled it, beating and sinking their best and greatest ships, in a manner without any shew of defence or resistance.

Q. M. O but now the times are altered and changed; for then Spaine was poore and England rich, and now England is poore and Spaine rich: likewise Spaines warres, parsimonie, and frugalitie, makes his men souldiers; and our peace, pride, and superfluitie, hath made our souldiers either courtiers or cowards.

H. 8. France knew that I found souldiers in England when I tooke Tourney and Bouloigne.

Q. E. And Spaine felt that English were souldiers, when my Drake beat them on my seas and coast in 88; my Norris at Groynen in 94; my Essex at Calais in 96; and my Montjoy at Kinsale in 1600.

Q. M. But then England was delighted in combats, warres, and victories, and now in stage-plays, maskes, revels, and carowsing, so as their courages are become as rustie as their swords and muskets, which serve to grace the walls and not the fields, except in poore musters and sleight trainings, and that but once a yeare, which, upon the whole, is more for ostentation then service. Moreover, then Englands navy-royall could give a law to the ocean, and now time and negligence hath almost made all these ships unserviceable, who lye rotting at Chatam and Rocesther.

E. 6. Here Queene Mary hath reason, for now she is in the truth.

Q. E. What, sister and brother, my royall-navy lye rotting, who are the bulwarkes and walles of England, and, when I left them, were capable to beate the power and pride of Spaine to shivers? O this grieves me! but I beleeve not that my wise and prudent successour King James will suffer or permit it: I pray, god-son and nephew Prince Henry, resolve me hereof.

P. H. Indeed, madam, I confesse I have seene so much my selfe, when, God knowes, I grieved to see it; neither did I faile to put the king my father often in remembrance thereof; and his majestie still promised me to new build and repaire that royall-fleete, to which number I added my Prince-Royall, a ship, who, had she many fellowes, England needed not feare all the fleetes of the world; but although the old lord admirall hath not beene carefull for the preservation of the navy, yet the new one is.

H. 8. If he be not, I grieve for the fleet.

Q. E. And I lament it.

E. 6. And I pittie it.

Q. A. And I bewaile it.

Q. M. And, not to dissemble, both Gondomar, King Philip his master, the Pope, my selfe, and all the Romane Catholiques of England, rejoyce hereat; for the impotency and destruction of this royall navy is the harbinger to prepare the way, and a step for King Phillip to mount the throne of estate, to pluck off King James his crowne, and to place and settle it on his owne head.

Q. E. O my ships, my ships! God knowes they were still deare to me, because still necessary to England. Where is my Drake, where my Cumberland, my Forbisher, my Grinville, my Cavendish, my Haukins, my Rauliegh, and the rest? Alas, they want me, and King James and England wants them; for when they lived and I raigned, our

[1] See vol. I. p. 190. [2] Ibid. p. 205.

valour could stop the progression of Spaine; yea, my ships domineerd in his seas and ports, and their clouds of smoke and fire, with their peales of thunder, strucke such amazment to the harts, and terrour to the courages of Castille and her faint-hearted Castillians, that every Spanish bird kept his owne nest, not powerfull enough to defend themselves, much lesse to offend any; and lest of all, England, who was then in her triumphes, in her lustre, in her glory.

P. H. Grieve no more, dear aunt, for the navy royall of England; for although Nottingam were remisse and carelesse herein, yet brave Buckingham hath of late yeares set a new face on that fleet; and makes it not onely his delight, but his glory to re-edifie and reforme them; yea, there is not a yeare passes him, but hee brings some new forth from their dockes, and puts in other old, although Cranfield, resembling himselfe, bites his lips at the charge thereof, because he affirmes he hath other occasions to disburse, and pay away the kings treasure. [1]

Q. E. Nephew Wales, I am glad to heare that Buckingham is so carefull of Englands fleet-royall, and in very deed, his ambition, care, and zeale herein, will infallibly purchase him much love and honour of the whole kingdome, especially if he continue it.

H. 8. Me thinks Scotland annexed and united to England, should make it farre the stronger.

Q. E But how can King James say England and Scotland is strong, when he feares the powers of Spaine, and will not know or beleeve his owne?

E. 6. Yea, it were much honour to the king, and happinesse to his kingdomes and subjects, if in any poynt, knowing the weaknesse thereof, he would fortifie and reforme it.

Q. A. And it were a great happinesse for most kingdomes and free estates of Europe, if they would follow the examples of the Venetians and Hollanders, who will neither trust, nor love, much lesse feare Spaine.

P. H. And among the rest, if England would follow it, they should drawe securitie out of danger, whereas now her apparent danger is drawne and derived from her apparent security.

Q. A. O that the king my husband would thinke hereof.

P. H. O that the king my father would make use hereof.

Q. E. O that King James my heire and successour would not hearken or beleeve the contrary hereof.

H. 8. But this were the way to have warres with Spaine, and King James, I understand, is resolved to live and dye in peace with them.

Q. M. Warre cannot be bought at a cheape rate.

Q. E. But it is pitty that peace should be bought at too deare and dishonourable a rate.

P. H. I have alwayes beene enformed, that England still gets by her warres with Spaine.

Q. E. I got by my warres with Spaine, and Spaine lost by it.

P. H. My father and his subjects lose by his peace with Spaine, and Spaine gets by it.

Q. M. When England hath lost herselfe, she can lose no more.

Q. E. But sister, your death was the death of the Popes hopes, and of Spaines pretences to England.

[1] This passage appears to confirm the idea that the treaty was written by a partizan of Buckingham, who here ascribes to him, (with little desert,) the popular merit of maintaining the navy; and to Cranfield, the treasurer, with whom he was at variance, the odious office of diverting the revenue from this national purpose.

P. H. But they both seeme to revive and bud forth afresh, if the match betweene my noble brother P. Charles, and the Infanto of Spaine take effect.

Q. A. May heaven deny the first, and the king your father never consent to the second.

Q. E. So shall Spaine ever feare England, but never England Spaine.

Q. M. But I hope the contrary; for in these dayes the King of Spaines gold and his ambassadour Count Gondomar act wonders in England.

H. 8. Hath Gondomar propounded this match to King James?

P. H. O long since, and hee hath vowed to weare out his red leather coach and greene buckram litter, but he will see an end of it this Parliament.

Q. A. I thought indeede it was not for nothing, that he makes Æsops fables his daily pocket guest.

E. 6. How doth King James relish this match?

Q. M. His exchequer is poore, and King Philips Indies rich, and therfore his majesty likes it so well, as he will hearken to no other.

H. 8. How doth Prince Charles himselfe like this motion?

P. H. I know not how my brother likes it, but for my part I should ever have preferred a daughter of France to that of Spaine, and I hope the match will not succeede, because my noble brother Prince Charles is wise, valiant, and generous.

E. 6. But how doth the brave and grave Parliament savour this Spanish match?

Q. A. Fewe love it, most feare it, but as the match, so the Parliament is not yet ended.

Q. E. This would be musicke indeede for the Romane Catholiques of England, if it should take effect; for the very first newes thereof made them flap their wings, as if they were ready to crowe.

Q. M. Yea, for they hope, and which is more, they know, that if it prove a match, that the infanta will soone introduce the masse, and usher in the Pope; therefore they have reason to rejoyce at it.

P. H. But if the King of Spaine will not give the summe which my father King James demaunds, will not they make it up?

Q. E. It is probable and credible, that their holy father the Pope, and themselves, will stretch both their purses and credites to knit the match.

H. 8. Why? hath Gondomar such power with King James, to hope to see this match effected?

Q. M. O yes; for his majesty saith, that his master is an honest king, and hee a wise servant: The first all the world knowes; and the second, I hope England shall shortly feele, at least, if all hookes take.

P. H. Indeed if Gondomar can effect this match, it is the direct way for him to be a Grande of Spaine, and to procure a red hat for his sonne or nephew.

Q. A. Was the Duke of Monteleone so rewarded for his French matches?

Q. M. Hee is already a Grande of Spaine, and hath the promise of a hat.

Q. A. Why then Count Gondomar need not feare, for hee hath as much policie as the Duke of Monteleone, though not so much ostentation.

H. 8. Who made and concluded the match with King Philip?

Q. M. My selfe and the Parliament.

Q. E. Nay sister, put in Woolsey and Gardyner, and leave out the Parliament; for you onely proposed it them but for forme, and had secretly concluded it before hand your selfe.

Q. M. Suppose I did, I might doe it of mine owne authority, and prerogative royall.

Q. E. But you offered no faire play to the Parliament though, in asking their advise when the contracts were ready to be sealed.

Q. M. But I had reason to follow mine owne judgement, not their passions.

H 8. Nay, nay daughter, you contrariwise followed your owne passion, not their judgements, and so God gave limits to Philips ambition, and your owne desires, by making you forsake earth, and he England.

E. 6. But wise King James is opposite to my sister Mary, as well in religion as sexe; and therefore, I hope, nay, I assure my selfe, he will first consult this match with his Parliament, ere he conclude it with Spaine.

P. H. If the voyce of the Parliament be free, and not enforced, I make no doubt but the Pope, the King of Spaine, Gondomar, and all our recusants will come short of their hopes for the match.

H. 8. Daughter, what benefits proposed you to the Parliament, by your match with Spaine.

Q M. Strength, profit, honour, which England, King James, and Prince Charles will likewise now finde if the match hold.

E. 6. As for strength, if England would know its selfe, it neede not expect or hope for any from Spaine: for Spaines assistance hath alwayes proved fatall and ruinous, to those who have used it; and if England would assume the ancient generosity of her ancestors, and forsake her new fangled pride and prodigality, wee know it is strong enough to beat Spaine, and all his kingdomes and provinces, and no way so weake to feare that Spaine should make England a province; for it were farre safer for England and Englishmen, if they wore worse cloathes, and had better hearts and swords, and if they were more martiall and lesse effeminate.

Q. E. For profit, what Indies is richer then England? for if England want money, herselfe is still more powerfull and capable to inrich it selfe, if it would be lesse vaine, and more frugall and industrious, &c. what is a few hundred thousand pounds to England, if England be thereby exposed to the danger of Spaine? or that it be againe fetcht from them by the bye, as it was brought in by the maine? for was profit ever cheape when it was bought with losse and repentance, with teares and blood? or shall not every ducket be weighed and counterpoised downe with a farre greater prejudice and inconveniency: for if the match hold, will not our recusants looke aloofe? will not Spaniards bee so ambitiously insolent to attempt to out-looke English? will not the Pope steale in by degrees, and the King of Spaine breake in either like a torrent or a thunder bolt, when his factors and agents have made all things ripe and in a readinesse? will this be Englands profit?

P. H. For honour, England and Scotland were free, royall, and ancient monarchies; when indeed Spaine was not Spaine, but disjoynted and dissevered provinces: yea, for pompe, state, and glory, our princes were kings, when their kings were scarce princes, nor their princes nobles: Therefore, Great Brittaine, by the match, can conferre and adde honour to Spaine; but not Spaine to Great Brittaine.

Q. A. I could never yet affect the match of Spaine, for either of the two princes my sonnes: for the Spaniard is by nature as trecherous as proud, and although Northampton perswaded me thereto, yet I loved true-hearted Salisbury, who alwayes diverted me from it; as, in the depth of his allegiance, and the profunditie of his wisdome and judgement, well fore seeing they would prove fatall and ruinous to England.

E. 6. It is strange to see with what insatiable desire and ambition, Spaine covets England; for hee hath already attempted it by trechery, by force, and now by the match of his daughter the Infanta to Prince Charles.

Q M. You meane King Philip the 2. and not this present King Philip the Third; and as Don Juan de Taris, the ambassadour of Spaine, told King James at his first comming to the crowne of England, that the ambition and malice of Spaine to England, dyed with that prince, and was interred and buryed with him.

Q. E. But was this King Philip the third and his councell, never acquainted with that horrible gunpowder treason, whereby it was intended and resolved, that England should have been blowne up, overthrowne, and ruined in a moment?

Q. M. O no, he is too Catholique a king to have hearkened, much lesse to have approved that passionate plot.

Q. E. You might have said, that execrable and damnable plot of treason, but that you will seeke to diminish and extenuate Rome and Spaines treasons.

Q. M. You infinitely wrong the Pope, and King of Spaine, to suspect, much lesse to beleeve, that they were acquainted with that powder plot.

Q. E. No? went not Faulkes, that hellish incendiary, once to Rome about it, and the younger Winter twice to Vallidolide?

Q. M. Yea, about some other businesse it may be, although I must confesse it was very immediately before that treason was discovered.

P. H. Gondomar told me, that both the Pope and King of Spaine abhord that treason.

Q. A. I feare they abhord it, for griefe it tooke not effect.

Q. M. If ever this King Philip hated England, yee may be sure now he loves it; for else he would never seeke to match his daughter to it.

Q. E. What force and treachery cannot effect, now affection in the match shall.—Wherein King Philip is of Lysanders minde, who when the lyons skinne will not serve, he will sowe on a peece of the foxes tayle.

E. 6. So he come into England, he cares not by which way he arrive.

P. H. So the daughter come not into England, England neede not feare the comming of the father.

Q. M. Count Gondomar will beate his head into horse shoes, but he will bring in the daughter, and already his hopes and the probabilities are great, for he is exceeding great and familiar with King James.

Q. E. Else he could never have gotten open the prison dores for the Romane priests and Jesuites.

P. H. Nor have made Raleighs head to caper beyond his body.

Q. A. Nor have kept back an army from my sonne and daughter the King and Queene of Bohemia, when so many hundred thousand valiant English souldiers desired and longed to have served them in their warres.

Q. E. Nor have shipt away so great a quantitie of ordnance for Spaine, which one of these dayes will returne bullets to our hearts.

E. 6. Nor have procured a gallant fleete to secure the coast of Spaine, against the Turkish pyrates, under coulour of going to Argier and Barbary.[1]

P. H. That fleete was fitter to have gone to Mexico.

Q. A. So indeed it might have returned with glory and gold, whereas, now I feare it will with losse and repentance, I will not say with shame.

Q. E. I know by experience, it is an excellent thing for England to fight with Spaniards, but not to joyne with Spaniards against others.

P. H. Why should not our English fleetes goe for the West Indies?

Q. M. If this proposition be broached, then Gondomar will run madde.

E. 6. What difference is there betwixt the East and West Indies?

P. H. As much as there is betweene pepper and silver, or white feathers and yellow gold.

H. 8. O but England, neere this twenty yeares hath lost those golden times of going to the gardens of Hesperides.

[1] James sent a fleet into the Mediterranean, under command of Sir Robert Mansel, to act with the Spaniards against the Moors.

P. H. And now Holland, after ten yeares tryall, and patience, resolves to finde them.

Q. E. Now we speake of Holland: It againe exceedingly grieves me, that England goes from Holland, in that it will not protect it against Spaine.

Q. M. And truely it is my joy and comfort to understand it: for the farther England goes from Holland, I am sure the neerer Spaine comes to England.

P. H. Nay, if the match hold, Holland can expect no assistance from England; for the Pope, the King of Spaine, Gondomar, the Jesuites, and English recusants, will in few yeares so shuffle and deale the cards, as England shall not bee able to assist herselfe, much lesse her neighbours.

E. 6. Why that is the way, in a few more yeares, to make England a province to Spaine.

Q. E. Yea, yea, there is the mysterie; for if the match with Spaine hold, the conquest of England will undoubtedly follow, and then Gondomar can be no lesse then vice-roy or great commander of England, for the king and councell of Spaine will judge him worthy of this honour, because he hath deserved it.

P. H. It were better Spaine were hell, and Gondomar vice-roy to the devill, as he is now ambassadour to the Catholicke King.

Q. A. But is it possible that the King of Spaine hath so little justice and charity, and so much vanitie and ambition to desire it?

E. 6. The Kings of Spaine make this the tenth article of their creed, that the rules of empire and state ought to give lawes, but not to receive any.

Q. E. But this is contrary to the lawes of the King of kings.

Q. M But in the counsell of Spaine, the rules of state are alwaies too sublime and powerful for those of religion; yea the Pope will easily dispense with the King of Spaine, to make a conquest of England, either by treachery, hostilitie, or the match: for it is against an hereticke king and people, who refuse to enter into the bosome of the church, and therefore lawfull in it selfe: because it tends to the Catholique cause, the displanting and rooting out of heretikes, and the establishing and preservation of the Romane Catholikes in England.

Q. E. Those giddy and passionate Romane Catholiques of England, who desire to fish in troubled waters, who delight in nothing but in innovation and novelty, and who make a May-game of conscience, and an ape of religion, may peradventure, flatter themselves with the false sunne-shine of these hopes; but those of them whose hearts are better lodged, and whose eyes and judgments can see farther and clearer: those I say who know by the lawes of grace and nature, what they owe to God, to their lawfull prince and country; those remember that the Duke of Medina Sydonia said, in eighty-eight (who was then generall of the Spanish fleete), that his commission was not to distinguish of religion; but to make a passage with his sword, ore both religions without exception, that thereby the king his master might have the easier way, and fairer passage to the crowne and kingdome of England: therefore wee neede no perspective glasse, or spectacles to see, that it is not the establishing of the Romane religion, but of himselfe in England, whereat the king of Spaine still aymes.

Q. M. But Count Gondomar is wise enough to provide a playster for that sore, for hee in netling the nobler sort of Catholiques with the match, hath in plaine tearmes given the lye to the Duke of Medina his speech, and therefore he hopes they will beleeve him.

P. H. The nobler and more passionate and factious sort of them may beleeve Gondomar herein, but the wiser, temporate, and conscious will not; and yet the feminine gender are masculine sticklers and solicitors for him, as hee and the Jesuites are for the king his master.

Q. E. Nay, the Romane Catholikes of England have reason to beleeve Gondomar; sith King James loves him well, as hee esteemes his speeches, oracles, and scripture; and who, with the quintessence of his Castillian, or rather Galician braine, hath now brought matters to this passe, that no sincere advise, honest letter, religious sermon, or true picture, can point at the king of Spaine, but they are called in; and their authors imprisoned (in sted of rewarded) though never so honest and loyall subjects.[1]

H. 8. But me thinkes that this is no subtill policie of Gondomar; for the more he strives to supprese the truth, the more it will flourish and prevaile; for, (for the good of England) if one penne, or tongue bee commaunded to silence, they will occasion and set tenne at libertie to write and speake; as grasse or cammomell, which the more it is depressed, the thicker it will spread and grow.

Q. M. But hath not Gondomar reason to strike whiles he finds the iron hot, and to take the benefit of the floud, before the ebbe come or the tide be spent?

Q. A. Indeed they say, hee reports that this summer time, the ayr of London and Islington is not sweete enough, either for his fistula, or perfumed braine, and that hee hath therefore gotten leave of his majestie, to lodge in a part of his pallace of Greenwich, which stands in so pure an ayre, upon the pleasant christall river of Thames.

Q. E. That were a presumptuous part of Gondomar indeed, to aspire to lodge in that pleasant, and royall pallace of Greenwich.

Q. M. But if it bee so, I thinke it is not to lodge there himselfe, but onely to square out the infantas lodgings, her chamber of presence, and a plot to build her grace a chappell against shee come, whereof Jones Sir Innigo[2] hath already the modell in his braines.

P. H. If King James my father lodge Gondomar this summer in Greenwich, the next, King Philip himselfe will hope to lye in White-hall.

E. 6. Nay, soft, first let his daughter the infanta come, for shee must breake the ice, ere his Catholique majestie will dare adventure to come passe the seas hither.

Q. M. Adventure to come? why wherefore else, saith Count Gondomar, lyes King James his fleete at Alicant, and Carthagena, but to transport her for England this summer?

Q. E. Untill I am enforced to understand, that that fleete is at Lisbone, the Groyne, or Saint Andera, I will not beleeve it, but then I will feare it.

Q. M. So the heretike Protestants of France feared their Spanish matches, and yet we see they prosper.

Q. A. It is the end which crownes the beginning, not the beginning the end of a worke.

Q. E. What speake you, sister, of the French matches with Spaine, to this of England and Spaine? for all the world knowes, that the estates of England and France, are diametrically opposite in point of religion: for France hath fortie Papists for one Protestant, and England fortie Protestants for one Papist.

Q. M. But those protesting heretikes of England, will sing another tune, when they see the King of Spaine hath made their countrey his province.

P. H. Heaven forbid, that ever England should sing the tune of Spaines ballad, or Spaine live so long to make England see that dismall and bloudy day.

Q. E. It were farre better, that Prince Charles were married to an English milke-maid, and the Infanta of Spaine mewed up for a nunne in a cloyster.

Q. A. Yea, for how can my sonne Prince Charles thinke the king of Spaine loves him, when he sees that under-hand he is a mortall and professed enemy to his brother and sister, the King and Queene of Bohemia?

[1] See the dedication to this Tract.

[2] The celebrated architect.

Q. M. You mistake, madame; for it is the Emperour Ferdinand, and not King Philip, that is their mortall enemy.

P. H. If Philip had not (under-hand) powerfully assisted Ferdinand, his Imperiall Majestie had neither had legs to goe, nor wings to flie into Prague, and yet the king my father will not assist his son in law, King Frederick.

Q. A. Yes, to recover the Pallatinate, if that were lost; but Gondomar, through his slye crouches and sugred insinuations, hath extorted a hope, and, some say, wrested a promise, from King James not to assist Bohemia; but I hope the contrary.

Q. E. But will Spinola restore those townes he hath taken in the Pallatinate?

Q. M. Gondomar promised that Digby shall bring that home, under his hand and seale; onely he sayes, tis fit that Spinola should be satisfied for his charges.

Q. E. Thats an old baffle and tricke of Spaine, which, upon the matter, will prove but a flat denyall. Therefore, if King James please to hearken to my advise, I would send an army thither and re-fetch these townes of the Pallatinate from Ferdinand, Phillip, Albertus, and Bavaria, with the point of the sword, in despight of Spinola, Tilly, and Cordova.

P. H. If I were againe living in England, I would so worke with the king my father, that this resolution of Queene Elizabeth should never dye, but spedily be put in execution; for it is the safest, cheapest, shortest, and honourablest way for England; yea, what would not England doe for my deare and royall sister of Bohemia, if the king my father would give it the word of command?

Q. M. But content your selfe, nephew; Count Gondomar hath promised that his master King Phillip will give King James content for his townes of the Pallatinate.

Q. A. So Gondomar promised his majesty, that Spinola should never attempt the Pallatinate, and yet we see the contrary, and being false in this, how or what reason have we to beleeve him to bee true in the match?

Q. M. England must beleeve him, sith the king doth and will; and herein I both triumph and glory.

P. H. Thus my royall father intreates where he should command, and loves Spaine where he hath farre more reason to hate it.

Q. E. And this is my truest griefe and deepest affliction, that King James will still delight in contemplation, when (if his majesty will not) all the world sees that King Philip is (under-hand) deepe in action.

H. 8. It may be, that King James thinkes King Phillip to be of Hanniballs minde, who more feared Fabius not fighting then Marcellus fighting; or of Pompey, or of Marcus Crassus their opinion, who were more afraid of Cicero's gowne then of Cæsar's sword.

Q. M. Nothing lesse; for King Phillip loves King James his gowne and pen, yet no way feares his sword.

Q. E. But if King James inherited my resolution, as he doth my kingdomes, I would make Spaine feare his sword, and Rome either love or obey his pen, and never consent to a peace, much lesse to the match.

Q. M. But why should King Phillip feare King James his sword, sith he never yet knew the way to drawe it; or why should his Catholike majesty feare the counsell of England, sith it is apparent to all the world, that the element and delight of their king is bookes, not battailes, the pen, not the pike?

H. 8. Why? know you not, daughter, that King James hath lately established a counsell of warre, and whereunto think you tends that?

Q. M. To peace, I hope, or rather assure my selfe.

Q. E. Then, sister, you are of neere intelligence with Gondomar; for not long since, in one of his dispatches to Spaine, he wrote the LL. of that councell, that they should not doubt nor feare of the counsell of warre of England; for it was (said he) but a

scarre-crow to feare, not to hurt, and would onely serve as a vane on a house-top, rather for ornament then use: but if King James were of my minde, his counsell of warre should strike rather then threaten, and send a royall army into the bowels and heart of Castille, ere they thought it could be ready to depart from the ports of England.

Q. M. Not into Castille; for then the peace were quite broken betwixt England and Spaine.

P. H. Why then into Bohemia, the Pallatinate, the Netherlands, or the states of Venice, or wheresoever the Castillians regiments disturbe the publique peace of Christendome.

E. 6. I see no reason to the contrary, but England should be as soone in armes and action as Spaine.

Q. E. But it is the enchanting melody of the match that brings England out of tune.

Q. M. But in this proposition and parlee of the match, the King and Counsell of Spaine speake faire termes, and give reall not verball content to King James.

Q. E. So did Philip your husband and his father, by his ambassadours, to mine at Bourbourg, thereby to lulle me a-sleepe, when his great armado was in a manner ready to weigh anchor and set sayle from Lisbone, to invade me and my England.

Q. M. But King James knowes Spaines affection and Gondomars sincerity to him, and consequently to England, in seeking this match.

Q. A. But England knowes neither the affection of the maister, or the sincerity of the servant, and therefore hath reason, though not to feare, yet to suspect both.

H. 8. It rather thinkes King Philip of Pericles his opinion and ambition, who desired that the iland in the port of Piree mought be removed, sith it was a moate and beame in his eye.

P. H. The morall is, that Philip would have England a province to Spaine; but if the match hold not, Spaines ambition, Gondomars policie, and both their treacherie, will prove too weeke to performe so strong an execution.

Q. M. Then the King of Spaine will hate Gondomar, as much as he vaunts the King of England loves him: but I must count Gondomar hath lived too long to dote, or be made a child in his old age.

P. H. No, no, Gondomar is too young to dote, and too old to be a child, therefore he is confident and sure that the match will hold; but, withall, he saieth the Parliament must be ended ere these royall nuptiall ceremonies can begin, and I think so to.

E. 6. Indeed this Castillian embassadour now sailes before winde and tide, under fore-sayle and maine top-sayle, but very shortly he hopes to hoyst up top and top-gallant.

P. H. He may chance to packe on so much sayle, that he may at last crack the maine mast of his policy, or the main stay of his hopes, or be so busie and violent in the solicitation of this match, as he himselfe may give himselfe a shotte which may sink either his reputation or judgement, or both, betwixt winde and water.

Q. E. In truth, I found his predicessour Mendoza too busie and dangerous in my state, and therefore I forbad him my presence, and discharged him my kingdom; whereat I know not whether he or the king his master more grieved, or my counsell and my countrey rejoyced.

Q. A. Gondomar hath had time enough to know my husband King James; but it seemes King James hath not yet enough deeply pryed into Gondomar. In a word, I know his majesty hath heard his tongue, but not seene his hart, much lesse the designes and resolutions of the King and Counsell of Spaine, which are invelloped and hoodwinked under the mysterie of this match.

H. 8. Indeed I have read, that King Phillip, King of Macedon, went neere to have betrayed Arisbes, King of Molesses, of his kingdome, under treating a match with him.

Q. M. O but that Phillip of Macedon was a heathen king, and this Phillip of Spaine is the Catholike king, therefore King James neede not feare his sinceritie in the match.

Q. E. Sith you are so religious, sister, pray say how doth the inquisition of Spaine like to match their infanta to an heretique prince, for so I know they terme my noble nephew Prince Charles?

P. H. Why? Digby could have resolved you of that long since, for he knowes that the sacred and reverend inquisition of Spaine love England, but not the match; our countrie, but not our religion and people; and yet in hope to roote out heretikes, and to plant England with Romane Catholiques, they oppose not the match, but rather give way to it and approve it.

Q. E. But can royall King James and his illustrious sonne Prince Charles observe their religion and conscience in consenting to this match, or have the clergie of England warrant enough authenticall out of the word of God to say *Amen* to it?

Q. A. O no, for King James (though not the prince and clergie) will now make religion and conscience handmaydes to wait and attend the state.

E. 6. But his majesty should doe farre better to defend the faith (whereof he is the defender) and therein the state, which professeth the true and sincere religion of Christ and his apostles, sith piety is the preserver of kingdomes, and all our actions whatsoever should tend to the glory of God; which is the banishing of idolatry and superstition, with their effects and causes.

Q. M. Why, pray, what marriage so religious as for Prince Charles to match with the Catholique king his daughter?

Q. E. Sister, you have still religion in your tongue, but I feare we shall find none in your heart; for, pray, what places have you of divine scripture to authorize and approve this match of Prince Charles with the infanta, sith they are of a different religion and beliefe?

Q M. As I confesse I have none to approve it, so I am sure you all cannot alleadge any one to oppose and contradict it.

H. 8. Yes, I produce Gen. ch. 24. ch. 16. against it.

E. 6. And I, Exod. ch. 34. Judg. ch. 17.

Q. E. And I, Josh. ch. 23. 2 Chron. ch. 21.

P. H. And I, 1 Kings, ch. 11. ch. 16.

Q. A. And I, Ezra, ch. 9. Nehem. ch. 13.

Q. M. Well, whatsoever you say, this match, notwithstanding, tends to Gods glory, and the good of the Catholique and Apostolique church; and, in the end, you shall finde that Gondomars policie and Spaines ambition will triumph ore your scripture.

Q. E. This match tends onely to bring in the Pope into our churches, and the King of Spaine into our estate; for that is the ayme of the first, the ambition of the second, and the object and hopes of both, and I feare a few yeares will prove it so, if in time it bee not remedied and prevented; which God of his mercie graunt, for 'tis true, all the wheeles of Gondomars art and invention are at worke to effect and accomplish it.

Q. M. The Pope, I must confesse (as Christs vicar generall on earth) desires that England were Catholique; but for the good King of Spaine, hee hath kingdomes enough of his owne, and therefore lookes not after England, onely he desires to see the match consummated.

P. H. Yes, the King of Spaines tongue hath so long watred, and his mouth gaped for England, that, after Spaine, hee wisheth England were his, above all the countries of the world, and his Catholique majestie is very confident that this match will give a maine stroke to the businesse.

Q. E. If hee once have England, hee will presently assume the title of Emperour of the West, as King Philip his father was resolved to doe a little before his death; yea, his ambition was so violent, as hee, missing of England, would have proclaimed himselfe

Emperour of Spaine; and had not his councell diverted and prevented him, he would have sailed to Mexico, and there invested and intituled himselfe Emperour of America.

P. H. And I have heard that Gondomar hath given the King of Spaine, his maister, good hope of England; for 'tis certaine that hee, not long since, wrote to the Dukes Lerma and Pastranna, that the report of the strength of England resembled those huge pageants and colosses erected at Rome, as the Cæsars passed from the Melvine bridge to the capitoll in triumph, who were outwardly glorious, and within filled onely with strawe and poore combustable stuffe.

E. 6. Indeed, it is the shame and weaknesse of England, that Spaine is no better acquainted with its strength.

Q. A. And 'tis my griefe, that Spaine should see Englands weaknesse, and not feele its strength.

Q. E. O but it is the Spanish match which will give fire to England, and make her welter in her miseries, and flame in her calamities and afflictions.

Q. M. No, no, that match will keepe the temple of Englands peace from firing.

H 8. Yea, as Erostratus did that of Diana of Ephesus, which in one day consumed all the wealth that rich Asia had bin many yeares and ages getting.

Q. A. As religion is the powerfullest passion of our soule, so there is no stronger lincke of friendship then conscience, and therefore I hope my sonne Charles will not consent to match the Infanta of Spaine.

Q. M. But one of his chiefest vertues is his obedience to the king his father; for although the prince be his son, yet hee knowes he is his subject.

Q. A. All the world cannot better teach the prince my sonne to obey the king his father, then already he knowes and doth; but I could wish that King James my husband would not inforce his affection to this Spanish match.[1]

Q. E. If he marry the infanta, she may prove a false and unsecret secretary to the prince her husband, and a dangerous princesse to the state: for hee giving her his heart, his highnesse can hardly reserve any corner for himselfe.

P. H. Yea, then every Spanish traytor and English rebell will shroud themselves under the authority and greatnes of the princesse.

E. 6. So, if England match with Spaine, Spaine undoubtedly will in a short time over-match England.

Q. A And infallibly take the crowne from it.

Q. M. Borrow it peradventure, to see it, not to weare it.

P. H. I feare to weare it, never to returne it.

H. 8. Yea, for once gone, it is gone for ever.

Q. E. And then shall Englands strong men fall upon the edge of the sword; her virgins bee defloured and murthered, her wives defiled and slaine insight of their dying husbands, and their children and young babes shall have their braines dashed out against the walles, in sight of their dead parents.

P. H. Yea, then shall our nobilitie and gentrie dye upon the swords of those barbarous Castilians, and those who escape and survive their fury, shall bee fettered and led captives and slaves to work in the mines of Peru and Mexico.

E. 6. Then shall our priests, who are now cloathed in the white robes of righteousnesse, bee drowned in those of their owne scarlet blood: no church, no temple, no preaching, no sacraments, but all covered with the thicke fogges of Romes superstitious idolatries and Ægyptian darknesse.

Q. A. Yea, then the king my husband, the prince my sonne, my excellent daughter the Queene of Bohemia, her princely posterity, and, if Spaine possibly can, all Great Brittaines blood-royall shall be rooted out and exterminated, as if they never had beene, or at least no remembrance left of them, or of the name of Great Brittaine.

[1] Another hint how well the author understood the current of the prince's affections.

Q. M. This were musicke indeed for Rome and Spaine to dance at, and for Gondomar to laugh himselfe to death for joy.

Q. E. But I hope God of his mercy will confound all those who wish or desire it, whether it be Gondomar, the Jesuits, Englands recusants, Spaine, the Pope, or the divell.

The Conclusion of the Consultation.

H. 8. But here let us make a stand, and shut up our consultation; and sith so many millions of imminent dangers, desolations, and miseries attend and hang over the head of England by this match of Spaine, let us goe to suffrages and votes, that plurality may give sentence whether it shall be a match yea or no; for what wee conclude, I make no doubt but our great God with his owne voyce will ratifie and confirme.

H. 8. } Q. M. }
E. 6. } Q. E. } Whereunto we all consent and agree.
P. H. } Q A. }

H. 8. I am against the match.
E. 6. I am against the match.
P. H. I am against the match.
Q. M. I am for the match.
Q. E. I am against the match.
Q. A. I am against the match.

H. 8. Daughter Mary, wee are five against you one, therefore the match of England and Spaine hath end ere beginning, and is absolutely cast without revocation.

And now let us breake up our consultation, and againe repaire to the throne of the Lambe, of our sacred God both of heaven and earth, to acquaint his Divine Majestie with all the particulars thereof, and therein his heavenly pleasure and commaund; when the angell opening heavens Starre-chamber, a great concourse and affluence of saints and angels (singing most divinely) conduct them to the blessed tribunall, where the whole newes of their consultation being already arrived to the understanding of the Almightie, it pleased his Divine and Cœlestiall Majestie to call foorth Queene Mary, whom hee sharply reproves and checkes in loving Spaine, to bee so unnaturall to hate her native countrey of England. Then he infinitely disproves the match of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spaine, as derogating from his divine glory, and Englands safetie and prosperitie; and so to conclude, very joyfully and cheerefully approves of their consultation; which, for the more grace and authoritie, he makes and reputes as his owne. When commaunding these three princes and two queenes (for Queene Mary was now put by and excluded) to send unto England (by its owne tutulary angell) foure severall printed copies of this their consultation; the first to be delivered to King James, the second to Prince Charles his sonne; the third to the high court of Parliament; and the fourth to the lords of his majesties most honourable privy councell; the which, in his sacred presence, was speedily performed and effected; when a great shout of joy, and an universall plaudite being hereunto given by all the angels and host of heaven, these five royall personages followed the Lambe Christ Jesus where hee went.

This consultation thus ended, Queene Mary biting the lip at her checke and disgrace, and grieving to see the match of the infanta with Prince Charles thus unexpected dashed, and consequently the Pope frustrated of his hopes, and the King of Spaine of his ambitious desires, shee calls Mercury to her, and with all possible speed sends him away likewise to England, with these two ensuing letters, which shee had written; the one to Count Gondomar, the other to all the Romane Catholiques of England.

Queene Mary to Count Gondomar, Ambassador for Philip the III. King of Spaine, resident with James, King of Great Brittaine.

Your excellencie may understand, that I have dispatched Mercurie to you in England, to advertise you of a consultation held here in heaven, by my father King Henry VIII. my brother King Edward VI. my sister Queene Elizabeth, Queene Anne, Prince Henry, and my selfe, concerning your masters pretences and hopes of England, by the match of the infanta his daughter with Prince Charles, which all the other five have opposed as prejudiciall and dangerous, and my selfe maintayned as profitable and honourable for England; for loving Philip the father, I must and will ever honour Philip his son. They have likewise ript up and unmasked Spaines former ambition, cruelty, and treacherie, as well towards England as other kingdomes and states of Europe, the discovery and relation whereof I could neither silence nor prevent. Your excellencie must give me leave to signifie, that I feare your secretaries are not so honest as your selfe politique; for you are here by these princes brought on the stage in your naked and naturall colours; therefore I could wish you to be more modest, and not so busie; onely to the utmost of your mortall power knit the knot of this match; for if it holde, the hearte of England will be soone broken; or, if the contrary, it will infallibly breake the necke of the king your maisters generall hopes and pretences, and also of your owne particular credit and reputation, as well in England as Spaine. You have many eyes over you, and although your sweet words and promises lull King James asleepe, you will neverthelesse goe neere to be circumvented by those you seeke to circumvent. If you can bring in the infanta, doubt you not but she will usher in the Pope, and consequently hee the Catholique king your master. Forget not to continue and fortifie your intelligence with the seminaries and Jesuites of England, as also with the Catholique ladies of that kingdome, and especially with those of the nobler ranke, and who are most powerfull at court; for they may open a passage for your master, when none else dare. At any hand, use the prime of your art and invention to keep the King of England poore, and be sure to rivet this nayle soundly to his majestie, that there is no vertue so royall and magnificent in a great king as liberalitie. I am sorie to heare that Englands navie-royall doth so proper and flourish; in which regard and consideration the king your master shall doe well to build store of new ships in Biscay, Ostend, and Dunkerk; for if Spaine master England at sea, England can never withstand Spaine by land; for now the English are effeminate, and you Spaniards souldiers. I doubt not but by this time there is such order taken in Spaine, that the English fleet at Alicant and Cartagena shall returne home with lesse shame, and repentance, whereby you may teach them, that it is onely proper for Spaniards to domineere at sea, and that the sea and maritine actions are now Spaines, no longer Englands element.

So whiles England lyes gasping on her bed of peace and securitie, let the king your master provide for warre; continue to sowe division in the Church of England, and rather augment then diminish your pensions to you know whom. If there be any army to goe out of England, either for Bohemia, the Palatinat, the Netherlands, or Venice, deale so effectually with King James, that either it be so small as it can doe no great hurt to Catholiques, or be a meanes to cause them to stay so long, that it bee impossible to doe any good for Protestants. I commend your excellencies policy in being sharp and bitter against those who either speake, write, or preach against the king your master and his pretences; for now, you having the honour and felicitie to see your selfe tyed to King James his ear, and his majestie to your girdle, the disgrace and punishment of these will terrifie others. Be sure to be intimately acquainted with all factious and discontented Catholikes, for they will prove fine agents and instruments to execute your masters commands. I am glad to see King Philip so sleight and dis-

respect King James, as hee hath not this many yeares sent him an extraordinary ambassadour, especially now for treating and concluding this match; for the more you and he debase the honour and under-value the reputation of England, the more you advance and prise that of Spaine. But that which grieves mee most is, because God himselfe hath opposed and confirmed the breach and delaceration of the match; but I hope that, for the Catholike Kings sake, our holy father the Pope, and our blessed mother the Church, will so interpose their prayers to his sacred and divine Majestie, that very shortly hee will revoke and change his resolution, and relish that which hee now distasteth. Through your zeale and industry, I likewise doubt not but (before a few yeares bee past and blowne over) to see England made a province to Spaine; her nobilitie most murthered, and the rest carryed away slaves, to worke in the mines of Peru and Mexico; the Pope installed; all heretikes routed out either with fire or halter. Let your excellency proceed, as you have well and happily begun, and feare not but you shall enjoy your wishes, the king your master his hopes, and my selfe, and all the Romane Catholikes of England, our desires. In the meane time, I kindly greet and salute your excellency; and by our next dispatch for Spaine, fayle not to signifie that I kisse the Catholike kings hand.

Written and sent from heaven.[1]

Your excellencies friend,

MARY, Queene.

Queene Mary to the Romane Catholikes of England, of both sexes and of all rankes.

My heart on earth, and my soule in heaven, hath ever so deeply affected you and your religion, as to the utmost of my power, I will never admit, that any adverse accident, or stratagem whatsoever, shall endomage you, or prejudice it: to which end, by Mercury, whom I have purposely sent unto you, I would not faile to advertise you of a consultation which hath beene here held, by my father Henry VIII., my brother Edward VI., my sister Queene Elizabeth, Queene Anne, Prince Henry, and my selfe; tending to the safetie and glory of England, to the unmasking of Spaines pretensions ambition and trechery to many estates of Europe, and more especially to the utter breach of the match betwixt Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spaine, which two last points alone, I maintained and defended, but they all most violently contradicted and opposed. In which consultation, I write it as well with griefe as pittie, Count Gondomar hath beene narrowly both sifted and censured, and all his actions brought on the table, and made apparent and obvious to the dimmist eye, to the weakest judgement and understanding, the which I have now signified his excellency by a particular letter; wherein I have prayed him to have a more jealous and curious eye over his secretaries, as I know England hath over him. And to the end your soules and consciences may have spirituall food and consolation, I wish and exhort you to put all your wits on the tenter-hooks to bring in the infanta; or else never expect the Pope, and consequently not the Catholike King. For else all your intelligence with Rome and Spaine, your correspondence with the Jesuites and Count Gondomar, will not prevaile, nor your poyson, poinard, or powder take effect, if the match doe not; and because King James wants money, and his exchequer drawne drie and exhausted, if he stand on a greater summe then the Catholike King can, or will give, you shall doe a most acceptable service to our blessed father the Pope, and to our holy mother the Church; that you lords and knights morgage your manners and plate, and you ladies and gentle-women

[1] A most extraordinary date, considering the contents.

pawne your ringes and jewels to make up the expected summe; for the match once consumated, you know, and Count Gondomar can perfectly teach you a thousand wayes to refetch it, with a joyfull and golden interest; I highly prize and applaude your joy when you saw Bohemia won, and the Palatinate assaulted; towards which victories and conquests, your bountifull contributions gave a great stroke, which although Ferdinand for the present cannot recompence; yet doubt not but Phillip shortly and futurely will; sith his ambassadour Gondomar makes him confident, that you are as fast nayled to his scepter, as his Catholicke majesty is to the Popes triple crowne. Bee you still the eyes of Count Gondomar, and let him still continue your oracle, for you can never desire a better solliciter then himselfe, nor a stronger protector then the king his master. But in very deed, I much feare that this great Parliament will teach the Protestants of England wit, and you Romane Catholiques repentance. If Holland, the Palatinate, or Venice be in the field, be you not idle in your houses, or in England; for although Dover bee shut, you shall finde ports enough open, for it is for the progression and advancement of the Catholike cause, and for the service of the great Catholike King, and if all things hit well, you shall not repent your selves of your valour and generositie employed and spent in his service. What though God have here approved of this consultation against the match; yet his great vicar the Pope will confirme the match against the consultation; therefore make you your peace with the Pope, and doubt not but his Holinesse both can and will, at his pleasure, make his with his God; howsoever bee ruled, and beleeve in the Pope, who is the Head of the Church; for you know out of the Church, there is no salvation. I like well, that there daily travels some of your wisest gentlemen for Spaine; and now you see there is no feare to bring home priests and Jesuites, for Count Gondomar hath found out the art and mysterie to open the doores of Wisbich, the Gatehouse, and the Clincke at his pleasure.[1] To live idle is effeminate and base; bee you therefore, like your selves, still busie and in action, for as in matters of religion and pietie, so in those of the state, the practique is alwayes more honourable than the theorie. In a word, as long as heretike kings raigne in England, your zealous Catholikes shall there finde but little peace, and lesse joy; and yet I must needs confesse, that God seemes to beare a particular affection to King James, but withall you know the second meanes must be used, which, (I write to my comfort,) I see his majestie neglects; so if Gondomar continue in England, and the match dye not, then I hope a little time will worke all things to the best. Till when I salute you all, and will still pray with you for the prosperitie of the great cause.

Written and sent from Heaven. QUEENE MARY.

Robert Earl of Essex his Ghost, sent from Elizian: To the Nobility, Gentry, and Communaltie of England.

Virtutum Comes Invidia.

Printed in Paradise. 1624.

[This tract appears to have been printed and published at the same time, and with the same view, with the preceding. But it seems to have been composed some years before it was printed.—

[1] Gondomar is said to have boasted that, while in England, he procured liberty for 4000 papists. WILSON *apud* KENNET'S *Complete History*, Vol. II. p. 750.

The manes of Essex, so popular among the English common people, are here summoned, as those of Elizabeth and Henry in the Vox Cœli, to animate them against the match with Spain.]

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Communalty of England.

Nobles, Gentlemen, Commons,

Although in this most holy and glorious assembly of angels and saints, in the most high Starre-chamber-court of Heaven, where Almighty God, and his sonne Christ Jesus, are King and Prince, wee the saints do neither participate nor sympathize of the good or evill condition of yee mortals on earth: yet, seeing it is a part of that glory, that God affoordeth us in heaven, to have a measure of knowledge of your condition on earth; and I, particularly, taking knowledge of the miserable and distracted present estate, of the whilome flourishing realme of England, in the dayes of my then dread soveraigne, now fellow saint, Queene Elizabeth, of blessed and immortall memory on earth, and in heaven, could doe no lesse then give you this my sacred declaration, and admonishment, which I send you, by this my blessed genius, written with a pen made of an angels pinion; and agreeing with my apology which I left behind me on earth, in mine owne defence, and for the good of my country, after my discease.

The lawful succession of your now king, when I was amongst you on earth, I never questioned, but maintayned, and was ever ready to maintayne, with dint of my sword, if neede had bin, his title, against whomsoever offered to question the same, as was, and is well knowne to his majesty. That he was a prudent, learned, and religious (educated) prince, I also never doubted; but that such a prudent, learned, and religious prince, should be so farre misled, by some false-hearted counsellours at home, and fawning forraine embassadors from the enemies of God and Gospell professed in England, to the detriment of the kingdome, that, I say, makes me not a little to marvaile, and mourne I should for my native country, but that here in heaven, we are not subject to passion.

Upon my certaine knowledge, notwithstanding all the faire shewe of league and amity, betwixt James King of Scots, and Phillip King of Spaine, the crowne of Scotland was no longer safe on King James his head, then whiles my soveraigne lady and mistresse Queene Elizabeth, by her valiant men of action, curbed King Phillip and kept him in awe: For, had his ambitious, wicked, and devilish designe of Englands invasion in 88. taken effect, is there any so childish to thinke that his invasion would have had any period at Barwicke? Sure I am, King James had wisdome enough, to know that his crowne and kingdome lay then at the stake, in the second place, next unto England. For King James then of Scotland made a sweet sonet, as a monument and commemoration of his and our deliverance, from that forraine and godlesse fleete, as hee then termed it: which sonet, as I then received it, I here present unto your view and consideration:

The nations banded 'gainst the Lord of might,
Prepar'd a force, and set them to the way:
Mars drest himselfe in sicke and awfull plight,
The like whereof was never seene, they say:
They forwards came in monstrous aray,
Both sea and land beset us every where,
Brags threatened us a ruinous decay.
What came of that? the ishue did declare:

The winds began to tosse them here and there.
The seas began in foaming waves to swell;
The number that escaped it fell them faire,
The rest were swallowed up in gulfes of hell.
But how were all these things miraculous done?
God lookes at them, out of his heavenly throne.

(The same sonet is extant in Latine by Metellanus, L. Chancellor of Scotland.)

Matters so standing, the marvaile is, that upon the mature shutting in of the evening of your long summers day of Queene Elizabeths reigne, King James lawfully and peaceably succeeding to the crowne of England, and Ireland, hee so suddenly concludes, as it were, an inviolable league, with that ambitious King Phillip of Spaine, that never made league with any king, prince, or state, but for his owne end and advantage.

If I were on earth, I know some of you would answer me, King James was a peaceable prince, and so loved to be at peace, and in amity with other Christian princes: yea, and it seemes your king himselfe, is much affected with the very name of peace, alleadging, that hee hath beene a peaceable king from his cradle; that *beati pacifici* is his happy destined motto; and with such like selfe-pleasing songs, hath a long time sung a requiem to himselfe, &c. I must confesse, it is a happy thing for Christian and religious kings, princes, and states to be at peace, in unity, and amity, one with another. But on the other side, it is as an unhappy and dangerous a thing to have league or amity with Romane Catholique kings, and princes, who are, I say, sworne and profest enemies to God, and his gospell, as was, and is this great Catholique King Philip, and his Austrian Castillian family.

When I was a servant to my prince and country on earth, my affection in nature was indifferent, *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, and I was more enflamed with the love of knowledge, then the love of fame: which some of your men of state, and great place, yet living, that know my heart, can bear me witnesse.

Henry Earle of Southampton, &c.

But my noble and religious father, Walter, Earle of Essex, upon his death-bed hee gave me in precept three maine and weighty matters, viz. First, To serve God according to his ordinance in his word. Secondly, To obey my prince. Thirdly, To love and serve my country, unto which he added, to beware of and to hate all Popish superstition and idolatry. All which he religiously enlarged, and pressed unto me the more, in regard of my tender, youthfull, and unripe yeares. Which swan-like song of my deare parent, tooke so deepe an impression in me, that I being called by my soveraigne the queene, and being but a youth, she was pleased to call me her boy, to serve her majesty and my country, did the willinger yeeld and obey my prince her command, and entred into action.

He died Earle Marshall of Ireland, *an.* 1576.

First, In the yeare of our Lord 1585, and xix. of my pupill-age, I went with the Earle of Leicester, my father-in-law, into the Netherlands, where I had the honorable charge of generall of the horse, in a faire army: where, I adventured my life, and subjected my selfe to many kinds of wants disagreeing with my education and yeeres, &c. Which I did for the honor of my prince and country.

Secondly, In the yeare 1589, I enterprized my voyage into Portugall, with a poore distressed and exiled King Don Antonio, whom I many times, with pitty, heard repeate, with teares, the story of his oppressions by Phillip King of Spaine; who by force and tyranny had usurped his crowne of Portugall: Also, considering the enemy against whom I went, an insolent, cruell, and usurping prince, that disturbed the common peace, was a generall enemy to the liberty of all Christendome; and in particular aspired the conquest of my country; and the cause I went, was to deliver the oppressed out of the hands of

the oppressour; and, by giving the Castillian his handfull at home, to free both mine owne country and our confederates from the feare and danger of his attempts: And lastly, a time in which I went, when as mine eyes, full of disdaine, had so lately seene his (falsly called) Invincible Armado sayle by our shore: when all the brave hearts in England boyled till they saw that insolent enemy taught, both to know himselfe and valew us. And had the Portugals risen and assisted me, I should have gone nigh to have pluckt Portugals crowne off the usurpers head, and placed it on the lawfull kings head; but they for feare of Philip were faithlesse to Antonio. Yet in that my voyage, what I attempted to ayde the wronged and banished king, and for honor of my prince and countrey, if you know it not let your chronicles resolve you.

Thirdly, In the yeare 1591, I conducted and was generall of her majesty, my soveraignes succours to Henry, the French King, a prince, whom, for his admirable valour, and often fighting with his owne hands, against his enemies, was not onely the most famous, but the most renowned and redoubted captaine of Christendome: and the end of that my service, was, to free the maritime parts of Normandy from the hands of the league and power of the Spaniard, that thereby hee our enemy should find lesse succour or favour in those seas, &c. This also was done for honor of my prince and countrey.

Fourthly, In the yeare 1596, I undertooke my Spanish voyage to Cadiz, where, not only I soone seized on, sacked, and burnt the towne, and enriched my followers, and souldiers, but we burnt his best shipping, and brought away his ordinance, and some ships, destroying his sea provisions: yea, put him to such charge and losse, as he shortly after played bankerupt, with all his creditors, &c. And this likewise I did, for honor of my prince and country.

Fiftly, In the yeare 1597, my Spanish voyage towards the Terceras, was intended, with her majesties leave, and by her command, for Fayall, to assaile the Adelantado there, and thither I shaped my course; and had it been prosperous and fortunate, I had made my soveraigne such an absolute queene of the ocean, and disarmed, and disabled the enemy at sea, as that she might eyther have enforced him to any conditions of peace, or made warre on him, to her infinite advantage, and his utter ruine.

But that my designe was fatally frustrated by violent and long tempests, which tooke us in the height of 46. Which scattered our fleete, disabled and almost drowned most of our principall ships, and, when wee could no longer beare it up against the wind, drave us backe uppon our owne coast; and to what a desperate case my owne ship was brought? there witnesses were enow: my attempts and endeavours were neverthelesse, my dangers, and endurance of hardnesse the more, &c. And all for honor of my prince and country.

When Phillip King of Spaine, that mortall enemy of my prince and country, had made many attempts, and assaults upon us; fayled and was frustrated in all, then hee begged of the Pope, my soveraignes kingdome of Ireland, and sent his bastard brother, Don John d'Aquila, to take possession of it.

But this messenger, a vice-roy in his conceit, was soone sent back with an English flea in his Spanish eare, that made such a buzzing in his head, that either with that, or else by a Spanish figge, the good Don discontentedly departed this life, in short time after his returne into Spaine.

At length, and it was my last voyage, by command of my soveraigne I was made, and sent lord generall into Ireland of all her majesties forces. And there, when I had begun to subjugate those head-strong rebels, and brought their ringleader, that notable rebel Tyroen, upon his knees, I was forced abruptly to returne backe into England: and my commission was conferred upon an other noble, my inferiour: who was sent over to wade against those rebels, after I had broken the ice aforehand; and hee had the honor, happily to performe what I had carefully and painefully projected and in- Charles L. Mountjoy,

tended. In the interim, the fatall threed of my mortall life was almost spun, and my glasse nigh through run. My enemies laying many heinous crimes unto my charge, and therewith abusing my soveraignes eares, and incensing her sacred majesty against me.

But, beloved mortals, it is not my meaning (neither would I have you expect it) to touch the injury of the times in that my latter time, not the state-faction of men in place, my then enemies: I forbeare to touch also, how, by the machinations of men, my gracious soveragne was forced to signe the hastning of my death: For before my head was severed from my shoulders, (with which stroake my immortall soule was separated from my mortall body) I forgave them all, and left my cause to God, to whom vengeance is due: And certes, my God hath been thoroughly avenged of them all, (my enemies), to their dishonor and disgrace on earth; yea, before men and angels. And all was but like an impetuous storme to hasten my arriving in the harbour of heaven: Here, where there is no roome for revenge, nor ought else but holy love: which hath moved me to send you of my quondam country this my declaration or discourse (call it what you will:) wherein I list not neither to meddle with the *Arcana imperii* of your king and state, further then shall beseeme a zealous patriot, that tendreth still, and wisheth the wel-fare and flourishing state of his once deare and native country.

And now, well beloved Englishmen, in the premisses I have given you a briefe accompt of my life, and as it were my time-spending on earth. In which imployments I empayred my hereditary estate; lost my deare and onely brother, the halfe arch of my house, and buried also many of my neerest and dearest friends; subjected my selfe to the rage of the seas violence, generall plagues, famine, and all kinde of wants; discontentments of undisciplined and unruly multitudes, and receptation of all events: and all, for the honor and renowne of my gracious prince, and deare country, keeping in minde my fathers charge: *Sit tota Britannia Testis.*

Mr Walter Devereaux, slaine at the siege of Rouen, 1591.

Now, beloved mortalls, let me come more neerely to counsell and advise with you. First, That the Spanish king's revengful humour was insatiable, appeared, when in my time, *anno* 1597, when hee came newly out of a trance, which was thought would have beene his last swoune, he asked (the first word that hee spake) whether the Adelantado were gone for England; and if remorse of conscience would have quenched his thirst of revenge, hee would not, a little before his death, in his devotions, being all masse, have vowed to be revenged on England, though hee sold all those candlestickes upon the altar, before him.

Secondly, That all treaties with Spaine (an idolatrous and irreligious nation) were both unsafe and dangerous, I proved by un-answerable arguments in my Apology, page 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. And how injurious the zealous peace-makers of those times were to the state, I proved, page 35, 36. How necessary, gainefull and honourable it was for the state of England to have warres with Spaine, I proved, page 36, 37, and so to the end of my Apology. But some of you haply will now say, That now the times are changed, and with the time the Spaniards mind is altered. Indeede, I remember the old poet sayd,

Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.

But that is quite contrary in the Spaniard: For, although old King Philip be dead, yet there is a young (Jesuited) Philip sprung from his loynes. It is an old and homely proverbe, That which is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh: but it is a true and observable saying, and in that house above all others. "For, as I told you in my Apology: whenever old King Philip should die, his sonnes blood would be as hot, and hotter than his fathers, and his humour of ambition like to be greater, as having beene

bred *in Domo regnatrice*, and his mind swolne *vetere et insita Austriacæ familiæ superbia.*" So as, in the Spaniards seeming peaceable proffers there is no hope, &c. Apol. p. 19.

Nay, if it chance there be infancy or idiotisme found in any heire or offspring of that race, the state of Spaine are politique enough, as being sworne thereunto, (though by never so dishonourable and degenerous meanes and machinations) to promote the enlargement of his westerne monarchy. And certes, he having of late years, since the death of my soveraigne lady Elizabeth, gotten such footing in Christendome, by dispossessing of and encroaching upon some princes and states their ancient and lawful inheritance, princedomes, and territories, by which meanes hee hath as it were beguirt France with his garrisons: is, I say, his ambition thereby lessened? surely no, but as his conquests are enlarged, so his ambition and malice are aboundantly increased towards other Christian princes and states: witnesse his late cruell and bloody attempts, and perpetuall designes to his universall monarchy; and the progresse of his conquests, with the help of his confedreates of the (terrestriall) omnipotent Austrian house, in Italy, the Grizons country, Suitzerland, Bohemia, Germany, and I say, the frontiers of flourishing France, since the death of Henry the Fourth, the French king, of famous memory. And in all these places, he and the emperour his confederate and cousin, do labour to extirpate the gospell, and persecute the professours thereof, even unto the death.

It would be knowne, what King James sayth to all this: who is Defender of the Faith, and head of all the united kings and princes of the religion in Christendome.

There is here in heaven secret intelligence, that he, not contenting himselfe with making that league with Spaine, hath also entertayned a treaty of marriage for the Prince his onely sonne, with the daughter of Spaine: And certes, the very angells have blushed at this newes, that your king, who is of so profound judgement, learning, and knowledge in divine matters, should ever assent to treat of matching his onely sonne with a wife of a contrary religion; especially with an impe sprung from such an incestuous generation, as is that of Austria and Spaine, or Spaine and Austria, chuse you whither, which is unanswerably proved by one of your most acute and ingenious writers. Without doubt, king James cannot but know in his conscience, that it is directly against the revealed will of God in holy writ, for Christian princes and people that professe the gospell, to match with Romane Catholickes; which made himselfe match with Denmarkes daughter, a Protestant princesse, and afterwards hee matched his only daughter with the Count Palatine, a Protestant prince: witnesse also his majesties owne pen, in *Basilicon Doron.* Sandy's Relation of the West parts, page 26, 27.

How comes it then to passe, that hee is so misled, as not onely to entertaine of this treaty with Spaine, but suffer himselfe to be so baffled and abused, as that about the said treaty hee hath wasted the treasure of the kingdome, in a farre greater measure then his royall predecessour Queene Elizabeth, my gracious soveraigne, did to maintaine warres against Spaine and all his adherents? I feare, I feare, you of his nobility and councell (unto whom it belongs) are not so faithfull, true hearted, and stout, as religiously to advise, and counsell your king, as you ought, not to suffer himselfe to be so abused, his kingdome to be wel-nigh ruined, and his subjects impoverished.

Oh, the flourishing state of your faery-land, in the dayes of yore, whiles I lived on earth, under the government of that glorious queene, of eternal memory! The Christian world did admire her government, and your flourishing state; nay, the very Mahumetane monarchs did admire and acknowledge the same. Speed, in Hist. p. 953.

But now, the case is altered, (and) I can hardly forbeare to weepe, to see what a piteous petition that glorious queene, my now fellow saint Elizabeth, lately received from you the commons of England: But thereof I say no more, considering shee, according to her commission from the highest Power, answered that your petition.

Let me now admonish you all, of the nobility, gentry, and communalty: First, seriously and yet submissively, to dehort and dissuade your king to leave off, and absolutely dissolve all treaties of matches, or whatsoever else with that perfidious and dangerous Spanish nation; and in lieu of the Spanish match, to promote the English match. What though his majesties treasure be drawne deepe into, the poore countryman by these late hard yeares be impoverished, the merchandize and trading of your kingdome much decayed, &c. Yet, if your sumptuous buildings, your surfeiting diets, your prodigality in garments, your infinite plate, and costly furniture in your houses, and the pride of your wives (especially) bee considered, England cannot be thought so poore. Can you exceede all nations in Christendome in wastfull vanities; and can you not arme yourselves against one nation, (which you have ever beaten) for your necessary defence? Was Rome so brave a state, as that the very ladies, to supply the common treasure, and to maintaine the warres, despoyled themselves of their costly jewels and rich ornaments? And is England become so base a state, as that the people therein will not bestow some part of their superfluous expences to keepe themselves from conquest and slavery? (The onely end of all Spaines treaties: Witnesse their treaty of peace in 88, when, as even at the instant their mighty navy came to invade us.) Did the godly kings, and religious people, which you may read of in the Old Testament, to maintaine the warres against the enemies of God, sell the ornaments of the temple, and things consecrated to holy uses? And will yee that have as holy and as warrantable a cause of warre, spare those things that you have dedicated to your idle and sensual pleasures? Could your nation in those former ages, when the country was farre poorer then now it is, leavy armies, maintaine warres, atchieve great conquests in France, and make their powerfull armes knowne as farre as the Holy Land? And is this so degenerate an age, as you will not be able to defend your owne land? No, no, I hope there is yet left some seed of that auncient vertue: Remember with what spirit and alacrity the gentlemen of England did contribute and put themselves voluntarily into action, in my time on earth. And doubtlesse, there will ever be found some Valerii, who (so the state may stand and flourish) will not care though they leave not wherewith to bury themselves, though other some bury their money, not caring in what estate they leave the state.

You had a queene, in my time on earth, who was ever open handed to men of desert, yet never wastfull in her private expences; but maintayned armies and garrisons, not a few; a well-rigged navy; assisted and lent money to her neighbouring states. And why will yee doubt but with your seasonable counsell in a parliamentary-course (the auncient and laudable course of England), your king will rather sell his plate and jewels in the Tower, which in my time were of inestimable valew, (if yet they be not sold, nor given away), rather then his people shall be undefended. And yee his people, I hope will turne your golden and silver coates, into coates of male, or iron jacks; and your silver plate, into iron corslets of plate, rather then your soveraigne and country shall be unserved. But what neede all this? A free and cheerefull contribution to the warres, according to your abilities, will serve the turne. And so, Oh noble prince, and valiant people, agree to go on, the one to send forth, the other to lead on Gods armies, to fight his battailes, against his and your enemies; lest they suddainely surprize you unawares by some new invasion; and remember that the Almighty, as he is a God of peace in the conscience of his elect, so is he a man of war to his enemies; even so his Majesty hath expressed himselfe in holy writ.

Againe, in any wise beware of dis-uniting yourselves from the United States of the Netherlands: for it will be to your infinite disadvantage so to do: But rather assist, cherish, and hearten them: They are the best confederates you have. Remember in what steed they stood you in that memorable yeare 88. And they being firmely

knit unto you, are of more use unto you then all the friends you have, or can have in Christendome. In my time on earth, they were able (upon my certaine knowledge) to finde 60 or 80 thousand fighting souldiers, 300 shippes of warre, besides an infinite number of transporting vessells and commodious ports, that are but a dayes sayling from the very heart of England: Since my time on earth, they are increased in men, in munition, in shipping and in wealth; and which should make the knot of unity more strong and fast with you, they were and are of the same true religion, which you professe: And moreover, now, which should not bee of least consideration with your king and you, they are of late yeares harbourers of the exiled princes his majesties children, who are beaten out of their lawfull inheritance by Spaine and Austria.

And verily, were it not that my condition here, I say, were free from all passions, my very heart would bleede to thinke on the deplorable state of Christendome, how drunke those two houses of Spaine and Austria have made themselves in the blood of Christians, professours of Christs gospell; and the very angels do wonder to see how they are suffered to go on in their inveterate malice and furious rage against Gods church, and that other Christian Princes doe not stoppe the currant of their fury: especially, that our king, who is a professor of the gospell, and faiths great defender on earth, is so backward in the bussinesse.

Which considered, it is your parts, especially that are of his majesties councell and nobility, with faithfull hearts to persuade and stirre him up, not to let the lyon in his princely breast any longer to sleepe and slumber, but to awake and rouse up himselfe, and to go forth against the Romish wolves, and Spanish foxes, who have devoured so many of Christs sheepe, and layd his vineyard so wast: Yea, the blood of the saints doth continually cry at heaven gates for vengeance.

To draw to an end, I will not cease to intercede to the Almighty, my ever glorious God, that hee never denounce the curse against your king, or yee his nobles, which he once in his word denounced against Meros, &c.

My conclusion still is, and shall be: *Justissimum iis Bellum quibus necessarium, et pia Arma quibus nullum nisi in armis spes est.* And for an *ultimum Vale*, as in my Apology I advised to remember how Benardine Mendoza (the then ambassadour of Spaine) spent his time here in England: So, I now advise you, remember how your late Spanish embassadors have spent their times, and behaved themselves here in England, &c.

The peace of God, which passeth all (earthly) understanding be with you, and dwell in your hearts.

My declaration's ended, I must no longer stay,
Because heavens cornets summon me away:
The blessed quire of heaven I do heare,
Turning their voyces to th' Almighties eare.

Hal-le-lu-jah Hal-le-lu-jah. Hal-le-lu-jah.

A Postscript, or a Second Part of Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost. To the Nobility, Gentry, and Communalty of England.

Printed in Paradise, 1642.

To the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Communalty of England.

Thrice beloved mortals, I beeing still studious of your wellfares, and having obtained leave of the Almighty, I am now to give unto you, and commend unto your consideration, a catalogue and commemoration of such cruell plots as were practized in my time on earth, by the king and state of Spaine, against the queene and state of England: wherein I will not meddle with practises and cruelties to other nations; and therefore I omit to tell you how farre their cruelties extended to the poore naked Indians in America, though I remember, whiles I was on earth, I have seene a booke, as well in English as in Spanish and Latine, intituled, "The Cruelties and Tyrannies of the Spanish Colonies, perpetrated in the West Indies, commonly called the new-found World, written in the Castilian Tongue, by the Reverend Bartholomew De las Casas, a Frier of the Order of St Dominick, and Bishop of the Royall Towne called Chiapa; serving as a Warning to the Twelve United Provinces of the Low-Countries:" translated into English, and printed (as I take it) in the 25. Yeare of the happy Reigne of that Virgin Empresse Queene Elizabeth, my gratious Soveraigne: the lamentable relation whereof, if you would particularly know, I wish you have recourse unto the sayd booke. And of their cruelties and tyrranies exercised by their arch-tyrannous generall Duke D'Alva towards the Netherlanders, if you know them not, looke but into their chronicles; and for their plots and practises towards England, before my time, looke but into your owne chronicles.

But, before I come to my catalogue, I must commend unto your consideration, When I was but an infant, there came a certaine bull from *Pius Quintus*, that impious Pope of Rome, against Queene Elizabeth: the copy of which bull is also to be seene in your chronicles; but the copy of her sacred majesties answere unto the said bull, because you have not else-where seene it (as most worthy your reading and observation), I here insert it:

The Lord that reignes on high in heavens throne,
Doth kingdomes rule below; 'tis he alone
That earth doth governe with high thundering might,
And moderates the staffe of kingdomes right:
'Tis he that guides, with his almighty name,
The wheele of all the universall frame:
'Tis he that kings annointed and elect
And sacred captaines strongly will protect.
Why should this bull-head bishop therefore, full
Of rage, against me roare with Basan bull,
To plucke me from my sacred seat and throne;
T' outroot the plant which Christ himselfe hath sowne?
Why doth this Pius seeke, with impious guilt,
To pull downe that which God himselfe hath built?
Christ me annointed, and annoint, I hope,
Will keepe me from the jawes of this proud Pope:

His powerfull hand hath kept me yet from harme,
Nor will the Lord make short his out-stretcht arme.
If God be on my side, why doth this popish wonder
Seeke to affright me with his beastly thunder?
Why doth this new-borne gyant seeke to ride
Above the clouds with his prodigious pride?
'Gainst heaven why doth this Nimrod make new warrs,
And with Jehovah breed these impious jarrs?
Pius, this anchor of thy Peters bote,
Is broake; thy hope and faith doth floate.
Yee, in whose hands the Almighty God ordaines — An exhortation to other princes.
To put the peoples and the kingdomes reines,
Do not your selves, and people bring,
Under the yoake of this vile barbarous king.
Away with him that doth for scepter fight
And royall crowne, that is not bishops right:
What, must the Pope so many states devoure?
Its not priests part to use the carnall power;
To make these madding buls fits not their names,
And set on fire these hot rebellious flames.
Their sword the word should be; the words interpretation
Their key should be: this is the foundation
Whereon Christs saints do fight; such men Christs sword do weare,
Such do his holy keys and standard beare.
Oh kings, the Fathers blessed Sonne then kisse:
The King of kings, the Head of heads he is; — Psalme 2.
Who serves not him, not reignes, a shadow vaine
And cyphar is; learne this all by my reigne:
He'le never faile you whom a woman bore, — Psalme 24.
Away with Popes, to them set ope the doore:
Set wide the gate, shut forth these new made kings,
Let in the Lord, which with him justice brings.
Deere England, mine owne bowels, daughter, mother,
Feare not this bulling Pius, or such other.
What have I done that thou shouldst angry be?
Oh England, cause th' art happy, hatest thou me?
Cause God by me so many gifts hath given,
And I these gifts, on earth, God loath'd in heaven?
Why do my English love the Egyptian pot?
Why lookes on Sodome backe the wife of Lot?
Whiles that my sister was at Romish call,
There was a stage and scœne most tragicall;
Religion was corrupted, all your rite
Divine was stain'd, faith wrapt in errors night,
Home-jarrs, and, strange, my muse thou shall not show,
Even I my selfe dranke cups of gall with you.
Now manna raines from heaven, heavenly food,
Now floweth peace and joy and every good:
Hee that feedes ravens makes my lylles flourish,
Haires of my head and diadem doth nourish:
Juda's strong Lyon keeps our lyons nest,
The Romish Leo's but a fearefull beast.

Feare yee the ensignes of a mitred priest?
Can we with sword, keyes, club be ere opprest?
Rather thanke Christ; pray him that he all evill
He would resist all ambushes of th' devill;
Double your prayers to Christ, that he would deigne
T' assure your good, and let no Rhombus reigne:
Double your prayers for church and purest faith,
Pour forth your prayers for Queene Elizabeth.

I have inserted this answere of Queene Elizabeth, not onely for the worth of it, (though I hold it worthy to be written in letters of gold;) nor will I say that Philip King of Spaine was an instigatour of Pius Pope of Rome, to send that cursed bull: but it was plaine, and more then probable, that that bull was the ground which set on fire the hearts of her popish Romish subjects to rise in rebellion against her; and sure I am, that Spaine soone backed them, and subborned them in their rebellion and cruell practises against her sacred person, and flourishing state; witnesse the bead-roll of their cruell practises here following.

In the year of our blessed Saviour 1583, and 25. of Queene Elizabeth her reigne, Francis Throkmorton, being sollicited by Bernardine Mendoza (the then Spanish ambassador lieger, lying in London) undertook a most dangerous designe against his dread soveraigne and native country, which was to bring in a forraign (Spanish) army, and to alter religion, with alienation of the crowne and state. And for the charges of which attempt, the sayd Mendoza promised that the king his maister would beare halfe the charge of the enterprize.

In the next yeare, viz. 1584, William Parry (as hee named himselfe) being instigated by Benedicto Palmio, and Christofero de Salazer, (secretary to the Catholicke King Philip) undertooke to murther her sacred majesty; and one Haniball Codreto a Spanish priest, approved the same diabolicall designe.

In the yeare 1586, Babinton and Ballard, and their fellowes, complotted with the aforesayd Mendoza, to betray the land to a Spanish invasion: which being discovered, they enter into a new resolution to kill the queene; whereof they were prevented.

But Philip of Spaine, seeing that all former attempts fayled, in the yeare 1588, hee set forwards his long premeditated invasion of England, sending a mighty armado, which hee tearmed the Invinsible Navy, meaning then, as it were, to devoure England at a bit: but hee found so many bones in the bit, that in attempting to swallow it, they stucke so fast in his throate, that he was the worse for it every day of his life after.

This great, noble and invincible army, (as Pope Sixtus termed it,) and terrour of Europe, (as the papals both terme it and tooke it to be) consisting of 134. sayle of lofty towring ships, besides gallies, galliasses, and gallions, threatning as it were the heavens; and spreading in the wind their flaggs, streamers, and ensignes, seemed to darken even the sun; and were furnished with this provision following; bullets for great shot 22000.; powder 40200. kintalls, (every kintall an hundred weight;) lead for bullets 1000. kintalls; match 10200. kintalls; muskets and calievers 7000.; partizans and halberts 1000.; besides murdering peeces, double cannons, and field-peeces for campe, and store of mules, horses, and asses; so as they were sufficiently provided by sea and for land; bread and bisket was baked, and wine layd aboord for sixe moneths provision; bacon 60500. kintalls; cheese 3000.; besides other flesh, rice, beanes, peas, oyle, and vinegre, with 12000. pipes of fresh water; store they had of torches, lanthornes, and lamps, canvas, hydes, and lead to stoppe leakes; butcherly knives, iron ghives, shackles, wire-whipps, whips with spurre-rowels, and other torturing instruments, intended to torment us, old and young (all such I meane as would not suddainly submit to the Spanish yoke.)

This mightynavy, thus prepared as you have heard, loosed anchor from Lisborne,

19. May 88. and made to the Groine in Galizia, it being the neerest haven to England, whence, I say, hoysing sailes, with great hope, and no lesse pride, bent theyr course hitherward: but suddainly the heavens, hating such hostile actions, powred downe revenge, by a sore and unexpected tempest, which drave the Duke of Medina, (the chiefe generall) backe againe into the Groine; and divers others were dispersed and driven upon the coast of Bayon in France, and there perished. Not long after, their navy neverthelesse appeared in the narrow-seas, twixt England and France, in manner of a halfe-moone, (the arch-enemy of Christ his ensigne;) where, our English fleete gave them such an encounter, (the God of the maine ocean fighting for us in the narrow-seas) that wee soone defeated and dispersed that invincible navy, and made it vincible.

Now, because the subject I am upon is a catalogue of Spanish cruelties, I would faine know whether there was ever invented a greater cruelty towards, and against a famous and flourishing state and kingdome: surely, in my judgment (which did concur with the judgement of the Christian world) there was never such, and so great a cruelty hatched under heaven, as that Spanish invasion 88, our deliverance from the which, hath made the yeare ever sithens famous and memorable; upon my knowledge when I was on earth, there was a day set a part, and commanded by my soveraigne to be kept holy, for that our great and miraculous deliverance from the jawes of the Spaniard; and I wish, that your unthankfulnesse in the neglect of celebrating that day holy, be not required at some of your hands: and certes, those reverend divines that doe never cease in their publicke prayers to give God thankes for that your great deliverance, do shew their zeale not a little, and deserve double commendation: yea, and let my posterity no longer live and prosper, than so long as they have thankefull hearts to God for that generall deliverance; and let the posterity of all religious people say, Amen

For, all men and women that would not have bowed the knee to (Spanish) Ball, had then doubtlesse beene put to the sword, their children (now haply living, men and women) had beene tossed at the pikes ends, or else their braines dashed out by some ill-faced doans or other: Strangers have not beene wanting to commemorate that time of Englands deliverance; and amongst others, I remember reverend and religious Theodore Beza (of pious memory) wrote a sweete and patheticall poeme, gratulatory of the aforesayd tragy-comedy in Latine, inscribed to the queene my soveraigne, and sent unto me to deliver unto her royall hands: the which is thus excellently rendred in English:

Spaines king with navies huge the sea's bestrewd,
T' augment with English crowne his Spanish sway;
Aske yee what caus'd this proud attempt? 'twas lewd
Ambition drove, and Avarice led the way.
It's well; Ambitions windy puff lies drown'd
By winds, and swelling hearts by swelling waves:
It's well; the Spaniards who the world's vast round
Devour'd, devouring sea most justly craves.
But thou, O queene, for whom winds, seas, do warre,
Oh thou sole glory of the world's wide masse,
So reigne to God, still, from ambition farre,
So still with bounteous aids the good embrace.
That thou, England long, long may England thee enjoy,
Thou terrour of all bad, thou good mens joy.

Oh let the remembrance of that time have an eternall beeing in the mindes and mouthes of men.

I have beene somewhat long in the commemoration of this part of my catalogue of cruelties, I now proceede to the residue as followeth.

In the year 1594, Rodericke Lopes, Doctor of Physicke, a Portugall by birth, (and entertained physician in ordinary to Queene Elizabeth) being instigated by Christofero de Moro (a speciall counsellour of King Philips) covenanted to take away the life of her sacred majesty, by a poysoned potion; for performance of which deede of darknesse, the said de Moro promised him 50000. crownes, and hee had earnest given him a jewell of gold, with a diamond and ruby of rich valew; but that plot was detected by Gods providence, and Lopez received condigne punishment.

In the yeare 1595, Edmund Yorke, and Richard Williams, being sent on worke by one Stefano Ibarra, King Philips secretarie at Bruxelles, who promised them the reward of 4000 crownes, undertooke to kill the queene by some meanes or other; but that also was detected by the vigilant eye of the English state, and they received the reward of their deserts.

When King Philip saw all his practises still frustrated, he, as audacious as ambitious, began to tamper with my selfe, and, by his instruments, sought out me as a fit man to betray both my sacred soveraigne and deere countrey; I forbeare to trouble your eares with the latitude of his large bumbasted promises of reward unto me to effect the same; but in lieu of accepting his cursed proposition and offer, I vowed a further revenge of him, and with my soveraignes leave, and Gods assistance, I had performed what I vowed and intended, &c.

The last publicke attempter in my time, which in no wise I must forget, was one Edward Squire, who, being taken prisoner in Spaine, was set on worke by Walpoole the Jesuite, and other officers of King Philip, to murther her sacred majestie, and my selfe, which he undertook, and brought over a new invented Castilian confection: first, to poyson the pommell of her majesties saddle, and then the pommels of a chayre wherein I usually sat at sea; both which he fayled not to attempt; but by Gods goodnesse, his cruell and treasonable attempts proved also successelesse, and this proper squire had the reward of his divellish practises.

Of all these cruell practises, I was more than an ordinary witnesse; and these premisses considered, what treason was ever attempted against her majesties sacred person or flourishing state, but the Spaniard was at one end or other of it? Nay, since my time on earth, and the death of her majestie, that horrid gun powder plot, hatched in hell, was it not consulted on and approved of in the Spanish King's court? Looke well to the confessions of the traytors; and did not King Phillip promise 100 thousand crownes towards the expedition of that damnable deed of darknesse? Looke into your owne chronicles.

Speed in Hist. p. 1.46

Now, all the premisses well weighed and considered, certes, the Turke ought not to be more hated and abhorred by Christendom than the Spaniard deserveth to be detested by England, &c. *Discite ô mortales. Iterum in Christo valete.*

INDEX.

A

Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, speech respecting the divorce of the Earl and Countesse of Essex, 307. Accidentally kills Lord Zouch's park-keeper, *ib.*, *note*. Visits Prince Henry in his illness, 241. Preaches his funeral sermon, 248

Achmoty, John, obtains grants from King James, 123

Advertisements of a loyal subject to his sovereign, 144

Ale-houses, tax upon them, complained of by the Commons, 167

Allured, Thomas, publishes a letter against the Spanish match, 557

Annandale, Earl of, obtains grants from King James, 123

Aragon, Don Blasco de, receives the Earl of Nottingham at Corunna, 78

Arcularius, his opinion on divorces on account of impotence, 310

Argyle, Archibald Earl of, serves in the Spanish army, 518

Arnauld d'Andilly, Robert, account of him, 575

B

Bacon, Sir Francis, Lord Verulam, speech respecting the Union, 134. Convicted of bribery, 473, *note*

Bacon, Sir Nicholas, his advice to Queen Elizabeth respecting Spain, 581

Baily, James, a Scotchman, obtains grants of lands from King James, 123

Baldwin, William, one of the conspirators in the gunpowder-plot, 98

Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, interposes in the disputes between the Jesuits and secular priests, 518

Barlow, Dr, chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, 6

Barneveld, apprehended in Holland, and executed, 523, 579

Baronets, patents concerning their institution, 252. List of those created, 382

Barulle, Peter, Cardinal de, account of him, 575

Basault, de, French ambassador in Spain, 85

Bates, Thomas, engaged in the gunpowder plot, 100. Taken prisoner, 106; and executed, 108, 112, 114

Bath, Knights of the, manner of their creation, 187

Baldwin, a Jesuit, released at Gondomar's intercession, 521

Bell, John de la, an apothecary employed by Sir Thomas Overbury, 290, 293. Examined, 323, 327

Bernekow, Christianus, Danish ambassador at Prince Henry's baptism, 172

Beza, Theodore, attacked by Hugh Broughton, 13, *note*. His opinion on divorces on account of impotence, 310

Bilson, Thomas, Bishop of Winchester. Account of his controversy with Hugh Broughton, 3. Pamphlet by the latter, in answer to a doctrine of his, *ib.* Account of him, 4, *note*

Borders of England and Scotland, regulations respecting them, 126

Bouillon, Duke of, sent to propose a match between Prince Henry and a princess of France, 203

Bowes, Robert, ambassador in ordinary from England, 175

Braderod, Baron of, Dutch ambassador at Prince Henry's baptism, 172

Brooke, George, his transactions with Raleigh, 410. His execution, 420, *note*

Broughton, Hugh. *Declaration of general corruption of Religion, &c. wrought by Dr Bilson*, 3. Account of him, *ib.* *Two little works defensive of our redemption*, 9.

Buchanan, George, anecdote of him while teacher to King James, 227

Buckingham, Duke of, his quarrel with Archbishop Williams, 23. First taken into favour, 298. Crosses Somerset in his covetousness, 299. Begs King James to assist his son-in-law, the Elector of Bohemia, 484. Arrives with Prince Charles at Madrid, 524. His insolent behaviour in Spain, 555. Praised undeservedly for paying attention to the navy, 583

Butler, Dr, a celebrated physician at Cambre, &c, 236

C

Calvine, Robert, law-suit respecting some houses in London, 143

Car, Robert, Earl of Somerset. Prince Henry's enmity to him, 208, *note*, 223. Letter to Prince Henry on the French match, 209. Suspected of having murdered Prince Henry, 233. Account of his rise and character, 268. His difference with the Earl of Salisbury, 270. Made Viscount Rochester, 271. His intrigues with the Countess of Essex, 272 Said to have been enchanted by Dr Forman to love the Countess, 275. Loses his popularity by his connection with her, 276. Quarrels with Overbury, 282; whose death is concluded upon, 282, 284, 286. Marries the Countess, 290. Created Earl of Somerset, 291. Letter to him from Overbury, and his answer, 292. Obtains a full pardon from the king, which the Lord Chancellor refuses to seal, 297. His jealousy of Villiers, 299. Overbury's murder discovered, 300. His accusation, 301. He pleads not guilty, 302. The first accusation against him, 317. His arraignment, 347. His petition to the king, 355. His pardon, and order for his future residence, 360 His petition for his estates, 362. His future fate, 363, *note*

Carew, Lord, intercedes for Raleigh, 438

Carey, Doctor, preaches Prince Henry's funeral sermon at Cambridge, 248

Carilla, Don Lewis de, governor of Coruana, 75, 80

Carlisle, Earl of, grants which he obtained from the king, 123

Carpenter, Nath., his character of Raleigh, 457

Casaubon, Isaac, account of him, 522

Catesby, Robert, engaged in the gunpowder-plot, 98. Killed, 106

Catholics petition for toleration, 265

Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury, anecdote of him, 69, *note*. His death, 270. His difference with Somerset, *ib.*

Charles, Prince, intentions of the gunpowder conspirators respecting him, 101. Prince Henry's affection for him, 224. A marriage between him and the Infanta of Spain negociated, 492—501. *Relation and journal of his arrival at Madrid*, 524. *Relation of the festivities and juego de cannas in honour of the prince*, 531. Account of his general reception, 540. *Account of his departure from Madrid*, ib. In danger from a violent storm, 547, 548. Returns to London, 549. Festivities at his arrival, 550. Route of his journey to Paris, 553. *Vox Cœli*, a Tract against his match with Spain, 555. *The Ghost of Robert Earl of Essex*, another pamphlet against the match, 596. *Second Part* of the same, 604

Clergy, Note of grievances done by the clergy and their ministers, 14

Clothworkers, their suit to prohibit the exportation of undyed clothes, 280; which they obtain, 297

Cobham, Lord, his transactions with Sir W. Raleigh, 409. Retracts his confessions, 408. His letter to Raleigh, 419. His pardon, 420, *note*

Coke, Sir Edward, anecdote of him, 275, *note*. Stands out against the Lord Chancellor, 298. Charge to the jury on the trial of Weston, 329. Of Mrs Turner, 335. His behaviour to Sir W. Raleigh at his trial, 410, 411. His speech to the jury, 418

Coldwell, Dr John, Bishop of Sarum, resigns Sherborne Castle to the crown, 451. Complains of Raleigh, *ib.* Accused of having been in league with Raleigh to impoverish his bishoprick, 452

Columbus, Don Caro, left as ambassador in England by Gondomar, 517

Commons, House of, their complaints against the clergy, 14. Address to the king on the distresses of the Elector Palatine, 470

Conference respecting the Union, between the Scotch and English commissioners, 132

Cornwallis, Sir Charles, letter to Lord Cranbourne on the peace with Spaine, 70. Appointed Leaguer ambassador in Spain, 73. Presented to the King of Spain, 85. *Discourse of Prince Henry*, 217. *Account of his life and death*, 225. *Relation of the carriage of the marriage that should have been made between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain*, 492.

Corpus Christi, description of the ceremony in Madrid, 87

Cottington, Francis Lord, agent at Madrid, 502. Secretary to Prince Charles at Madrid, 526

Cotton, Pere, a Jesuit, confessor to Henry IV., 574

Cowell, Dr, doctrines which he maintained of the king's authority, 266

Cranfield, Sir Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, account of his rise, 473, *note*. Accused of misusing the treasure of England, 583.

Crawford, ——, probably author of *The Proceedings against Sir W. Raleigh, &c.* 438
Cresswell, Arthur, (Joseph) one of the gunpowder conspirators, 98. Author of the Philopater, 99
Cristopher Don, pretender to the crown of Portugal, 565, *note*
Cromwell, Sir Oliver, feasts King James at his house, 232
Crusius, Adamus, ambassador from the Duke of Brunswick to Prince Henry's baptism, 172

D

Dallison, Sir Maximilian, admonished by Sir Gervase Yelvis, at the place of execution, 342
Daniel, Samuel, *Tethys festival, a masque,* 191
Davies, Lawrence, servant to Sir T. Overbury, his examination, 320. 327
Declaration of lawful sports, 53
Digby, Sir Everard, advances money for the gunpowder-plot, 101. He is executed, 108, 112, 114
Digby, George, Earl of Bristol, sent ambassador to Spain, 492. His entertainment there, 501
Dobleday, Thomas, apprehends Guy Fawkes, 104, *note*
Dominis, Marco Antonio de, Archbishop of Spalatro, *reasons for departing from the Romish religion,* 19. Account of him, ib. Publishes his work De Republica Ecclesiastica, 25. *Relation of the execution done upon his body, his books, &c.* 30
Doncaster, Hay Earl of, Car, Earl of Somerset, enters into his service, 268
Doncaster, Viscount, sent on an embassy to France, 485
Dunbar, Earl of, enriches himself in England, 123, *note*

E

Ecclesiastical Commission complained of by the Commons, 160. The king's answer, *ib. note*
Elizabeth, Princess, the intentions of the conspirators of the gunpowder-plot respecting her. 101. Sued for by the Prince of Savoy, 199. Her marriage to the Elector Palatine, 279
Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor, procures the nomination of commissioners for the Union, 132. His speech at the conference, 136. Letter of resignation to the king, 169. Account of him, ib. Refuses to seal the full pardon granted by the king to Somerset, 297. Sued in the Star-chamber for incurring a *premunire,* 298
Elwaies, see Yelvis.
Emanuel, Don, Viceroy of the Indies, 565. His descendants, *ib., note*
England, Dialogue on the political relations between England and Spain, 580
Essex, Robert Earl of, his first difference with his countess, 269. Remonstrates to her on her course of life, 274. Divorced from her, 281. He repays her portion, 291. Proceedings respecting his divorce, 305
Essex, Countess of, see Howard, Frances
Essex, Robert, Earl of, his Ghost, sent from Elizium, a pamphlet against the Spanish match, 596. *Second Part,* 604

F

Fawkes, Guy, engaged in the gunpowder plot, 98. Account of him, 100. He is apprehended, 104. His death said to have been planned by the conspirators, 105. He is executed, 108, 115
Fearne, Sir John, his transactions with Raleigh, 449
Fines, Mrs, substituted for the Countess of Essex at the examination, 281, *note*
Forman, Dr, employed to charm Somerset into an affection for the Countess of Essex, 272. His death, 275, 331
Forman, Mrs, her depositions at the arraignment of Mrs Turner, 332
Fortescue, Sir John, Greek reader to Queen Elizabeth, 11
Franklin, James, employed to poison Overbury, 287. He is hanged, 300. Furnishes the poisons employed against Sir F. Overbury, 333. His confession, 339, 344 And sentence, 345
Fryas, Duke of, Spanish ambassador, his reception in England, 72. Sent to meet the English embassy, 82

G

Garnet, Henry, account of him, 98. He is apprehended, 107; examined, 108; and executed, 109
Gibb, Sir Henry, intercedes for Somerset with the king, 361
Gib, John, a Scotsman, obtains grants from King James, 123
Giffard, Doctor, called in during the sickness of Prince Henry, 242
Goare, William, evidence respecting R. Weston, 328
Goodwin, Dr, preaches Prince Henry's funeral sermon at Oxford, 248
Gondomar, Count, Spanish ambassador, his pro-

ceedings against Raleigh, 421, 422, 423, 430. Bribes the Court ladies, 473. A Tract chiefly relating to him, 508. Account of him, *ib. note.* Affronted in the streets of London, 513. Anecdote of him, 517. First interview with Prince Charles at Madrid, 524. Bribes the English courtiers, 584

Grant, John, one of the gunpowder conspirators, 100; taken prisoner, 106; executed, 108, 112, 114

Gregory XIII. Pope, letter to the King of France, 482

Gresley, Walsingham, a bearer of dispatches to and from Spain, 506

Gresham, employed in the intrigues of Somerset and the Countess of Essex, 275. Dies, 287

Grey, Lord, concerned in Raleigh's trial, 408; pardon, 420

Grievances, list of, complained of by the Commons, 159

Grisons, dialogue on the politics of the, 570

Gunpowder-plot, history of the, 98

H

Hakewill, George, writes a treatise against the Spanish match, and is disgraced on that account, 520, *note*

Hall, Francis, deprived of his benefice by Archbishop Whitgift, 12

Hall, the Jesuit, tried 109; and executed, 110

Hanau, Count of, chief ambassador from the Palsgrave, 231

Harrington, Lord, his death, 294

Harrington, Sir John, his account of the controversy between Dr Bilson and Hugh Broughton, 4, *note.* His charge against Raleigh on account of the gift of Sherborne Castle, 451

Harte, Sir Eustace, his pardon for adultery, &c. 407

Hayes, James, Earl of Carlisle, his presents from King James, 146

Heningius, his opinion on divorces on account of impotence, 309

Henry Prince of Wales, account of his baptism, 171. Account of his being created Prince of Wales, 183. Masque performed on this occasion, 191. His affection for Raleigh, 199. Raleigh's discourse concerning his marriage, ib. Letter to his father on the French match, 207. Letter to Sir T. Edmondes on the same, 208, *note.* Letter to King James on the same, 209, *note.* Order of his funeral, 211. Sir Charles Cornwallis's discourse of him, 217. His attention to Naval affairs, 220. Is said to have been a lover of the Countess of Essex, 222, 277. Account of his life and death, by Sir C. Cornwallis, 225; his birth, 226. He challenges the Knights at a tournament, 228. Suspicion of his being murdered, 233, 277. Account of his illness, 234, *et seq.* His death, 244, 278. The dissection of the body, 245. Description of the funeral, 247. Of his person and character, 249. His enmity to Popery, 250, 251. His intention to give Sherborne back to Raleigh, 455.

Herbert, Sir Edward, Lord Cherbury, recalled from his embassy in France, 485, *note*

Higgons, Theophilus, his pardon for Jesuitism, 406.

Hole, ——, secretary to Lord Digby, his death, 503.

Holland, difference with England, on account of fisheries, 267

Holland, Henry Rich Earl of, loses the favour of K. James, 488

Hollis, Sir John, examines Weston at the gallows, and is prosecuted, 300

Howard, Frances, Countess of Essex, and afterwards of Somerset, her difference with the Earl, 269. Her intrigues with Mrs Turner to gain the affection of Somerset, 271, 272. Letter to Dr Forman, 274. Sues for a divorce, 280. Which is obtained, 281. Practises the death of Overbury, 282, 284. *et seq.* Her marriage to Somerset, 290. She is accused, 301; and confesses, 302. Proceedings respecting her divorce, 305. The first accusation against her, 317. Letters to Mrs Turner, 331. To Forman, 332. Her arraignment, 347; and pardon, 356, 358. Her death, 363

Howard, Lord William, intercedes for Somerset, 361

Howel, James, letter to Carew Raleigh on his father Sir Walter's voyage to Guiana, 456. Sent as agent to Madrid, 501. His account of Prince Charles' reception at Madrid, 524, *note.*

I

Jacob, Henry, a puritan divine, account of him, 10

Jacobs, Lady, anecdote of her and Gondomar the Spanish ambassador, 517

James I. King of England, sermon preached at his funeral, 33. Anecdotes of his last moments, 51. His declaration of lawful sports, 53. His speech to the Parliament on his accession to the crown, 59. His prodigality, 69, *note.* Suspects the gunpowder-plot, 103. His speech to the Parliament, March 31, 1607, in favour of the Union, 117. His fondness for hunting, 126, 127, *note.* Anecdote of his re-

fusing a petition, 145, *note*. His aversion to large assemblies of people, 147; and to the puritans, 157. His voyage to Norway supposed to have been interrupted by tempests raised by witches, 180. Narrative of the first fourteen years of his reign, 262. He concludes a peace with Spain, 265. His want of money, 294. Grants a full pardon to Somerset, which the Lord Chancellor refuses to seal, 297. Answer to the Archbishop of Canterbury's speech on the divorce of the Earl and Countess of Essex, 310. Extract from a letter to the same, 311, *note*. His protestation relating to Overbury's death, 324. Abstract of the state of his revenue, 364. Forbids Carew Raleigh the audience chamber, 455. Speech in the House of Lords, 26 March 1621. 465.—His numerous embassies, 472. Account of his dress, 487; and of his diet, 488. Caricatured by foreigners, 520, *note*

Jesuits, released out of the prisons in England at Gondomar's intercession, 521

Infantado, Duke of, visits Prince Charles at Madrid, 527

Ireland, unsettled state of, 267, 295, 296. Expenditure of that kingdom, 369

Juego de Cannas, description of that Spanish game, 89. Account of that festival exhibited in honour of Prince Charles, 532

Juego de Toros or Bullfight, description of one presented before the English embassy, 89

K

Keyes, Robert, engaged in the gunpowder-plot, 100. Account of him, *ib. note*. He is executed, 108, 112, 115.

Kelly, Earl of, obtains grants from K. James, 123. obtains the honour of Anthill from the crown, 146.

King, Gefferey, chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, 11

King, Captain Samuel, draws up an account of Raleigh's being conveyed from Devonshire to London, 431

Knevet, Sir Thomas, apprehends Guy Fawkes, 104

L

Lancashire, King James's declaration of lawful sports in that country, 54

Lawrence, Matthew de, his accusation against Raleigh, 413, 414.

Lewson, Sir Richard, Admiral of the fleet sent to Spain, 74

Le Chesnay, offers Raleigh a bark to escape to France, 436

Le Clerc, agent from France, offers Raleigh a bark to escape to France, 436

Legate, Bartholomew, narration of his being burned for heresy, 400. Warrants for his execution, 400, 401, 402

Lerma, Duke of, his entertainment to the English embassy, 87. Negociates with the conspirators engaged in the gunpowder-plot, 98. His transactions with Sir C. Cornwallis 497. Account of him, 503. Refused the sight of Prince Charles at Valladolid, 546, *note*

Lightfoot, Bishop, his character of Hugh Broughton, 3

Lindley, Barnard, a Scotsman, obtains grants of land from K. James, 123.

Littleton, Humphrey, conceals the gunpowder conspirators, 106. He is executed, 110

London, festivities of the city for Prince Charles's arrival, 552, *et seq.*

Low Countries, K. James advised to continue his protection to them, 144

M

Manners, dissolute state of, in the reign of K. James, 266

Mannowry, a French physician accompanies Raleigh to London, 431. Is said to have assisted in his counterfeiting illness, 433

Mansel, Sir Robert, anecdote of him while in Spain, 504, *note*. Sent by King James to assist the Spaniards against the Moors, 586

Mansfeld, Count, commands the army of the Elector Palatine, 479

Mar, Countess of, the custody of Prince Henry committed to her, 227

Markham, Sir Griffin, concerned in Raleigh's trial, 408. Pardoned, 420

Marson, Symon, his examination relative to Overbury's death, 322

Master, Simon, a servant of Overbury's, 290

Mayerne, Dr, chief physician to K. James, 235

Melancthon, his opinion on divorces on account of impotence, 308

Mendoza, Andres de, *account of the departure of the Prince of Wales from Madrid*, 541

Merving, Dr, employed by Overbury in the Tower, 290

Mitchel, Sir Francis, fined and imprisoned for peculation, 469, *note*

Miranda, Count of, negociates with the gun powder conspirators, 98

Moldavia, differences about the succession to that country, 462
Mompesson, Sir Giles, convened before Parliament for malpractices, 465. Sentence pronounced upon him, 469, *note*.
Monson, Sir Thomas, prefers Weston to wait upon Overbury in the Tower, 287. He is suspected to have had a hand in the poisoning Overbury, 289. Examined relative to it, 321, 326. His arraignment, 345. Not further proceeded against, 347
Montauban, besieged by the K. of France, 485
Moore, George, lieutenant of the Tower, manner of his bringing Somerset to trial 488, *note*. His reward 489, *note*
Mordaunt, Henry Lord, imprisoned, 111
Morris-dance, the English embassy in Spain entertained with one, 81
Mounteagle, Lord, advised by a letter not to attend the Parliament on the night fixed on to blow up the house, 102. The letter, 103. He is rewarded, 104, *note*
Murray, David, in Prince Henry's confidence, 242
Murray, Gideon, obtains grants from K. James, 123
Murray, —— tutor to Prince Charles 520

N

Navarre, part of that kingdom usurped by Ferdinand of Arragon, 562
Naunton, Sir Robert, anecdote of him, 442, *note*
Netherlands, dialogue on the politics of the, 578
Northampton, Earl of, speech at the conference of the Commissioners for the Union, 136. History of his rise and account of his character, 267. Said to have had a hand in the intrigues of Somerset and Lady Essex, 273. He is made Chancellor of Cambridge, *ib.* Said to have known of the plot against Overbury's life, 282. His death, 296. Letters to Somerset, 335, 336
Northumberland, Henry Earl of, imprisoned and fined, 111
Nottingham, Charles earl of, *Relation of things which happened during his journey to Spain*, 70. His reception at landing, 75. Entertainment given to him at Corunna, 79. Arrives at Valladolid, 82. His first audience, 83. Present at the Juegos de toros and de cannas, 88; and at a mask, 90. Takes his leave, 93. Sails from Spain and arrives in England, 94

O

Olivares, Conde de, favourite of the King of Spain, sent to meet Prince Charles, 525
Ossolinski, George, Count Palatine, Oration to King James, 460
Ossuna, Duke of, sent to watch the disturbances at Venice, 567
Overbury, Sir Thomas, gets into the favour of the Earl of Somerset, 270. He is knighted, 274. Acquainted with the connection between Somerset and the Countess of Essex, *ib.* Transacts the business of Somerset's employments in the state, 276. Dissuades him from the marriage, 281. His death is concluded, 282, 284. Appointed ambassador to the Archduke, which he refuses, 285. For which he falls into disgrace, 286, 287; and is committed to the Tower, *ib.* His letter to Somerset, 292. His death, 293. His death first called in question, 300. Proceedings at the trial of the persons concerned in his murder, 314, *et seq.* Letter to Somerset, 319. Account of his being poisoned, 319, 320. Appearance of his body after death, 336. Letter to Somerset, 351, 352. His account of the trial and condemnation of Sir W. Raleigh, 408

P

Palatinate, enthusiasm of the nation to assist the Elector, 469. Address of the House of Commons, 470. Answer of the King, 479
Palmer, Doctor, called in during the sickness of Prince Henry, 242
Parham, Sir Edward, accused by Raleigh of having given him poison, 433, 449
Parliament, proceedings in A. D. 1611. 148.—Message to the King, 155
Parsons, publishes a book on the King of Spain's title to the crown of England, 201
Patents concerning the creation of Baronets, 252
Payton, Henry, servant to Sir T. Overbury, his examination, 320
Penna, Juan Antonio de la, *Relation of the festivities at Madrid when Prince Charles was there*, 531
Pennington, Captain, his transactions with Raleigh, 449
Percy, Thomas, engaged in the gunpowder-plot, 99. He is killed, 106
Perkins, conceals some of the gunpowder conspirators, 115

Petitions of the Parliament, A. D. 1611. to the King, 156
Philip VI. his first interview with Prince Charles at Madrid, 524, 526
Pigot, Sir Christopher, anecdote of him in the Parliament, 129, *note*
Polanus, his opinion on divorces on account of impotence, 309
Popham, Lord Chief Justice, speech at the conference of the Commissioners for the Union, 138
Portugal, usurped by Philip II., but restored to the Dutchess of Braganza, 564
Post-nati, argument of the, 124, 137
Proclamations containing ordinances, complained of by the Commons, 162. The King's answer, 164, *note*
Puritans, King James's hatred towards them, 64. He refuses the indulgences required for them by Parliament, 157
Purveyance, complained of by the Commons, 154
Purveyor, anecdote of one in Queen Elizabeth's time, 223

R

Raleigh, Sir W., *Discourse about the happiest marriage for Prince Henry*, 199. Advises a match with Spain, 206. Sends some medicine to Prince Henry during his illness, 243. *His arraignment and conviction in the year* 1603, 408. The indictment, 409. His behaviour at the trial, 411. His sudden popularity, 419. The sentence, 420. *Reasons for proceeding against him in* 1618, 421. His expedition to Guiana, *ib.* Endeavours to escape, 422. Sherborne manor taken from him, 423. The commission granted to him for his voyage, 424. His illness at Trinidad, 428. Counterfeits illness, 432, 433; and endeavours to escape, 434. Real reasons for executing him, 437, 438. Accused of Atheism, 450. *Account of the proceedings against him, and of his execution*, 438. His speech on the scaffold, 439 Executed, 442. Letter to the King, *ib.* To his wife, 443. His dying declaration, 444. His anxiety to clear himself of his supposed joy at Essex's death, 447. Complained of by Bishop Coldwell, on account of the gift of Sherborne Castle, 451. Anecdote of him, *ib.* Account of his military enterprises, 455, *note*. Howel's letter respecting his expedition to Guiana, 456
Raleigh, Carew, son of Sir Walter, *Petition to Parliament to recover his father's estate*, 451.—Account of him, 452. Letter to him from Howel, 456
Raleigh, George, son of Sir Walter, attacks St Thome in Guiana, 429
Raulyns, George, examined relative to Overbury's death, 323
Record of some proceedings in Parliament, A. D. 1611, 148
Reuben, Rabbe Abraham, sends an epistle to Hugh Broughton, 11
Roaring-boys, account of them, 266
Rochelle, besieged by the Count of Soissons, 485
Rockwood, Ambrose, engaged in the gun powder-plot, 100. He is executed, 108, 112, 114, 115
Russel, Lord William, marries the daughter of the Earl of Somerset, 362

S

St Paul's Cathedral, a common promenade in King James's time, 472. Repaired by compelled subscriptions, *ib.*
St Thome, attacked by George Raleigh, son of Sir Walter, 429
Sanquhar, Lord, his execution, 47, 323, *note*
Sarpis, Paolo, his history of the Council of Trent, preserved by the Archbishop of Spalatro, 19
Savories, Doctor, employed after Dr Forman's death to bewitch Somerset, 333
Savoy, dialogue on the politics of, 570
Savoy, Duke of, his proposal of a marriage between Prince Henry and his daughter, and Princess Elizabeth and his son, 199
Scot, —, author of Vox Populi, or Newes from Spain, 508
Scotland, Union with England intended by King James, 63, 118. Prejudices of the English against the Scotch, 122, *note*. Arguments against the Union, 125, *note*. Conferences respecting the Union, between the Scotch and English Commissioners, 132
Sentleger, Captain, under Sir W. Raleigh, his illness at Trinidad, 429
Sherborne Castle, given to Sir Walter Raleigh, 451. Forfeited to the Crown, and given to Somerset 455; and on his death to the Earl of Bristol, *ib.*
Shrewsbury, Countess of, her death, 502
Sigismund III., King of Poland, sends an ambassador to England for assistance against the Turks, 458. The Turkish Emperor's letter to him, 463. His answer, 464

Spain, English embassy sent, thither, 70. Persons who accompanied it, 72. They arrive at Valladolid, 84. Sir W. Raleigh's opinion of that state, 204. Rumours of a fleet being sent against England, 295
Sparke, Michael, epistle to the reader, before the narrative of the first fourteen years of King James, 263
Sports, declaration of lawful sports, 53
Spottiswood, John, Archbishop of St Andrews, labours for the Union of the Churches of England and Scotland, 519
Stanley, Sir William, deserts to the Spanish, 98
Stuart, Lady Arabella, her imprisonment and death, 283, *note*. Her title to the crown pretended to be set up by Raleigh, 410
Stone, the fool, anecdote of him, 73, *note*
Stourton, Edward Lord, imprisoned, 111
Stucley, Sir Lewis, said to have entrapped Raleigh by persuading him to escape, 431. Sets guards upon him, 435. Conveys him to the Tower, 436 Accused by Raleigh on the scaffold, 440. His *petition to the King touching his behaviour in bringing Raleigh to London*, 444. Account of his death, 445, 457
Sultan Achmet, Turkish Emperor, letter to the King of Poland, 463
Sundry great wrongs, grievances, and oppressions done by the Clergy against the King's liege people, 14
Sussex, Earl of, sent as Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Prince Henry's baptism, 172
Switzerland, dialogue on the politics of, 568

T

Taylor, John, account of the festival at London on Prince Charles's return, 550
Tesmond, Oswald, engaged in the gunpowder-plot, 98. Stirs up the people to take up arms, 106
Tethys festival, a masque, by Samuel Daniel, 191
Tom Tell-Troath; or a free discourse touching the manners of the time, 469
Tounson, Doctor, Bishop of Sarum, attends Raleigh at his execution, 438, 445
Tresham, Francis, engaged in the gunpowder-plot, 98. Advances money, 101. Dies in the Tower, 106
Treswell, Robert, *Relation of things which happened in the journey of the Earl of Nottingham to Spain*, 70
Trevor, Sir John, sent from Spain to England, 91
Turner, Mrs Ann, inventor of yellow starch, 264. Undertakes to procure the death of Over bury 284. She is hanged, 300. Her examination, 321, 326. Her arraignment, 330. Account of her and her intrigues with the Countess of Essex, 271. Account of her person, 330. Her sentence and execution, 335

V

Varney, Sir Edward, his difference with a priest at Madrid, 503, *note*
Vaux, Mrs Anne, friend of the jesuit Garnet, 108
Velasco, Don Alonso de, ambassador from Spain at London, 494
Venice, the state of, interdicted by the Pope, 24. Conspiracy discovered there, 567
Vergerius, Paulus, converted to the Protestant faith, 19
Verney, Sir Richard, takes some of the conspirators in the gunpowder-plot, 106
Villa-Garcia, description of the town of, in Spain, 81
Union of Scotland and England attempted by King James, 63, 118
Vox Cœli; or News from Heaven, a Tract against the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, 555
Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne, 508

W

Wade, Sir William, removed from his office as lieutenant of the Tower, 283. Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, 421, *note*
Walsh, Sir Richard, takes some of the conspirators in the gunpowder-plot, 106
Warr, Mr, his eulogium on Sir T. Overbury, 320
Washington, —, page to Prince Charles, anecdote respecting his death, 503, *note*
Wentworth, Sir John, examines Weston, and is prosecuted, 300
Weston, Richard, undertakes to murder Sir Thomas Overbury, 284, 286. Discloses it by chance to Sir Gervase Elwayes, 288. His confession, 300. Proceedings against him, 314. Examined again, 321, 322, 324, 326. His sentence, 330
Weston, William, son to the former, examined, 322
Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, supports Dr Bilson in his controversy with Hugh Broughton, 3. Attacked by Broughton, 10, *et seq.* His death, 11, *note*
Wightman, Edward, narration of his being burn-

ed for heresy, 403. Warrants for his execution, 403, *et seq.*
Wilkinson, —, obtains a relic of Garnet the jesuit's blood, 109
Wilkinson, a preacher, much admired by Prince Henry, 234
Williams, John, Archbishop of York, his sermon at the funeral of King James, 33. Account of him, *ib.*
Wimark, Edward, anecdote of him, 442, *note*
Winter, John, one of the conspirators, executed, 110
Winter, Robert, engaged in the Gunpowder conspiracy, 100. Taken prisoner, 106. Executed, 108, 112, 113, 114
Winter, Thomas, sent into Spain by the Gunpowder conspirators, 98. Taken prisoner, 106. Executed, 108, 112, 114, 115
Wood, Sir David, examined relative to Overbury's murder, 325
Wright, Christopher, engaged in the Gunpowder-plot, 100. He is killed, 106

Y

Yelverton, Sir Henry, imprisoned for mal-practices, 468
Yelvis, Sir Gervase, purchases the office of lieutenant of the Tower, 283. Made acquainted with the plot against Overbury's life, 288.—Letter to the Earl of Northampton, 289. His execution, 300. His examinations, 321, 322, 323, 327, 328. His indictment, 335. Letter to the Earl of Northampton, 336. His answer to the indictment, *ib.* His confession, 340. Prayer, 343. Execution, 344

Z

Zanchius, his opinion concerning divorces on account of impotence, 310
Zuniga, Don Pedro de, leaguer ambassador from Spain, 93. Lands at Portsmouth, 94

1

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by James Ballantyne & Co.

00093642

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018